COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

ANNUAL REPORT 1984 In Brief

Renewal or Reversal

85-3471/

PREFACE

In presenting this summary of our 1984 Annual Report, I wish to emphasize that its two main axes — renewal of the programme within the federal administration and meeting the challenge of the official languages minorities — were both prominent in the Speech from the Throne. The new Government's call for further improvements and its stated belief that national unity "demands that the two levels of government cooperate in supporting official language minorities" suggest that a number of the proposals in this Report would prove useful in developing Government's commitment.

We urge Government to begin by getting its own house truly in order. That means a more integrated approach and greater coherence in its efforts to meet the three goals of actively providing service to the public, increasing equitable participation in the public service, and providing a genuine choice of language of work.

The difficulties that face our official languages communities in a minority situation have long been serious and have now, in many cases, reached a critical stage. To the problems faced by French-speaking communities scattered across the country, the last ten years have added those of the English-speaking communities in Quebec. While the latter differ in kind and show strong signs of abating, the need remains to find appropriate solutions for both minorities. The subject is dealt with in a special study appearing as Part IV of the Report.

Greater and more effective cooperation with the provinces is indispensable, as is more substantive exchange of expertise with the private sector. The public has become more open to the implications of having two official languages; its support will be critical in the next phase of the reform. Now that we have reached the 15th anniversary of Parliament's adoption of the Official Languages Act, the time has come to review and renew.

D'Iberville Fortier
Commissioner of Official Languages

PART I. THE CANADIAN SCENE

Orientations and Trends

In the past 20 years Canadians have applied themselves seriously to establishing the new linguistic partnership envisaged by the B and B Commission. The federal government has done much to help give French its due in the National Capital Region and Quebec. Elsewhere progress has been markedly slower. "We are not as far along the road to the objective of language equality and sound, reciprocal linguistic relations as we could wish."

"The Canadian Government, indeed Canadians generally, need to wake up to the fact that progressive polarization threatens the probable extinction of most French-speaking minorities outside Quebec and, by ricochet, drastic reduction of English freedoms within that province. It can only be brought under control by a deliberate change of tack."

The time has come for a "fresh start". "What is needed is a new formula for making the programme more useful, credible and concrete, and for re-expressing it in terms which everyone can understand and support." Grassroots collaboration by federal and provincial governments to relieve the acute linguistic wants is required.

The Throne Speech of last November reflected the Government's recognition of two things: that ongoing improvements are essential, and that creation of an enduring partnership requires common policy and joint planning for those areas where governments deal with minority groups.

Language Rights

In the past year the courts have been active in giving new shape and meaning to linguistic rights.

The Ontario Court of Appeal gave a broad interpretation to minority-language education rights under the Canadian Charter of Rights and

N.B. The section headings correspond to those in the Annual Report itself. The subheads in the margins correspond to the chapter headings in the Report, except in Part V, where they correspond to the subheads of the "Proposals" chapter.

Freedoms. It said there should be no numbers test; the educational environment should be that of the minority; and the Francophone minority has the right to participate in the management and control of of its own French-language classes and educational facilities.

The Supreme Court of Canada restored in Quebec some English education rights that had been curbed by the Charter of the French Language. It is important, however, that pressure to give effect to minority education rights "should be seen to be the same for both official language groups". Almost three years after promulgation of the minority education rights section of the Charter of Rights, it is a national embarrassment to count the number of English-speaking provinces that neither provide adequate "minority-language education facilities" nor show much sign of doing so.

In New Brunswick in 1984 the provincial Government was pursuing, not without difficulty, a policy intended to give greater effect to its constitutional commitment and official languages legislation of 1969.

Parliamentary Committee

The Parliamentary Joint Committee on Official Languages became a standing (permanent) committee in 1984, underlining its role as a key player in revitalizing language reform.

Second Language Education

A Gallup Poll study undertaken for Canadian Parents for French and released in October showed that 68 per cent of adult English-speaking Canadians believed children in their province "should learn French at school so that they could become bilingual". Enrolment in French immersion classes throughout Canada was close to 150,000 in the 1984-85 school year. "Parental demand continues like a steamroller."

Heritage Languages

In Manitoba and elsewhere increasing cooperation between heritage-language and French-language groups indicated that bilingualism and multiculturalism could be mutually reinforcing factors.

Shades of Opinion

The year's developments on the languages front indicated that "Quite possibly the scene of Canada's major linguistic battles has now shifted from the national to the provincial sphere, which is where, in large part, language rights assume their most everyday, practical form."

Recent political developments on the federal scene suggest that: "Where the principle of linguistic partnership has been gaining most visibly is in our political mores." Practical recognition of bilingualism has been highly apparent in leadership conventions and the election campaign of 1984: "bilingualism is now embedded in party conduct, regardless of affiliation".

PART II. LANGUAGE EQUALITY: THE THREE PRINCIPLES

Serving Canadians

Three principles are recognized in the administration of the Official Languages Act. The public is entitled to federal services in English or French. There should be equitable representation of both the Anglophone and Francophone communities in the federal public service. Anglophone and Francophone public servants should be able to work in their own language in bilingual regions, subject to the requirement of serving the public in either language.

Government has put in place and advertised various means of providing its services in both languages. A number of audits conducted by the Commissioner's Office and Treasury Board indicate that the policy of 'active offer' is still incompletely and inconsistently applied, even in clearly bilingual regions. In less bilingual regions, federal readiness to provide service was such a mish-mash that it "must be a positive disincentive to minority clients even to try to be served in their own language...".

In 1984, 93 per cent of the 1,421 complaints received by the Commissioner dealt with problems of being properly served in English or French, with only a sixth of those complaints coming from Anglophones. More than half the complaints were of failure to actively offer services in the appropriate language.

At the present rate, there is no reason to suppose that the distribution, quality, and availability of federal services in English and French will be equal by the year 2000. But there is also no reason why we should go on like this when the government already has some experience of how to "put a convincing service in place".

Complaints

In several major Crown corporations — Via Rail, Canadian National, Air Canada, and Canada Post — seniority rules are a serious hindrance to language-equality principles. The longest-serving are given first choice of jobs, regardless of the public's language needs, thus putting provisions of collective agreements above the law of the land. For several Crown corporations, the information they can provide on official language matters is inadequate for assessing their performance under the Act.

Equitable Participation

Francophone participation in the federal public service is roughly comparable to the Francophone proportion of the population, but Francophones are under-represented in Senior Management and its "feeder groups", as well as in the more scientific and technical jobs. They are also under-represented in bilingual areas of Ontario and New Brunswick. The federal public service in Quebec, on the other hand, is suffering from a serious and persistent under-representation of Anglophones.

Language of Work

Recent data show that opportunities for Francophones to use French freely and creatively in their daily work are still limited. Ninety per cent of texts destined for internal use in the federal public service originated in English in 1983-84.

In bilingual regions, overall use of French in the workplace has shown little progress since 1978. Francophones use French only 55 per cent of the time. Analysis of interactions between the two groups shows that Anglophones in bilingual jobs see themselves as using a respectable

ar ount of French, even if it is less than they would like; but even that adds up to less than an hour a day in the National Capital Region.

The National Capital

In the National Capital Region, federal service in French is still sometimes not available in the heart of Ottawa, despite the improvements of recent years. There is increasing use of French on the Ontario side, including in the courts and provincial services. Ottawa itself has thoroughly overhauled its language services since the report of an advisory committee to City Council in 1982. In Hull and environs, Anglophones have been finding it more difficult than in the past to receive Quebec provincial, regional and municipal services in English, which had long been available.

Despite improvements on the Ottawa side, 23 per cent of those with French as their mother tongue used English as the main language of the home in 1981. This high rate of assimilation is doubly of concern because the National Capital Region is a major recruiting pool for the federal administration, source of 27.8 per cent of all appointments in 1983.

PART III. LANGUAGE EQUALITY IN OPERATION

Federal institutions

More than 100 federal institutions have been assessed on the basis of audits, investigations following complaints, background documentation, and interviews. They range from organizations with only a score or so of employees to major departments, such as National Defence, with 80,700 military personnel (16 per cent bilingual) and 33,400 civilian personnel (11 per cent bilingual).

Some institutions are consistent star performers on one or more of the language fronts: language of service to the public, equitable participation, and language of work. Examples are: Bank of Canada, Canadian International Development Agency, Canada Employment and

Immigration Commission, National Film Board, Secretary of State, Statistics Canada, Telefilm Canada. Many, such as the administrations of the House of Commons and Senate, have shortcomings in language-of-work and equitable participation, despite an otherwise creditable performance. Others must be classified as recalcitrants in their failure to respond to the Constitution and Parliament's wishes.

Here is a rundown of some of the comments made about some of the institutions covered in the Report.

The Agriculture department has only 13.7 per cent Francophone participation in management. Air Canada has a chronic shortage of bilingual staff, but did in 1984 start consulting with community associations on minority-language needs. The Auditor General's Office does not have an official languages plan.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation maintained a good record for bilingual service but had too many unilingual supervisors. In Canada Post, only three per cent of Montreal personnel are Anglophone. Canada Post is slow to act on language complaints.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation programming is "an indispensable lifeline to the Francophone and Anglophone minorities across the country. It does a commendable job and seems to be on the same linguistic wavelength as most of its clientele". Canadian National, on the other hand, does not have linguistic data on its employees; its Atlantic region is unilingual English; Francophones in senior management make up only 17 per cent.

The Correctional Service has responded to our 1983 audit but will have to do a great deal more to provide adequate minority-language services to inmates. At Energy, Mines and Resources there is little use of French at work. Environment Canada will soon be offering bilingual weather reports by phone everywhere in Canada.

External Affairs is more bilingual abroad than at home; English is virtually the only language of work in the trade sector. In the House of Commons administration, the unilingualism of 26 per cent of the 250 supervisors is a major impediment to more widespread use of French. In National Health and Welfare, "Fitness and Amateur Sport did not make it off the official languages critical list in 1984." By year's end more than half the 22 national sports associations had failed to meet promised deadlines for submitting official languages plans.

In National Revenue (Customs and Excise), implementation of the Commissioner's 1983 recommendations has been delayed. "Francophones crossing at most border points outside Quebec are not only not greeted in their own language, but need the patience of Job and a fair dollop of luck to find a bilingual customs officer." National Revenue (Taxation) has fairly good language service, marred by inadequate service to Francophones in southwest Ontario and the West; it does not recruit enough Francophones into the computer services employment group.

In the Privy Council Office in 1984, Francophones were under-represented at the executive level. In the Public Archives, however, they were over-represented. In Public Works, although Francophones are 26 per cent of the whole, French is not widely used and a number of documents are available in English only. A recent audit of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police confirmed our view that, in Quebec and at Headquarters in Ottawa, the force "has been dragging its heels in the area of language of work"; its performance in service to the public is better.

While the performance of the Secretary of State's department is stellar, it "is in danger of being treated as the only federal purveyor of support to the official languages communities, allowing other influential institutions in the economic, social or health sectors simply to provide their services in two languages without concerning themselves with the special needs of the minorities". There are still not enough bilingual Citizenship Court Judges.

"The Senate is in almost exactly the same condition as last year;" French is little used by employees as a language of work.

Recommendations contained in a 1981 audit of the Solicitor General's Secretariat have not yet been seriously addressed: there are chronic language-of-work and participation problems. The Commissioner applauds the success of Statistics Canada in correcting some of the imbalances in Anglophone:Francophone representation over the years and encourages it to go even further. The Supreme Court serves the public well in both languages, but has been slow to recognize language rights and responsibilities in its internal administration.

In 1984, Transport Canada "took some steps in the right direction, such as extending bilingual flight control to all of Quebec and it could be the end of the century before the education system

completing the French-language manuals of the Pierre-Radisson ice-breaker". But linguistic requirements for service by concessionaires were downgraded at three major airports — Vancouver, Saint John and Fredericton — and the department failed to improve Francophone participation, which stands at just under 23 per cent.

Via Rail has made some inroads on the seniority problem and has increased bilingual staffing; but "French-speaking passengers who manage to obtain services in their own language consider themselves fortunate". Reservia, the reservations service, is, however, excellent from the point of view of greeting and serving clients in their own language.

The Federal Machine

In the two-pillar pattern of official languages policy, federal management deals with both internal programs for the government service, and external programs of support for the official language communities. Government has developed a number of programme mechanisms — such as position identification, language training and testing, and translation — to obtain the institutional capacity it needs to work and to serve the public in English and French. The overall cost of these programmes is about $250 million a year, or $10 per Canadian.

"The machinery has accomplished much. The number of bilingual positions has grown steadily ... to a very respectable 28 per cent proportion in 1984: some 63,000 bilingual jobs in all, in which there are presently some 54,000 qualified occupants. Over the same period, second-language proficiency requirements have been upgraded to the point where three-quarters of bilingual jobs now call for the intermediate level of proficiency, as compared with just over half five years ago."

There is, however, little effective bilingualism in the public service outside the National Capital Region and Quebec. The machine has developed other quirks that need examining. The small number of French-essential positions explains in part why French-speaking public servants are increasingly appointed to bilingual positions. But then "what is the point of the heavy investment in language training for Anglophones ... if their share of appointments to bilingual positions continues to fall?"

It could be the end of the century before the education system

produces a crop of authentically bilingual graduates sufficient for public service recruitment. Meanwhile, we must adjust the machinery with due respect for the human material available in both groups.

PART IV. THE MINORITY CHALLENGE

Statement of the Problem

This section is a special study of the position of the official languages minorities. The Laurendeau-Dunton Commission made the point that "Language reforms at the federal, provincial and local levels will be necessary, since only coordinated and simultaneous action in all three fields can make measures in each fully effective." In practice this has not happened.

Demo-linguistics

In the absence of concerted action, there has been a steady decline in the Francophone proportion of the population, although it has increased in absolute numbers. The percentage of mother-tongue francophones who have shifted to English as a home language is shown in the following table for the censuses of 1971 and 1981:

	1971	1981
Newfoundland	43.4	57.2
Prince Edward Island	43.2	42.1
Nova Scotia	34.1	37.1
New Brunswick	8.7	9.7
Quebec	1.5	2.0
Ontario	29.9	33.9
Manitoba	36.9	44.0
Saskatchewan	51.9	63.4
Alberta	53.7	57.0
British Columbia	73.0	71.8
Yukon	74.4	70.2
Northwest Territories	51.3	54.5
Canada	6.0	6.7
Canada minus Quebec	29.6	32.8

The rate of transfer is hardly significant within Quebec, but heavy everywhere else except New Brunswick.

Thus Canada's French-speaking population outside Quebec is consistently losing way. And Quebec's English mother tongue population, largely because of out-migration, has also dropped significantly — from 13.1 per cent of the provincial population in 1971 to 11 per cent in 1981.

The Minorities: Province by Province

In Quebec, growing linguistic assurance on the part of the French-speaking majority, concerned about its own position as a linguistic minority in English-speaking North America, shows signs of restoring its historic generosity toward the Anglophone community. The year was marked by a number of court decisions favourable to English-language rights. In spite of serious demographic losses, the institutional base of English-speaking Quebec is still "beyond the wildest dreams of practically all the French-speaking minorities".

In New Brunswick, concentration of the Francophone population in the North and East and the Moncton area has helped prevent assimilation at the levels prevalent elsewhere outside Quebec. "Acadian New Brunswickers are still considerably less equal than Anglophone New Brunswickers when it comes to obtaining services in their own language, or for that matter, in equality of access to employment in the provincial public service." Education is "the one area where the notion of equality has been realized more or less harmoniously".

Ontario's gradualist approach has slowly improved services in French. In 1984, legislation was passed to make French an official language of Ontario courts. Much remains to be done in other sectors, such as health services. Francophone control of minority-language education needs urgently to be resolved. Post-secondary educational opportunities for Francophones are patchy and should be improved.

Toronto has a growing Francophone community. "The institutional infrastructure for living in French in Toronto is taking shape: schools, government services, community centres, theatre, newspapers, cinema,

radio and television. While it is too soon to speak of a linguistic transformation, Toronto will certainly be a place to watch in coming years."

In all other parts of Canada, education is the only field marked by some progress for the Francophone minorities. Different historical and legal obligations apply in different provinces, but it does not make sense to recognize education rights and stop there. Appropriate additional measures are called for to make this investment worth while. Franco-Manitobans await the decision of the Supreme Court to see what restoration of their historic constitutional rights may mean in practical terms. In Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland, governments have been reluctant to give the least legitimacy to the use of French outside the school. Similarly in British Columbia, Alberta and Saskatchewan, Francophones live almost entirely in English except for some educational and cultural opportunities. In Yukon, the first French school was opened in Whitehorse in 1984.

The Challenge

The bulk of the federal effort for the minority communities has been devoted to three sectors: education, the judicial framework, and radio and television broadcasting. Federal departments have tended to be content to stand back and watch the Secretary of State's department shell out; and if there has not been an integrated federal approach to supporting the minority communities, still less has there been the concerted federal-provincial approach urged by the B and B Commission and envisaged in the bilingual districts provisions of the Official Languages Act.

"There can be no lasting linguistic justice for Canadians without the active collaboration of consenting majorities, English and French. (...) Too little has been done to get a majority of ordinary Canadians to overcome their feeling that official bilingualism is imposed by some over-zealous 'them' and is not an honest expression of the democratic 'us'." We therefore strongly support the Government's intent to involve "the two levels of government ... in supporting official language minorities", and suggest ways in which to do that.

PART V. AN INTEGRATED APPROACH

Proposals for Renewal

The language reform program launched 15 years ago must be revitalized and renewed by more directly addressing the present needs of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians, and "by working with the various communities and their local authorities and institutions".

The series of more than 50 recommendations in this year's Report call for a more integrated approach to reform: federal departments and agencies would concert their efforts, the federal contribution would in turn be concerted with the provincial and local effort, and all of these would seek the support of the private sector and that of voluntary associations.

Many recommendations aim to put teeth into language policy and reinforce it with more research. They cover both major areas of language reform: the federal administration and the official languages minorities.

Strategy and Coordination

Clear and sustained political direction is essential. To coordinate policy more effectively at the federal level, Government should consider bringing this function "more substantively within the purview of the Privy Council Office". Deputy Ministers should be directly responsible to the Prime Minister for progress in official languages matters. The mandate of the official language secretariats in federal institutions should also be reinforced.

Federal Programme Management

The institutional needs of the public service should be reviewed against official language goals, and various administrative ways of meeting them tried and evaluated. Crown Corporations should be more fully

accountable on linguistic performance and provide linguistic information in standard ways. Regional distribution of bilingual positions should be brought more into line with public needs. Language-training opportunities for public servants should put more emphasis on their personal motivation and responsibility.

We recognize the justice of paying for skills but suggest the bilingual bonus be phased down, after consultation with the unions, taking into account salary level and demonstrated language use. The Treasury Board proposal to set volume limits on translation is endorsed. We recommend research into the social psychology of language use to provide information relevant to improving practices and attitudes.

Serving the Public

Active and specific offer of services in both languages should be mandatory wherever bilingual service is required. Federal activities with an enforcement aspect — courts, police, correction and regulatory agencies, customs and tax officers — need to take special care to respect language rights so as to avoid intimidation. Local managers should be encouraged to meet specific service objectives through "community consultation and locally-tailored solutions".

We recommend confirmation of the decision to issue a single bilingual short Census form. Those resorting to the courts for their language rights under the Charter should consider seeking financial assistance under the Secretary of State's Court Challenges Programme.

Equitable Participation

Francophones should be better represented in senior management in the federal public service as a whole, as well as in New Brunswick and bilingual regions of Ontario. Government measures to correct Anglophone under-representation in Quebec must be reinforced.

Language of Work

We recommend a clearer statement of government's goals for equitable language use. Specific directives should be issued in each department and agency on how the two languages are to be used in

various organizational circumstances. Employees of both language groups should discuss practical language-of-work problems with their supervisors in a cooperative atmosphere. Senior management must set the example for uninhibited use of the two official languages. Measures are needed to ensure members of each group fairer opportunities to draft documents in their own language.

We also propose detailed studies of language use in the public service; greater resort to receptive bilingualism, particularly in the context of supervision; and more promotion of language initiatives that have been found to work.

National Capital Region

The federal government should create a working group of all interested parties to "draw up a plan of action to complete the development of a truly bilingual federal capital".

Private Sector

"Government should consult systematically with the private sector on public needs and be open to exchanging experience and expertise. As well, government should make available suitable incentives to accelerate progress." Official language needs of the public should be taken into account in the award of government contracts or subsidies. Crown corporations transferred to the private sector should retain their language responsibilities.

Official Languages Act

Parliament and Government are invited to review the Official Languages Act with a view to: replacing the present provisions for bilingual districts with new provisions based on intergovernmental consultation and cooperation; specifying public servants' right to work in the official language of their choice, subject to serving the public in both languages; affirming that mixed enterprises created by Parliament are subject to the Act; making a more positive reference to languages other than English and French; and clarifying the duties of the Commissioner of Official Languages. Most of these changes have also been proposed by the Parliamentary Joint Committee.

Joint Committee

The Parliamentary Committee on Official Languages is invited to review the language programme as a whole, make proposals for achieving the greater federal-provincial cooperation in support of the official language minorities that was envisaged in the Speech from the Throne, and conduct consultations as widely as possible.

Minority Communities

We recommend that the federal government use its persuasive powers to achieve: entrenchment of institutional bilingualism in Ontario; development of appropriate services in French for the minorities in provinces that are not officially bilingual; and permanent recognition of the communities and institutions of English-speaking Quebec.

The Commissioner makes many additional detailed recommendations to support the thrust of the main proposals. Particular attention is given to support for minority language education, and to intergovernmental and federal government support to both minority-language and second-language teaching initiatives.

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Reprints of Part IV of the Annual Report — "The Minority Challenge" — may also be obtained.

COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES
COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Sommaire du RAPPORT ANNUEL 1984

Relance ou recul

AVANT-PROPOS

En présentant le résumé du Rapport annuel 1984, je tiens à souligner que ses deux principaux volets — la relance du programme dans l'administration fédérale et l'action en faveur des minorités de langue officielle — étaient en évidence dans le discours du Trône du nouveau Gouvernement. Les autorités y préconisaient des améliorations, déclarant aussi que l'unité nationale « exige que les deux ordres de gouvernement collaborent pour appuyer les minorités de langue officielle ». Certaines des propositions formulées dans ce rapport pourraient contribuer utilement à concrétiser l'engagement officiel.

Nous invitons le gouvernement à commencer par mettre sa maison en ordre. Autrement dit, nous lui proposons une approche plus intégrée et une plus grande cohésion dans ses efforts visant trois buts : servir activement le public dans les deux langues officielles, assurer une participation de plus en plus équitable à la fonction publique fédérale et garantir un choix authentique de la langue travail.

Déjà graves depuis longtemps, les difficultés auxquelles se heurtent nos communautés minoritaires de langue officielle sont maintenant, dans bien des cas, parvenues à un stade critique. Aux problèmes des Francophones répartis dans le pays sont venus s'ajouter depuis dix ans ceux des Anglophones québécois. Bien que la situation de ces derniers diffère et tende nettement à s'améliorer, il n'en faut pas moins trouver des solutions adaptées pour les deux groupes. Cette question fait l'objet d'une étude spéciale dans la partie IV.

Il faut absolument une coopération plus étroite et plus efficace avec les autorités provinciales, ainsi qu'un réel dialogue sur ces thèmes avec le secteur privé. Les Canadiens semblent de mieux en mieux accepter les conséquences de la dualité linguistique; leur appui sera décisif pour la prochaine étape de la réforme.

Le Commissaire aux langues officielles

D'Iberville Fortier

PARTIE I — LA SCÈNE CANADIENNE

Le point

Depuis 20 ans, les Canadiens s'efforcent avec sérieux de promouvoir l'égalité linguistique que la Commission B.B estimait essentielle pour l'avenir de notre pays. Le gouvernement fédéral a beaucoup fait pour donner au français sa place dans la région de la Capitale nationale et au Québec. Mais ailleurs, les progrès sont nettement plus lents. « Nous n'avons pas fait autant de chemin sur la voie de l'égalité linguistique ou des relations saines entre les parties que nous l'aurions souhaité. »

« Le gouvernement canadien, voire la population d'une manière générale, doit s'ouvrir au fait qu'une polarisation progressive pourrait bien aboutir, à plus ou moins long terme, à l'extinction de la plupart des minorités francophones hors du Québec et, indirectement, à une réduction draconienne des libertés dont jouit l'anglais dans la province. Cela ne peut être maîtrisé que par un changement de tactique bien étudié. »

La « relance » est nécessaire. « Il nous faut une formule renouvelée pour conférer au programme utilité, crédibilité et valeur pratique, pour l'exprimer en des termes accessibles et engageants. » Une collaboration nationale, à la base, s'impose pour remédier aux sérieuses carences de notre régime linguistique.

Dans son discours du Trône de novembre dernier, le gouvernement reconnaissait deux réalités : des progrès constants sont essentiels et la création d'une association durable requiert une politique et une planification communes dans les domaines où les deux ordres de gouvernement traitent avec les groupes minoritaires.

Les droits linguistiques

Cette année, les tribunaux ont activement contribué à remodeler et à redéfinir les droits linguistiques.

Note : Les titres des sections correspondent aux différentes parties du rapport annuel. Les sous-titres correspondent aux titres des chapitres, sauf à la Partie V, où il s'agit des sous-titres du chapitre intitulé « Propositions ».

La Cour d'appel de l'Ontario a donné une interprétation large des droits scolaires des minorités linguistiques inscrits dans la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés. Elle s'est prononcée contre les critères numériques et a statué que l'environnement scolaire des enfants de la minorité devait être celui de la minorité linguistique. La minorité francophone a le droit de participer à la gestion et au contrôle de ses classes et de ses établissements d'enseignement.

La Cour suprême du Canada a restauré au Québec certains droits scolaires des Anglophones que la Charte de la langue française avait amputés. Il importe toutefois que les pressions exercées pour mettre en oeuvre ces droits « jouent également pour les deux communautés de langue officielle ». Près de trois ans après la promulgation de la section relative aux droits scolaires de la minorité de la Charte des droits, on ne peut qu'éprouver un sentiment de gêne devant le nombre de provinces anglophones qui n'assurent toujours pas « d'écoles à la minorité linguistique » et ne manifestent guère l'intention de le faire.

En 1984, le gouvernement du Nouveau-Brunswick a cherché à mettre en oeuvre, non sans difficultés, une politique visant à mieux respecter ses engagements constitutionnels et la *Loi sur les langues officielles* de 1969.

Le Comité parlementaire

Le Comité mixte sur les langues officielles est devenu permanent en 1984, ce qui souligne le rôle clé qu'il peut être appelé à jouer dans la réactivation de la réforme.

L'enseignement de la langue seconde

D'après un sondage Gallup fait à la demande de la Canadian Parents for French et paru en octobre, 68 pour cent des Anglophones adultes pensent que, dans leur province, leurs enfants « devraient apprendre le français à l'école afin de devenir bilingues ». D'un océan à l'autre, on a recensé près de 150 000 élèves dans les classes immersives de français pour l'année scolaire 1984-1985. Les parents réclament cet enseignement « avec acharnement ».

Les langues patrimoniales

Au Manitoba et ailleurs, le resserrement de la coopération entre les groupes de langues patrimoniales et de langue française montre que le bilinguisme et le multiculturalisme peuvent se renforcer mutuellement.

L'opinion publique

Les événements de cette année sur le front linguistique ont révélé qu'« il semblerait que le terrain des grandes batailles linguistiques soit désormais plutôt provincial que national, ce qui semble normal étant donné que c'est dans les provinces, pour une bonne part, que ces droits s'exercent le plus concrètement dans le quotidien ».

D'après les derniers développements politiques sur la scène fédérale, « là où la doctrine de l'association linguistique a marqué le plus de points, c'est dans la démonstration de ses avantages ». La reconnaissance du bilinguisme est devenue réalité lors des congrès à l'investiture et de la campagne électorale de 1984 : « Le bilinguisme transcende désormais la politique partisane. »

PARTIE II — L'ÉGALITÉ LINGUISTIQUE : LES TROIS PRINCIPES

Au service des Canadiens

Trois principes émanent de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Le public a droit à des services fédéraux en français ou en anglais. Les communautés francophone et anglophone doivent bénéficier d'une représentation équitable dans la fonction publique fédérale. Sous réserve des exigences du service dans l'une ou l'autre des langues officielles, les fonctionnaires doivent pouvoir travailler dans leur langue dans les régions bilingues.

Le gouvernement a instauré divers moyens afin d'assurer des prestations dans les deux langues et les a fait connaître. Selon des enquêtes et des vérifications effectuées par le Commissariat aux langues officielles et le Conseil du Trésor, la politique d'« offre active »

n'est pas encore totalement appliquée ni systématique, même dans les régions incontestablement bilingues. Dans les régions moins bilingues, la spontanéité des prestations fédérales est tellement anarchique que « cela n'a rien pour inciter les citoyens à se prévaloir de leurs droits en cette matière... »

Pendant l'exercice, 93 pour cent des 1 421 plaintes reçues par le Commissaire ont porté sur la difficulté de se faire servir convenablement en français ou en anglais, un sixième seulement de ces doléances émanant d'Anglophones. Plus de la moitié avaient trait à l'absence d'offre active du service dans la langue appropriée.

Au train où vont les choses, rien ne permet de penser que la répartition, la qualité, voire l'existence des services fédéraux bilingues seront sur un pied d'égalité en l'an 2000. Mais rien ne justifie non plus que la situation perdure alors que le gouvernement a déjà parfois réussi à « implanter de véritables services bilingues ».

Les plaintes

Dans plusieurs grandes sociétés de la Couronne — Via Rail, le Canadien national, Air Canada et la Société canadienne des postes — les règles d'ancienneté constituent un sérieux obstacle aux principes d'égalité linguistique. Indépendamment des besoins du public, les employés ayant le plus d'ancienneté ont priorité pour le choix des tâches. La convention collective l'emporte donc sur la loi du pays. En outre, plusieurs sociétés ne fournissent pas suffisamment de renseignements pour que l'on puisse évaluer leur rendement aux termes de la Loi.

La participation équitable

Dans la fonction publique fédérale, la participation francophone correspond en gros à la proportion des Francophones dans la population, mais ce groupe est sous-représenté à la Gestion et dans les « groupes de relève » ainsi qu'aux postes scientifiques et techniques. Il est également insuffisant dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario et du Nouveau-Brunswick. Inversement, la fonction publique fédérale pèche au Québec par une sous-représentation chronique marquée des Anglophones.

La langue de travail

Des données récentes montrent que les possibilités pour les Francophones d'utiliser leur langue librement et de façon créatrice dans leur travail sont toujours restreintes. Quatre-vingt-dix pour cent des documents d'usage interne de la fonction publique fédérale ont été rédigés en anglais en 1983-1984.

En ce qui a trait aux régions bilingues, l'emploi global du français dans le milieu professionnel n'a guère progressé depuis 1978. Les Francophones n'utilisent leur langue que 55 pour cent du temps. Après étude des interactions entre les deux groupes, on constate que les Anglophones affectés à des postes bilingues déclarent qu'ils utilisent assez fréquemment le français, même si c'est moins qu'ils ne le souhaiteraient; or, cela représente moins d'une heure par jour dans la région de la Capitale nationale.

La Capitale nationale

Dans la région de la Capitale nationale, malgré les progrès enregistrés ces dernières années, il arrive encore qu'on ne puisse se faire servir en français au coeur d'Ottawa. La langue de Molière gagne pourtant du terrain du côté ontarien, y compris dans les tribunaux et dans les services provinciaux. Même la municipalité d'Ottawa a complètement revu ses services linguistiques depuis le rapport qu'un comité consultatif a remis au Conseil municipal en 1982. À Hull et en périphérie, les Anglophones ont plus de difficultés qu'autrefois à se faire servir en anglais par les pouvoirs provinciaux, régionaux et municipaux.

Malgré certaines améliorations à Ottawa, le recensement de 1981 indiquait que 23 pour cent des personnes de langue maternelle française avaient adopté l'anglais comme langue d'usage à la maison. Ce fort taux d'assimilation est d'autant plus préoccupant que la région de la Capitale nationale est un bassin de recrutement pour l'administration fédérale, source de 27,8 pour cent des nominations en 1983.

PARTIE III — L'ÉGALITÉ LINGUISTIQUE : LES RESPONSABLES

Ministères et organismes

Plus de 100 ministères et organismes fédéraux ont fait l'objet d'une appréciation critique fondée sur des vérifications, des enquêtes découlant de plaintes, de la documentation générale et des entrevues. Leur importance va de l'organisme comptant une vingtaine de personnes, au ministère de la Défense nationale, par exemple, qui emploie 80 700 militaires (16 pour cent de bilingues) et 33 400 civils (11 pour cent de bilingues).

Certains ont toujours eu un excellent rendement sur un ou plusieurs aspects de la Loi : langue de service, participation équitable et langue de travail. À titre d'exemple, citons la Banque du Canada, l'Agence canadienne de développement international, la Commission de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration du Canada, l'Office national du film, le Secrétariat d'État, Statistique Canada, Téléfilm Canada. Beaucoup, comme les administrations de la Chambre des communes et du Sénat, sont déficientes au chapitre de la langue de travail et de la participation équitable, malgré une conduite honorable dans les autres secteurs. D'autres, en revanche, appartiennent à la catégorie des récalcitrants, parce qu'ils ne respectent pas la Constitution et ne répondent pas aux attentes du Parlement.

Voici quelques observations rapides à l'égard de certains ministères et organismes étudiés dans le rapport.

Au ministère de l'Agriculture, le taux de participation des Francophones à la Gestion n'est que de 13,7 pour cent. Air Canada, qui souffre d'une pénurie chronique de personnel bilingue, a pourtant commencé en 1984 à entamer des consultations avec des associations communautaires sur les besoins de la minorité linguistique. Le Bureau du vérificateur général ne possède pas de plan linguistique.

La Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement, qui mérite d'être félicitée pour sa performance dans le secteur de la langue de service, a un trop grand nombre de cadres unilingues. À la Société canadienne des postes, seulement trois pour cent du personnel de Montréal est anglophone. En outre, le suivi des plaintes prend une éternité.

Les émissions de Radio-Canada sont « d'indispensables bouées de sauvetage pour les minorités francophones et anglophones à travers le pays. La Société s'acquitte de ses responsabilités de façon méritoire et semble être, linguistiquement parlant, sur la même longueur d'onde que la majorité de sa clientèle ». Les chemins de fer nationaux, eux, n'ont pas de données linguistiques sur leur personnel ; la région de l'Atlantique est unilingue anglaise ; les Francophones ne représentent que 17 pour cent des cadres supérieurs.

Le Service correctionnel a donné suite aux recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1983, mais il lui reste encore beaucoup à faire pour assurer des prestations convenables aux détenus de la minorité de langue officielle. À Énergie, Mines et Ressources, le français sert peu dans le travail. Environnement Canada offrira prochainement des bulletins météorologiques téléphoniques bilingues dans tout le pays.

Les Affaires extérieures sont plus bilingues à l'étranger qu'à l'administration centrale. L'anglais est quasiment la seule langue de travail dans le secteur commercial. À l'administration de la Chambre des communes, l'unilinguisme de 26 pour cent des 250 cadres est un obstacle majeur à l'emploi du français. À Santé nationale et Bien-Être social, Condition physique et sport amateur reste malheureusement en 1984 sur la liste des organismes « impénitents » en ce qui nous concerne. À la fin de l'année, plus de la moitié des 22 associations sportives nationales n'avaient pas respecté les délais promis pour remettre des plans linguistiques.

Revenu national (Douanes et Accise) a décidé de surseoir à l'application des principales recommandations de 1983 du Commissariat. « À la plupart des postes frontaliers à l'extérieur du Québec, non seulement le Francophone n'est pas accueilli dans sa langue, mais il doit le plus souvent aux caprices des dés le fait de tomber sur un douanier bilingue. » Revenu national (Impôt) offre un assez bon service linguistique, pourtant gâché par l'insuffisance des prestations destinées aux Francophones du sud-ouest de l'Ontario et dans l'Ouest. Il ne recrute pas assez de Francophones dans les services informatiques.

Au Bureau du Conseil privé, pour l'année à l'étude, les Francophones étaient sous-représentés dans le groupe de la direction, alors qu'aux Archives publiques, ils étaient en surnombre. À Travaux publics, bien que les Francophones constituent 26 pour cent des effectifs, le français

ne sert pas beaucoup et plusieurs documents n'existent qu'en version anglaise. Un examen récent de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada a confirmé nos soupçons : « elle se fait tirer l'oreille quant à la langue de travail » ; toutefois elle obtient de meilleurs résultats pour le service au public.

Si le Secrétariat d'État est l'un des grands chefs de file de la réforme linguistique fédérale, un danger le guette, celui d'être considéré comme le défenseur fédéral attitré des minorités, permettant ainsi à d'autres organismes influents des secteurs économique, social ou de la santé de se limiter à offrir des services bilingues sans se soucier des besoins des groupes minoritaires. Il n'y a pas encore assez de juges bilingues à la Cour de la citoyenneté.

« Le Sénat a fait du sur-place depuis l'an dernier » ; chez ses employés, le français langue de travail est chose rarissime.

Les recommandations formulées en 1981 à l'égard du Secrétariat du Solliciteur général n'ont pas encore reçu toute l'attention nécessaire : des problèmes chroniques de langue de travail et de participation y subsistent. Le Commissaire félicite Statistique Canada pour la façon dont il a redressé au fil des ans certains déséquilibres dans le rapport entre Anglophones et Francophones, et l'encourage à persévérer dans ses efforts. La Cour suprême sert bien le public dans les deux langues officielles, mais a mis du temps à reconnaître les droits et les devoirs linguistiques dans son administration interne.

En 1984, Transports Canada « s'est engagé sur la bonne voie ; entre autres, le contrôle bilingue du vol aux instruments est maintenant de règle partout au Québec, et la traduction des manuels du brise-glace *Pierre-Radisson* est chose faite ». Mais le service linguistique qu'offrent les concessionnaires s'est gravement détérioré dans trois grands aéroports — Vancouver, Saint-Jean et Frédéricton — et le ministère n'a pas su améliorer la participation francophone, qui atteint à peine 23 pour cent.

Via Rail a commencé à s'attaquer au problème de l'ancienneté et a étoffé son personnel bilingue, mais « les passagers francophones se trouvent encore chanceux s'ils réussissent à obtenir les services dans leur langue ». Le service de réservation, *Réservia*, fait néanmoins de l'excellent travail. Il accueille et sert les clients dans leur langue.

La machine à bilinguisme

La politique des langues officielles comporte deux piliers : les autorités fédérales s'occupent des programmes internes visant les services gouvernementaux, et aussi des programmes externes d'aide aux collectivités de langue officielle. Afin d'acquérir la capacité institutionnelle voulue pour travailler et servir le public en français et en anglais, le gouvernement a conçu divers moyens, dont l'identification des postes, la formation et l'évaluation linguistiques, et la traduction. Le coût global de ces programmes représente environ 250 millions de $ par an, ou 10 $ par Canadien.

« Le système a déjà produit des résultats appréciables. Le nombre de postes bilingues n'a cessé de croître... jusqu'à un respectable 28 pour cent en 1984 ; au total, quelque 63 000 postes bilingues, dont 54 000 sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés. Au cours de cette même période, les exigences en matière de langue seconde ont été relevées au point où 75 pour cent des postes bilingues nécessitent aujourd'hui une connaissance « intermédiaire » de l'autre langue officielle, comparativement à 50 pour cent il y a cinq ans. »

Toutefois, en dehors de la région de la Capitale nationale et du Québec, on ne peut parler de bilinguisme effectif dans la fonction publique. En outre, certaines anomalies nécessitent que l'on s'y arrête. Le petit nombre de postes pour lesquels le français est essentiel explique en partie que les fonctionnaires francophones occupent de plus en plus de postes bilingues. Mais alors « à quoi bon consacrer des sommes considérables à la formation linguistique des Anglophones... si leur taux de nomination aux postes bilingues ne cesse de diminuer ? »

Il faudra probablement attendre la fin du siècle pour que les nouvelles promotions de diplômés vraiment bilingues du système scolaire satisfassent aux besoins en dotation de la fonction publique. D'ici là, nous devons adapter le système aux ressources humaines existantes dans les deux groupes.

PARTIE IV — LES MINORITÉS : LE DÉFI

La problématique

Cette partie porte essentiellement sur la situation des minorités de langue officielle. La Commission Laurendeau-Dunton avait fait valoir que « des réformes linguistiques s'imposent dans les administrations fédérale, provinciales et locales. Or, c'est l'action parallèle et simultanée des gouvernements qui donnera à ces réformes leur pleine valeur ». Dans la pratique, cela ne s'est pas fait.

Langues et démographie

Faute d'une action concertée, on a assisté au déclin régulier des Francophones dans la population, même si leur nombre a crû. On trouvera dans le tableau ci-dessous, pour les recensements de 1971 et de 1981, le pourcentage des Francophones de langue maternelle qui parlent l'anglais à la maison.

	1971	1981
Terre-Neuve	43,4	57,2
Île-du-Prince-Édouard	43,2	42,1
Nouvelle-Écosse	34,1	37,1
Nouveau-Brunswick	8,7	9,7
Québec	1,5	2,0
Ontario	29,9	33,9
Manitoba	36,9	44,0
Saskatchewan	51,9	63,4
Alberta	53,7	57,0
Colombie-Britannique	73,0	71,8
Yukon	74,4	70,2
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	51,3	54,5
Canada	6,0	6,7
Canada moins le Québec	29,6	32,8

Le taux des « transferts linguistiques » est minime au Québec, mais élevé partout ailleurs, sauf au Nouveau-Brunswick.

On voit donc qu'en dehors du Québec, la population francophone du Canada recule constamment. Parallèlement, la population de langue maternelle anglaise du Québec a également beaucoup diminué — principalement à cause de l'émigration — passant de 13,1 pour cent en 1971 à 11 pour cent en 1981.

La condition minoritaire : d'une province à l'autre

Malgré les inquiétudes que sa condition de minorité linguistique dans une Amérique du Nord anglophone lui donne, la majorité de langue française du Québec — mieux assurée sur le plan de la langue — fait de nouveau preuve, comme dans le passé, d'une plus grande ouverture d'esprit et de coeur à l'égard de la communauté anglophone. L'année a été marquée par plusieurs arrêts judiciaires favorables aux droits des Anglophones. Malgré de graves pertes démographiques, les assises institutionnelles des Anglo-Québécois « ont tout, ou presque, pour faire envie à la plupart des minorités de langue française ».

Au Nouveau-Brunswick, la concentration de Francophones dans le Nord, l'Est et dans la région de Moncton a permis d'éviter une assimilation aussi grave que celle constatée en dehors du Québec. « Les Acadiens restent malgré tout bien moins égaux que les Anglophones en ce qui a trait aux services gouvernementaux dans leur langue, et à leurs chances d'accéder à la fonction publique provinciale. » L'enseignement est le seul « domaine où la notion d'égalité a pu s'incarner assez harmonieusement ».

L'approche « gradualiste » de l'Ontario a peu à peu amélioré les services en français. En 1984, la province a adopté une loi faisant du français une langue officielle dans ses tribunaux. Mais il reste encore beaucoup à faire dans d'autres secteurs comme la santé. Il est également urgent de résoudre la question de la maîtrise, par les Francophones, du destin de l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité. Les possibilités d'études post-secondaires sur place pour les Francophones sont rares et doivent être améliorées.

À Toronto, la collectivité francophone se développe. « L'infrastructure institutionnelle dont elle a besoin pour s'épanouir dans sa langue

(écoles, services gouvernementaux, centres communautaires, théâtres, cinémas, journaux, radio-télévision) prend forme petit à petit... S'il n'y a pas lieu de crier au miracle linguistique, il sera sans doute intéressant d'observer l'évolution de la scène torontoise à cet égard au cours des prochaines années. »

Dans le reste du Canada, l'enseignement est le seul domaine où les minorités francophones ont marqué des points. Les antécédents historiques et juridiques varient d'une province à l'autre, mais il est illogique de reconnaître les droits scolaires et de s'en tenir là. D'autres mesures s'imposent pour que cet investissement porte fruits. Les Franco-Manitobains attendent la décision de la Cour suprême afin de voir ce que peut signifier, dans la pratique, la restauration de leurs droits constitutionnels historiques. En Nouvelle-Écosse, à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard et à Terre-Neuve, les gouvernements n'ont pas voulu céder un seul pouce de terrain pour légitimer le moindrement l'emploi du français en dehors des établissements d'enseignement. De même, en Colombie-Britannique, en Alberta et en Saskatchewan, les Francophones vivent presque entièrement en anglais, sauf pour quelques débouchés pédagogiques et culturels. Au Yukon, la première école française a ouvert ses portes à Whitehorse en 1984.

Le défi

Le gouvernement fédéral a axé le gros de ses efforts destinés aux minorités sur trois secteurs : l'enseignement, le cadre judiciaire, et la radio-télévision. Les ministères se sont souvent contentés de regarder de loin le Secrétariat d'État aider financièrement les minorités ; et s'il n'y a pas eu d'approche fédérale intégrée en faveur de ces communautés, il y a eu encore moins de concertation nationale telle que préconisée par la Commission B.B., en ce qui a trait notamment aux dispositions relatives aux districts bilingues de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.

« On ne saurait établir une justice durable en ce domaine sans le libre concours des majorités francophone et anglophone. (...) On a fait trop peu à ce jour pour amener les Canadiens moyens à surmonter l'impression que le bilinguisme officiel leur est imposé par quelques zélés, et n'est pas l'expression authentique de la volonté populaire. » Aussi souscrivons-nous pleinement à l'intention du gouvernement d'« amener les deux ordres de gouvernement (à collaborer) pour

appuyer les minorités de langue officielle », et de proposer les moyens d'y parvenir.

PARTIE V — UNE APPROCHE INTÉGRÉE

Propositions pour la relance

Le programme de réforme linguistique lancé il y a 15 ans doit être revivifié et renouvelé, en prise directe avec les besoins des Canadiens, francophones et anglophones, et réalisé en collaboration avec les diverses communautés, leurs autorités et leurs institutions.

La cinquantaine de recommandations qui coiffent ce rapport visent toutes au même but : plus de concertation dans la réforme. D'une part, nous exhortons les ministères et organismes fédéraux à harmoniser davantage leurs efforts, et de l'autre, nous invitons le gouvernement fédéral à coordonner son action avec des actions provinciales et locales. Les diverses administrations publiques devront par ailleurs rechercher l'appui du secteur privé et des associations volontaires.

Bon nombre de recommandations visent à donner plus de mordant à la politique linguistique et à la renforcer par la recherche. Elles portent sur les deux principaux volets de la réforme : l'administration fédérale et les minorités de langue officielle.

Stratégie et coordination

Une direction politique claire et soutenue est essentielle. Pour mieux la mettre en oeuvre à l'échelon fédéral, le gouvernement doit envisager « de confier au Bureau du Conseil privé une responsabilité accrue ». Les sous-ministres doivent répondre directement au Premier ministre des progrès de leur organisme. Il faut aussi renforcer le rôle des directions des langues officielles qu'on trouve dans la plupart des organismes fédéraux.

La gestion du programme dans l'administration fédérale

Il convient de revoir les besoins fonctionnels de l'administration selon les objectifs en matière de langues officielles. Il faut aussi évaluer les divers moyens administratifs qui permettraient de les atteindre. Les sociétés de la Couronne doivent rendre compte plus rigoureusement des progrès accomplis, et fournir des données linguistiques qui répondent aux normes. La répartition régionale des postes bilingues doit répondre mieux aux besoins du public. En offrant des cours de langue aux fonctionnaires, il faut davantage prendre en compte la motivation et l'engagement personnels des candidats.

Tout en reconnaissant le bien-fondé d'une rémunération pour les compétences particulières, nous recommandons de réduire progressivement la prime au bilinguisme après consultation avec les syndicats et en tenant compte des niveaux de traitement des titulaires et de l'emploi qu'ils font des deux langues officielles. Nous souscrivons à la proposition du Conseil du Trésor de limiter le volume de la traduction. Nous recommandons des recherches sur la psychologie sociale de l'utilisation des langues, afin de pouvoir tenir compte des habitudes et des mentalités.

Servir le public

Là où il faut un service bilingue, les bureaux fédéraux devraient être tenus de le dispenser d'une façon active et explicite. Afin d'éviter toute intimidation, les organismes fédéraux chargés de réprimer les infractions à la loi — tribunaux, police, service correctionnel et organismes de réglementation, douanes et impôt — doivent respecter scrupuleusement les droits linguistiques. On doit encourager les dirigeants locaux à atteindre, après consultation de la collectivité locale, des objectifs pratiques de service.

Nous recommandons que soit confirmée la décision d'adopter un formulaire abrégé de recensement bilingue et unique. Quiconque entend s'adresser à un tribunal pour faire respecter ses droits linguistiques en vertu de la *Charte des droits et libertés* devrait

envisager de se prévaloir d'une aide financière dans le cadre du Programme de contestations judiciaires du Secrétariat d'État.

Participation équitable

Les Francophones doivent être globalement mieux représentés chez les cadres supérieurs de la fonction publique fédérale, au Nouveau-Brunswick et dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario. Il faut renforcer les dispositions administratives devant corriger la sous-représentation des Anglophones au Québec.

La langue de travail

Nous recommandons que soient énoncés plus clairement les objectifs fédéraux concernant l'utilisation équitable de la langue. Dans chaque ministère ou organisme, il faut donner des directives précises sur l'emploi des deux langues dans les diverses situations de travail. Il faut encourager les employés des deux communautés à discuter avec leurs supérieurs immédiats, dans un esprit de collaboration, les difficultés concrètes qui apparaissent en matière de langue de travail. Les hauts dirigeants doivent donner l'exemple, et ne pas hésiter à utiliser l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. Des mesures s'imposent pour que chaque groupe linguistique ait suffisamment d'occasions d'écrire dans sa langue.

Nous proposons aussi une série d'études approfondies sur l'emploi des langues dans la fonction publique ; le recours plus fréquent au bilinguisme passif, surtout en ce qui a trait à la supervision ; et une promotion plus active des expériences qui se sont révélées fructueuses.

La région de la Capitale nationale

Le gouvernement fédéral doit instituer un groupe de travail réunissant toutes les parties et chargé d'élaborer « un plan d'action qui rendrait la capitale fédérale vraiment bilingue ».

Le secteur privé

« Le gouvernement doit mener des consultations suivies avec l'entreprise privée au sujet des besoins du public et se prêter à des échanges portant sur l'expérience acquise et le savoir-faire. Il doit en outre recourir à des incitations pour accélérer les progrès. » Dans l'attribution des subventions ou des contrats publics, il faut tenir compte des besoins linguistiques de la population. Les sociétés de la Couronne qui passeraient au secteur privé doivent conserver leurs obligations linguistiques.

La Loi sur les langues officielles

Le Parlement et le gouvernement sont invités à réexaminer la *Loi sur les langues officielles* afin de : remplacer les dispositions actuelles touchant les districts bilingues par de nouvelles reposant sur la consultation et la collaboration intergouvernementales ; stipuler le droit qu'ont les fonctionnaires de travailler dans la langue officielle de leur choix sous réserve des exigences du service au public ; préciser que les entreprises mixtes créées par le Parlement sont assujetties à la Loi ; se référer aux langues autres que le français et l'anglais de façon plus positive ; préciser le mandat du Commissaire aux langues officielles. Le Comité mixte a déjà, lui aussi, proposé la plupart de ces modifications.

Le Comité mixte

Le Comité mixte sur les langues officielles est invité à étudier l'ensemble du programme linguistique, à faire des propositions visant à favoriser l'étroite collaboration fédérale-provinciale pour le soutien des minorités de langue officielle évoquée dans le discours du Trône ; et à prévoir des consultations aussi larges que possibles.

Les minorités de langue officielle

Nous recommandons au gouvernement fédéral de mettre ses pouvoirs de persuasion au service des objectifs suivants : inscrire dans la Constitution le bilinguisme institutionnel de l'Ontario ; créer des services appropriés, en français, pour les minorités des provinces qui ne sont pas officiellement bilingues ; reconnaître une fois pour toutes les collectivités et les institutions des Anglo-Québécois.

Le Commissaire formule bien d'autres recommandations détaillées allant dans le même sens que les principales propositions. Il insiste particulièrement sur l'appui à l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité et sur l'aide intergouvernementale et fédérale aux initiatives en ce domaine, ainsi que dans celui de l'apprentissage de la langue seconde.

Désirez-vous d'autres exemplaires ?

Pour vous procurer d'autres exemplaires du résumé du Rapport annuel 1984 du Commissaire aux langues officielles, veuillez écrire à l'adresse suivante :

Direction de l'information
Commissariat aux langues officielles
Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0T8

Il existe également des tirés à part de la partie IV du Rapport annuel intitulée « Les minorités : le défi ».

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES
COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

ANNUAL REPORT 1984

- Fifteen Years Later. Renewal or Reversal
- The Minority Challenge

COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES

ANNUAL REPORT 1984

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Cat. No. SF 1-1984

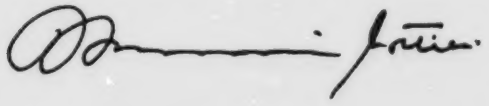
ISBN 0-662-53562-6

The Speaker,
Senate,
Ottawa

Mr. Speaker,

Pursuant to section 34(1) of the Official Languages Act, I hereby submit to Parliament, through your good offices, the fourteenth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Official Languages, covering the calendar year 1984.

Yours respectfully,



D'Iberville Fortier
Commissioner of Official Languages

March 1985

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Preface

The constitutional reform of 1981 marked a turning point for language rights in Canada. The solemn and specific reaffirmation of those same linguistic principles by a new parliamentary majority in the Throne Speech of November 5, 1984 confirmed the political commitment to reform. There is also a glimmer of hope that Quebec may be brought back into Canada's constitutional fold, which would help set the seal on the work so wisely begun by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963.

The Official Languages Act is now 15 years old. Although it has a number of remarkable achievements to its credit, it must also be admitted that progress has been only partial, often tentative, and that it falls well short of the equality of the two official languages which is our stated goal. In the circumstances, it would be hard to deny that we stand at a kind of watershed between the solid accomplishments of the past and new challenges which will take us beyond mere statements of principle. Our response to those challenges will tell us a lot about how we wish to live together.

The particular circumstances of the closing months of 1984 prompted us to look back at the foundations of language reform as laid out by the B and B Commission in what remains the only comprehensive plan we have. The Commission's Report may not be holy writ, but it remains surprisingly relevant. It presented us with a *table d'hôte* menu which governments have tended to use *à la carte*. The results are what they are. Why? Is this a failure of will or simply the price we pay for living under a federal system, where nothing of importance can be achieved nationally without creating the necessary consensus?

Having taken our bearings, we considered how we might possibly reach a more convincing embodiment of the equality that is the one, true safeguard of Canada's linguistic duality. Needless to say, this task was greatly facilitated by a stalwart team of dedicated colleagues.

The choice expressed in *Renewal or Reversal*, seems to us quite manifest. In spite of the determination of the federal government and a generally favourable development in public attitudes to language reform, many obstacles remain. Two examples will suffice. Occasional outbursts of linguistic intolerance underline the distance between the acceptance of generous principles and the will to carry out the serious changes that they imply. There could also be, if government is not careful, a clash of interests between new economic and budgetary directions and the resources available for completing a national undertaking that is hardly less

important. To overcome these and other obstacles requires a clear vision of the future, unshakeable political will, skill in developing support and, last but not least, the imagination to innovate.

Beyond our well-defined objectives, and beyond the established systems of the federal administration, we still have to ask ourselves who is going to breathe the new, more generous and active life into the reform that Max Yalden called for at the end of his term, and how? Without clear answers, it may simply bog down. We have to look to opinion-makers, business people, the media, voluntary associations, and indeed to everyone with a role to play in a free society. But, above all, we must look to the politicians whose task it is to provide the sort of leadership we need, if they really believe the programme to be fundamental to Canada's identity, and unity.

We therefore urge the federal government to pursue the implementation of the Official Languages Act as vigorously as possible. It can begin by getting its own house truly in order. That means more sustained political attention, a more integrated approach and, in general, greater coherence in its efforts to meet the three goals of actively providing service to the public, increasing equitable participation in the public service, and providing a genuine choice of language of work wherever the obligation to provide service permits.

The difficulties that face our official languages communities in a minority situation have long been serious and have now, in many cases, reached a critical stage. To the problems faced by French-speaking communities scattered across the country, the 10 ten years have added those of the English-speaking communities in Quebec. The latter difficulties may now be moderating somewhat, but are no less vitally linked to the future of our country. Are we about to accept a growing polarization of our two main language groups, as if it followed naturally from the two propositions "that French needs support and protection in Quebec" (which few will argue) and "that the majorities have a right to decide for themselves", even if some would have us believe that it can only be done at the expense of the minorities? If the answer is no, then we must urgently set about finding solutions.

For its part, the federal government must, as promised, do both more and better. It will also be trying to do it less expensively. Greater and more effective co-operation with the provinces is indispensable, as is a more substantive exchange of expertise with the private sector. We have every reason to believe that many of its leaders are well disposed to a change of tack. Such changes would, we think, be supported by most Canadians. The public is already more open to the implications of having two official languages, but on condition that the historical and legal peculiarities between various regions of the country are properly taken into account.

The reader will therefore note two main aspects to this Report where government action is concerned. First comes the federal government itself, which has overall political responsibility for this programme, is a major supplier of service to the Canadian public, and is the country's largest employer. We devote Parts II and III of the Report to it. Each deals in its own way with the implementation of the Official Languages Act. Also included, in a somewhat different perspective, is a chapter on the national capital. We then consider federal government action on behalf

of the provincial official-language minorities. Part IV is devoted entirely to a consideration of the situation of those minorities. If our diagnosis is a sobering one, it has at least the advantage of putting everyone on notice as far as their future responsibilities are concerned.

These parts of the Report are framed between Part I, which depicts the Canadian scene, political and legal events that were of linguistic interest in 1984, developments in second-language education, the world of heritage languages, and closes with a review of public opinion, and Part V, which brings our main suggestions and recommendations together.

To close on a more personal note, it seems to me that a country is above all a matter of belonging and becoming. History gave Canadians two of the world's greatest languages and two of its richest cultures. But we have also been blessed with native languages and cultures, too long neglected, and with many other living branches of world culture. When you have spent much of your career serving your country abroad, you are perhaps better able to appreciate the promise that lies in these gifts, and how much we need to base our thinking on a broad and generous vision of Canada's future. Standing somewhere between its European origins and the all-powerful United States, what kind of sense would this country have if it were to lose sight of its historical destiny to build a country, and a life together, based on respect for the rights and identity of others?

I must also add how honoured I feel to have been appointed Commissioner of Official Languages and thus follow in the footsteps of Keith Spicer and Max Yalden. I take this opportunity to pay my tribute to their remarkable legacy. The need to present a coherent view of many interdependent factors encouraged my predecessors to establish a tradition whereby the Commissioner is allowed to look beyond the strict limits of the Official Languages Act, and, while I will of course defer to the wishes of Parliament, I propose to continue that tradition and to serve the cause of equality, justice and mutual respect to which I am profoundly committed.

D'I.F.

PART I

The Canadian Scene

Orientations and Trends: Fifteen Years Later

For the great majority of Canadians the country's officially bilingual character is quite peripheral to their daily concerns. Views about whether it is a good thing or a bad thing, a worthwhile and promise-filled programme or a misplaced and ineffective one, reflect their level of personal involvement: they come with the territory, so to speak. The task that confronts a Commissioner of Official Languages, on the other hand, is to convince Canadians that the rationale for this programme of reconciliation and reform is still a valid part of the nation-building process and that the results so far warrant a renewed investment of our common resources. This task is made particularly urgent by the fact that Canada recently reached a potential turning point in its political history.

The first thing that strikes one is that, for all its considerable successes, the Canadian model of official bilingualism has by no means won the day. Whether one judges it strictly in terms of federal services to Canadians in English and French or in the broader context of ensuring a decent measure of linguistic subsistence to the official-language communities, few of its achievements strike one as totally unassailable or to be taken for granted. We have made some creditable efforts, no doubt, particularly in giving French its due in Quebec and in the National Capital Region, but the level of public adhesion to the everyday ethics of linguistic tolerance is still limited and diffuse, and advocates of the programme must judge and act accordingly. A second impression is that there now exists a tremendous opportunity, with a new government, to forge ahead and make the linguistic reform truly irreversible. Now, perhaps more than ever, this programme needs clear, firm, forceful direction, the sort of direction that only governments can give.

Stock-taking, 1969-1984

The duty of this Office is 'to tell it like it is', to report to Parliament, Government and the Canadian public how far we believe the ideals and goals of 15 years ago are being met. No doubt those original ideas and goals were informed by political calculation as much as by a disinterested attachment to individual rights. Constitution or no, official bilingualism remains a live political issue, and language reform was conceived in that spirit. Baldly stated, it was the wish of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, commonly known as the B and B Commission, that Canadian governments and other institutions embark on a joint effort to re-establish the linguistic partnership that has always lain at the heart of Canada's political existence. They realised that this involved painful adaptations and sacrifices on both sides. "It is clear," they wrote in their Introduction:

> that neither Anglophones nor Francophones want to conserve all the values and styles of living of their respective pasts. The problem is rather to retain something distinctive in both the French and English cultures in a period of rapid change, in which the institutions of each society have to be continuously modified and reformed.

While not everyone would agree that "neither Anglophones or Francophones *want to* conserve all the values and styles of living of their respective pasts", it is a fact of life that no one in contemporary Canada *can* preserve his or her cultural past in a condition of suspended animation. What is at issue, and what gives rise to the sorts of confrontation which marked both the beginning and the end of 1984, is that each party to the process of adjustment is preoccupied with its own cultural distinctiveness. This is the sphere in which language policy is required to operate, the sphere of divergent perceptions: the ideas which people hold, and occasionally change, about their own interests in relation to other people's.

How far have we really advanced since 1969 in re-establishing the conditions of linguistic partnership in Canada so that neither party may feel aggrieved, betrayed or unduly imposed upon? Given the gravity of the situation in which we found ourselves 15 to 20 years ago, Canadians have applied themselves seriously to the task and have not allowed themselves to be diverted by the realisation that partnership has its price. But the situation today is far from stable. We are not as far along the road to the objective of language equality and sound, reciprocal linguistic relations as we could wish. Whether it be at the level of 'feeling at home' or in the practical enjoyment of linguistic freedoms, French-speaking Canadians do not yet have the same or equivalent linguistic latitude as English-speaking Canadians. What Canadians have done, however, and this to our mind is critical, is to show that a partnership of that kind is possible, is worth the effort, and is felt by many to be fundamental to the future of our country.

A few generalizations to begin with.

- Official bilingualism in Canada is poised between an honest linguistic partnership and the distinct danger of linguistic territorialisation on the Belgian model.
- The most pressing need is for a clearer sense of today's priorities and more practical demonstrations of good faith toward linguistic neighbours.
- Finally, to quote the Speech from the Throne, "National unity . . . demands that the two levels of government co-operate in supporting official-language minorities and in fostering the rich multicultural character of Canada".

A Fresh Start

From the official languages perspective, this means giving the programme a fresh start. More of the same and business as usual won't do. This is not simply a question of toning down the tendencies to bureaucratic self-absorbtion that attract

public cynicism. Indeed, there is a risk that a public-service squeeze could hit official languages goals particularly hard, by trimming precious regional services, by lay-offs that would affect the more recent recruits — often French-speaking, and by privatization that might make language policy more difficult to apply. What we need is a new formula for making the programme more useful, credible and concrete, and for re-expressing it in terms which everyone can understand and support.

"Minute Particulars"

To take a slogan from William Blake's "Jerusalem":

"He who would do good to another must do it in Minute Particulars;
General Good is the plea of the scoundrel, hypocrite and flatterer."

Language reform is especially prone to burying its head in general principles. One commonly held view is that a certain amount of "French Power" in Ottawa, a "successful" referendum in Quebec, language rights in the Constitution, some general improvements in public service bilingualism, and God's in his linguistic heaven, all's right with the world. If language-led nationalism in Quebec has become more subdued, it must be because our national language policies have proven their worth, *n'est-ce pas*? So they have, but the question is to what extent and for how long.

This over-simplified analysis ignores two things. Bilingualization of the central administration, with its emphasis on making our government equally responsive to and reflective of both major language communities was indeed one essential condition of partnership, but even here, the work is incomplete. Nor does the present situation meet a second test for effective bilingualism that the B and B Commissioners urged upon us, namely "that equal partnership in a bilingual Canada implies the fullest development and expression of both official languages *compatible with regional circumstances*" (our emphasis). For the Commissioners that meant one thing: "consolidating regional minorities" so that Canadians of either language group could move across the country as much as possible without forfeiting their most basic official-language rights.

Both these conditions require attention and are equally important. The first makes up the basis for a majority-to-majority relationship and is in reasonable, if not brilliant, shape. The second is still so rudimentary in its application, however, that the overall results of official bilingualism could be severely compromised. Later chapters on the interrelation of majority and minority official-language communities will show that the federal promise that underlies the Official Languages Act and related programmes is not being matched by the only kind of "consolidation" of regional minorities that matters: scope for them to use their own language in a significant number of public as well as private settings. That scope may range all the way from the considerable institutional freedoms that can, in practice, be enjoyed in English by Anglo-Quebecers to the negligible freedoms that are available to some French-speaking communities outside Quebec. In neither case, however, can those freedoms be called solid.

The danger of polarization

In his farewell message to the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages last June, my predecessor, Max Yalden, made two points:

> Unless and until the French language in Canada achieves a broad-based and relatively unassailable security, the pressure toward linguistic polarization will persist.
>
> The major task.. is to try to breathe life into the rules and systems in such a way as to change the *real availability* of services in English and French. . .

Taking "services" in its broadest sense, that stands up as an analysis of where things stand. Linguistic polarization has not been arrested. The systems and programmes for ensuring worthwhile availability of language services, particularly but not exclusively to Francophone minorities, remain in many ways inert and uninspired. The Canadian Government, indeed Canadians generally, need to wake up to the fact that progressive polarization threatens the probable extinction of most French-speaking minorities outside Quebec and, by ricochet, drastic reduction of English freedoms within that province. It can only be brought under control by a deliberate change of tack. Quebec may now, for various reasons, be more amenable to a constitutional deal, but it is bound to have as its priority the long-term safety of French. An appropriate accommodation, one that completely respects the English communities in Quebec, can scarcely be conceived without a much better *quid pro quo* for Francophone communities outside Quebec than is actually available, whether it be in officially bilingual New Brunswick, in partially bilingual Ontario, in the special case of Manitoba, or, to a lesser but significant extent, in any of the other six provinces.

A Time for Renewal

In the Speech from the Throne, the government declared its commitment "to ensuring that the equality of the two official languages — so vital to our national character and identity — is respected in fact as it is in law" and went on to promise that Ministers would "acknowledge the need for ongoing improvements and for vigilance in this indispensable area of our national life." The Throne Speech also reiterated government's ongoing support for the official-language minorities and undertook to continue its support within a framework of federal-provincial co-operation. It therefore seems to us that Government already recognizes two things essential to renewing the programme: that the success of bilingualism at the federal level is contingent on "ongoing improvements" in the national partnership; and, as the B and B Commission was at pains to point out, that "creation of all the conditions necessary for equal partnership cannot result from the action of a single level of government. It requires a common policy and joint planning for those areas where governments deal with minority groups."

Essential dimensions of language reform

The principal dimensions of the game plan for language reform proposed by the B and B Commission are summarized in the following table, along with brief indications how far that plan has been followed.

Table I.1

B and B Commission Game Plan for Language Reform in Canada: Goals and Present Status

Goal	Status
Formal equality	
The formal declaration of the equality of English and French for federal purposes: a solemn, symbolic and practical affirmation that what goes for one language goes for the other as far as the Parliament and Government of Canada is concerned.	Implemented in the Official Languages Act, 1969 and the Charter of Rights, 1982.
Official bilingualism in the public service of Canada	
A federal administration that would reflect the values of both English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians and in which both languages could be used with comparable freedom.	Still being implemented—with mixed success.
Systematic parliamentary supervision	
A Commissioner of Official Languages to ensure that everything necessary be done by the federal government to give effect to these proposals.	Implemented through the Official Languages Act.
A bilingual federal capital	
The fullest possible equality of status for English and French at all levels within the federal capital area.	Partially implemented.
Jointly designated foci for services to regional minorities	
A network of bilingual districts to be established throughout Canada on the basis of boundaries to be determined jointly by both the federal and provincial governments, as a means of affording dependable and legal protection to official-language minorities.	Not implemented except unilaterally by the federal government and Ontario, and insofar as New Brunswick became a bilingual province.
Minority official-language education rights	
The right of Canadian parents to have their children educated in the official language of their choice.	Recently recognized in the Charter of Rights, but still incompletely implemented.
Institutional parity in three provinces	
Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, as home to 95% of Canada's official-language minorities, should be institutionally bilingual to the same extent.	Not uniform in legal terms; slightly more uniform in practice.
Other provincial services in French	
The other seven provinces should also provide such services in French to their Francophone minorities as are warranted by local population concentrations.	Not legally recognized and virtually nonexistent in practice.

Implementation

The federal response to those proposals indicated a readiness to pursue reforms in virtually *all* these major areas. Since there are still some obvious gaps in implementation, however, it can be argued that the promised partnership is incomplete. Whether we are talking of the symbols of equality (the equal presence, visibility and audibility of the two official languages), of the judicial, institutional and administrative framework (the constitutional and legal balance, and the completeness of the basic minority supports), or even of parliamentary attention to the half-measures taken by some federal institutions in its name (inconsistencies in service to the public, stalemate on language of work, polarized participation within the public service), the conclusion is the same. If we persist in drifting hopefully rather than protecting our investment by completing the project, the goal of a living linguistic duality might not be reached; the efforts we have made so far will go for nothing; those who placed their faith in a comprehensive and, in the fullest sense, federal solution will feel cheated; and those who did not will say 'I told you so.'

Rationale for programme renewal

There are several reasons, then, for seizing the present opportunity to make a fresh start. First, because the programme itself remains flawed and incomplete. No less importantly, because the new government has clearly indicated that it is disposed to tackle these shortcomings in what seems to us the most promising way, on a co-operative basis. It made a beginning in that direction in October when the President of the Treasury Board announced government's intention to have all federal-provincial agreements of general public interest, produced by the Parliament and Government of Canada, written in both official languages. Even the minority-language education provisions of the Charter of Rights presuppose a readiness among Canadians to give our various official languages communities the sort of institutional support they really need. Finally, there are signs of a developing consensus, within both the English-speaking and the French-speaking majorities, which suggest we can now begin to get both groups working together to resolve language tensions in a practical and problem-solving way. So long as the prevailing attitude is overwhelmingly based on the zero-sum calculation of each-group-for-itself, the likelihood of creating conditions in which this programme actively contributes to national unity will be small. But the reverse is also true. If we can open the minds and the natural generosity of more and more Canadians to what they can do for and with each other on the language front, the possibilities are limitless.

Features of a New and Integrated Approach

The programme needs to be revitalized both in how the Federal Government applies the Official Languages Act and in those areas where the central government must count on the involvement and contributions of other participants.

The federal administration

Co-ordination of federal strategy

A new start for official bilingualism calls for better co-ordination of the efforts and investments of the various federal agencies involved. There are too many planning gaps and too much room for contradiction and bureaucratic introversion in the way in which responsibilities are presently parcelled out. Everybody working in this field needs to have a sense of how the elements are related: the political dimension

of Quebec in Canada; the effectiveness, fairness and representativity of our public service; and the language choices that are really available to various official-languages communities across the country. Privy Council Office, Treasury Board, the Secretary of State's Department, Justice, Communications, the Public Service Commission and other players who are now involved in relatively separate review exercises, all of which impinge on official languages programmes, must make a major effort to harmonize the federal strategy. In our judgement, the situations described in the following chapters prove the need for a thorough refit of all aspects of the official languages programme to prepare it for the tough tasks ahead. Without political leadership and senior level co-ordination, the chances that a review and relaunching of the programme will be successful are not great. It may be a long time before a comparable opportunity presents itself again.

Service to the public

To achieve "ongoing improvements" at the federal level, credible services are the first priority. What the public needs are clearly identified, conveniently located and actively bilingual contact points. What managers need are examples of how to identify those points, in consultation with their clientele, and the authority and means to put the service in place. Regionally, what is needed are interdepartmental teams working at the local level and empowered to work closely with provincial counterparts and the private sector to achieve the greatest possible concentration of service in the appropriate language.

Participation

The policy of equitable participation of Anglophones and Francophones within the public service chiefly requires three things: precise clarification of its objectives; complete and balanced presentation of all the relevant data; and continued, selective intervention by government in those areas where distortions are most acute.

Language of work

The language-of-work logjam also seems to us far more likely to be unblocked if we can get beyond pounding it with procedures and recognize it for what it is, a set of organizational behaviours in which language is only one, and not necessarily the most important, force at work. To the extent that we hope to make further gains in this area, we need to see employees of both official-language groups as they really are, give them realisable goals and let them work out, for themselves and with each other, how to get there. Career problems associated with this policy also need to be discussed more openly. Here again, both groups should have an equal hand in formulating and applying solutions.

Federal-provincial action on behalf of the minorities

The federal government has not always been well placed in the past to generate those complementary activities that would make the national linguistic partnership a going concern. The bilingual districts that were to have provided some formal underpinning and a focus for all kinds of institutional support to the official-language minorities proved politically impracticable. In their place, we have a job lot of unco-ordinated provisions which, in most provinces, offer only a few, diffuse and unreliable chances to use the minority language. What can be done to recover that fundamental notion of joint effort directed to local and immediate needs? Both levels of government could begin by sitting down with community representatives to determine together what is really available in the way of service or support. They could agree on action priorities and establish a working group to oversee joint projects to improve minority-language services.

Practical collaboration of this kind should precede anything like a federal-provincial conference on better official-language support and before investing more federal money in judicial translation of provincial statutes and other relatively abstract things of that kind. Let both levels of government get their feet wet by collaborating at the grassroots level to relieve the acute linguistic wants that now exist. Let them first prove to themselves, on a small scale, that it is worth doing and can be done.

The private sector

The private sector has come a long way since the mid-sixties when the B and B Commission hinted that the federal government might use "its broad economic policies ... and ... the specific services it provides" to influence the official-language practices of business and industry. There is still room, however, for more effective use of the contractual, regulatory and persuasive powers of the Federal Government to achieve public services to Canadians in English and French that are credible and consistent. Government should consult systematically with the private sector on public needs and make available such expertise and incentives as seem best fitted to accelerate progress.

All these institutional practices, large and small, public and private, are mutually supporting: the use of the minority official language thrives on concentration of opportunities. The chances of using one's language in any given situation are considerably increased by knowing that one can also use it in several other similar situations.[1]

[1] More detailed suggestions and recommendations from the various parts of this Report are gathered together as Part V.

Language Rights: Lawful Occasions

What matters to the individual — and what matters eventually to the survival of that person's language — is not the liberty to use one's language but what can be achieved while using it: in how many life situations its use pays off in practical terms. In Canada, the function of language legislation and the goal of language planning have been not simply to protect intrinsic rights, but to create institutional conditions that will encourage the use of the official languages where they are showing signs of erosion. At least since the mid-sixties, language policy in Canada has had reform in view. In the first instance, reform has been concerned with usefully exercising historical language rights that date back to 1867 and beyond, but it has also sought to bring those official language rights up to date and build on them. Language rights and language policy should reflect the linguistic composition of contemporary Canada and our sense of the present and future needs of its various communities. What we are trying to do in the way of language reform therefore entails realising right at the start that any legal or customary language right will be of little value if it simply decorates the mantelpiece of the state and fails to translate into worthwhile language use. The law exists to provide redress to those who feel they are being shortchanged. When language rights are a living and lived part of our society, litigation will become less necessary. As the following pages illustrate, however, neither the availability nor the unimpeded use of legal or customary rights are yet within hailing distance of that promised land.

For those who keep box scores, Table I.2 gives a summary, but we trust fair, account of the extent to which our governments provide particular forms of official-language protection either by law or systematic policy.

Recent developments

Before the Official Languages Act (1969) and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982), language guarantees in Canada, within the federal framework, were confined to the institutional provisions of section 133 of the British North America Act[1], section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870 and such similar provisions as

[1] Section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867 and Section 23 of The Manitoba Act, 1870, which are virtually identical for all intents and purposes, provide that: (a) either English or French may be used in the debates of the Parliament of Canada and the legislatures of Manitoba and Quebec; (b) both English and French must be used in the records and journals of those houses; (c) either English or French may be used in any pleading or process in or issuing from any court of Canada, or in or from any of the courts of Manitoba and Quebec; and (d) all federal, Manitoba and Quebec laws must be printed and published in both official languages.
In the past, denominational guarantees under section 93 of the British North America Act, (now the Constitution Act, 1867) had something like the effect of language rights, simply because Catholic and French, English and Protestant, tended to coincide most of the time. Section 93 guarantees that the rights and privileges which denominational schools enjoyed by law in a province at the time of joining the federation shall not be prejudicially affected.

Table I.2

The Status of Major Official Language Provisions: A Cross-Canada Survey.

	Federal Parliament and Institutions	Quebec	New Brunswick	Ontario	Manitoba
Right to receive federal government services in English and French (S. 20(1) Charter, SS. 9, 10 OLA)	*	*	*	*	*
National TV and radio network minority-language programming (federal law)	*	*	*	*	*
Obligation to use bilingual product labelling (federal law)	*	*	*	*	*
Right to use English or French in debates and proceedings of legislature	* S. 133 Constitution Act, 1867	* S. 133 Constitution Act, 1867	* S. 17(2) Charter of Rights	* Standing Order 19A	* S. 23 Manitoba Act
Obligation to use English and French in statutes, records and journals of legislature	* S. 133 Constitution Act, 1867	* S. 133 Constitution Act, 1867	* S. 18(2) Charter of Rights	● Translation of selected statutes	* S. 23 Manitoba Act
Right to minority-language education (S. 23 Charter)	*	* [1]	*	*	*
Right to use English or French in criminal proceedings	* S. 133 Constitution Act, 1867	* S. 133 Constitution Act, 1867	* S. 19(2) Charter of Rights S.462.1 Cr. C.	* S. 462.1 Cr. C.	* S. 462.1 Cr. C.
Right to use English or French in civil proceedings	* S. 133 Constitution Act, 1867	* S. 133 Constitution Act, 1867	* S. 19(2) Charter of Rights	* Courts of Justice Act. Range of French-language rights in designated courts	* S. 23 Manitoba Act
Right to receive provincial/territorial government services in English or French	N/A	* S. 15 Charter of the French Language. At request of individuals only	* S. 20(2) Charter of Rights	● Selected French-language services in designated areas	

Key

* Provided by law ● Not provided by law ? Status unclear

Notes

[1] The so-called "Mother Tongue clause" (section 23(1)(a)) of the Charter of Rights, whereby "Citizens of Canada whose first language learned and still understood is that of the English or French minority population of the province in which they reside" may have their children educated in the minority language of that province, is not currently applicable to Quebec. The Charter, however, grants the provincial legislature the option to declare this provision applicable to Quebec.

Saskatchewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Prince Edward Island	New-foundland	Nova Scotia	Northwest Territories	Yukon
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
?[3]	?[3]					* S. 10 NWT Ordinance	?[3]
?[2]	?[2]						?[2]
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
						S. 462.1 Cr. C.	S. 462.1 Cr. C.
?[2]	?[2]					*	?[3]
						* S. 15 NWT Ordinance	?[2]

[2] The legal status of these guarantees has been raised recently before the courts. Judgements are expected to be rendered in the near future.

[3] The legal status of these guarantees is not yet clear and these issues may at some later date be referred to the courts for judicial clarification.

Sources: Constitution Act, 1867; Constitution Act, 1982 (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms); Manitoba Act, 1870; Official Languages Act; An Ordinance to Recognize and Provide For the Use of Aboriginal Languages and to Establish the Official Languages of the Northwest Territories (Official Languages Ordinance); Courts of Justice Act, 1984 (Ontario); Criminal Code; Charter of the French Language (Quebec).

might be judged still applicable in what were the original Northwest Territories. The last 15 years have produced both a flurry of language legislation (constitutional, federal, provincial, territorial and municipal) and much recourse to the courts. We can also see changes in the pattern of judicial and quasi-judicial interpretation. This follows an era, in the first half of the present century, when action by many provincial governments was largely repressive of language rights. At the federal level and in some provinces, the modern era has so far been one of more generous laws and more generous interpretations, opening the way to real advances in the practical enjoyment of language rights.

The B and B Commission sought to head off some of the judicial hassle by urging that "the legislature of each officially bilingual province adopt an Official Languages Act", and "establish, for its own purposes, a post equivalent to that of the federal Commissioner of Official Languages." That is not what transpired. Reviewing the judicial developments below, one could be forgiven for thinking that things would have gone further faster if some of the issues had been settled by negotiation rather than litigation.

Legislated language guarantees

The essential body of official language guarantees is to be found in the Constitution Act, 1867 and the Charter of Rights. Such constitutional guarantees are assured the highest degree of legal protection and cannot easily be eroded as rights. But their enjoyment still remains a matter of people interacting with other people. Federal and provincial governments are free, of course, to add to the range of situations where English or French may or must be used for this or that institutional purpose. The past year, for instance, witnessed enactment, by the governments of Ontario and the Northwest Territories, of laws which complement and reinforce the general and specific guarantees entrenched in the Constitution and the Charter of Rights.

Interpretation in the courts

Perhaps more than detailed legislation, constitutions are made to be interpreted, and in 1984 Canadian courts made some important contributions to the process. As we shall see below, the decision of the Ontario Court of Appeal on an educational reference case last spring suggested that, in their concern to preserve and enforce the Charter of Rights, courts may have begun to interpret the nature of constitutionally guaranteed minority-language rights rather generously. By proposing a move "away from narrow and strict constructionism toward a broader approach, which would include a consideration of the historical developments ... [of such rights]"[1], the honourable judges showed what the courts can do to develop the Constitution.

Manitoba

It will be interesting to see whether or to what extent the Supreme Court of Canada ruling on the status of French language guarantees in Manitoba also takes a broad approach in addressing the fundamental nature of the pact struck by the

[1] Reference to the Court of Appeal respecting the Education Act and Minority Language Education Rights, p. 19.

Anglophone and Francophone communities at the province's inception. The historical developments in this case are particularly à propos. In 1890, the Manitoba Legislature repudiated the constitutional guarantees protecting the French language by declaring English to be the sole official language of the statutes, records and journals of the legislature and of the province's courts. On three separate occasions the courts of Manitoba held this action to be unconstitutional and in violation of the guarantees given to both English and French by section 23 of the Manitoba Act, 1870. In 1983, the Manitoba Government tried to give effect to a 1979 judgement of the Supreme Court of Canada[1] reaffirming those guarantees, by proposing a constitutional amendment that would require the translation of only *certain* unilingual provincial laws and, at the same time, afford Franco-Manitobans the guarantees and services they need to make a go of it now and tomorrow and the day after. When these efforts were stalled last spring, the Supreme Court of Canada was asked to rule on the contemporary implications of section 23. In arriving at its decision the Court faces a certain dilemma: how to uphold and enforce constitutionally guaranteed rights, on the one hand, while averting the possible legal and political consequences of improperly enacted provincial laws, on the other. Over and above the continuity of provincial laws and institutions, however, the Court faces the question of another continuity: the historical relationship between two language communities. In national terms, it will be hard not to interpret the Court's decision as favouring either a greater or a lesser degree of the linguistic duality which forms the basis of Canada's political culture. This fact was abundantly recognized by all parties in the Federal Parliament last winter when they passed a unanimous resolution in support of the proposed constitutional amendment.

Ontario

Ontario's Court of Appeal was asked, in effect, to consider whether certain provisions of the province's Education Act were inconsistent with minority-language education sections of the Charter of Rights, and what administrative implications such inconsistencies might have. The Court reviewed the historical difficulties experienced by the Francophone communities in education and concluded that "it was in the context of this concern for the development of minority-language educational rights" that section 23 of the Charter[2] was created. The Court found that

[1] Attorney General of Manitoba v. Forest, [1979] 2 S.C.R. 1032.

[2] Under Section 23 of the Charter of Rights, children are entitled to minority-language instruction if a parent meets three conditions:

(i) he or she is a Canadian citizen,

(ii) (a) his or her first language learned and still understood is that of the linguistic minority of the province in which he or she resides, or

(b) one of his or her children is studying or has studied in a minority-language school, or

(c) he or she has received primary school instruction in Canada and in the minority language of the province in which he or she resides.

(iii) he or she belongs to a group whose numbers warrant provision of minority-language education out of public funds.

certain sections of the Education Act *were* inconsistent with that section and also offered the following judgements on administrative points.

- School boards cannot be given unfettered discretion to determine whether or not to provide French language instruction and appropriate educational facilities; provincial legislation must "set reasonably clear and specific standards in circumstances where the grant of an unfettered discretion may lead to arbitrary, discriminatory or otherwise unconstitutional restrictions upon guaranteed rights or imposes unnecessary inhibition upon the exercise of constitutional rights." (In short, rights are rights.)

- The number of students required in order to give rise to a right to minority-language instruction or educational facilities provided to them out of public funds cannot be determined by fixing a minimum or abritrary figure without any justification; nor can the "numbers test" be applied arbitrarily across the province, since the numbers will necessarily vary in accordance with the needs of a particular region and the type of instruction required. (The education statutes of several provinces now contain the concept of a "numbers test." Unless these statutes are revised, the constitutionality of a "numbers test" is bound to be raised before the courts again, as is presently occurring in Prince Edward Island. One must hope that something can be done, and soon, to avert the human and financial costs of successive references on this same theme.)

- "Minority-language children must receive their instruction in facilities in which the educational environment will be that of the minority. Only then can the facilities reasonably be said to reflect the minority culture and appertain to the minority"; in this manner, the preservation of the minority's language, customs and culture is assured.

- The Francophone minority has the right to participate in the management and control of its own French-language classes of instruction and French-language educational facilities.

- Finally, since the minority-language group is not the exclusive user of minority language educational facilities, other parents who qualify under or benefit from section 23 rights may also participate in their management and control.

While the Court of Appeal has begun to define the nature of the rights which the Charter confers on minority-language communities, it is up to provincial governments to develop ways of implementing those rights, and preferably in consultation with the Francophone communities. Shortly after the Court's ruling the Government of Ontario modified its Education Act, guaranteeing all Francophone children the right to French-language education. Over the longer term, this decision is bound to result in significant restructuring of the school system, some redesigning of school districts, as well as the transfer of funds between public and separate educational systems. The sooner these problems are tackled, the sooner students can enjoy their promised rights. In national terms, the Court's decision, not having been appealed, will undoubtedly rank as persuasive authority as similiar issues are brought before the judiciary of other provinces.

Ontario courts

Other Ontario news concerned the operation of the courts themselves. Since 1975, the Province has by legislation gradually extended the range of French language rights which may be exercised before provincial courts within a number of designated judicial districts, where 83 per cent of the province's Francophone population live. In the Courts of Justice Act, 1984, the province confirmed and clarified the nature of these rights and formally declared that, as of January 1, 1985, the official languages of the courts of Ontario are English and French. While the range of French language rights and services in the courts remains more restricted than it is in English, Francophone parties are nonetheless guaranteed the right to be heard by a bilingual judge and jury, to conduct a hearing in French, to file written pleadings in French, to have an interpreter and to have a translation of any English document filed with the court.

Meanwhile, the departure of two political leaders, Pierre Elliott Trudeau and William Davis, led to another round of the public debate as to whether Ontario should become constitutionally bilingual to the same extent as Quebec has always been, or as New Brunswick has more recently become. My predecessors, following the lead of the B and B Commission, have always favoured that course and I continue to do so. The argument that the timing was not politically propitious may have had some credibility in years past but is progressively harder to sustain in light of current linguistic developments in Quebec. Furthermore, the belief that institutional bilingualism will fall into place in due course, as other gradualist measures take effect and creep into provincial mores, seems to me fatally flawed by the underlying assumption that what *is* being done in Ontario is already adequate to maintaining a strong French-speaking community in the province. That is not our reading of the situation, nor is it of the most recent analysis published by Statistics Canada.[1] As future chapters will show, minority-language communities need all the institutional encouragement and guarantees they can get just to hold their own.

Quebec

The Supreme Court of Canada, after comparing the minority-language educational guarantees of the federal Charter of Rights and those of the province's Charter of the French Language (Bill 101)[2] governing access to English-language schooling, concluded that the federal Charter's guarantees could not be diminished by provincial legislation, whether or not such legislation predated the federal Charter. It clearly established that Canadian citizens who have received primary schooling in English anywhere in Canada may send their children to English schools in Quebec. Moreover, children of Canadian citizens may attend English schools in Quebec if any of their siblings have received or are receiving English primary or secondary school instruction anywhere in Canada. It follows that these rights are equally available to Francophone children outside Quebec, entitling them to receive French-language instruction, at least to the same extent as Anglophone minorities in Quebec. The Quebec Government has indicated that it will conform with the Court's ruling.

[1] Language in Canada, 1985, table 4.

[2] The main provision in question was section 73, which stated, essentially, that only children whose mother or father had received elementary instruction in English, in Quebec, could attend English schools.

Equal application of Charter rights

The Court's ruling clearly established the federal Charter's precedence over conflicting provincial or federal legislation. It also affirmed the inviolability of minority language educational rights, in spite of Quebec's contention that the need to protect the French language and culture may justify restricting the ambit of such rights. This is all the more reason why judicial, political and popular pressures to give effect to those rights should be seen to be the same for both official-language communities. Almost three years after the promulgation of section 23 of the Charter of Rights and nearly 10 years after provincial premiers approved the principle of minority language education rights, it is a national embarrassment to count the English-speaking provinces that neither provide adequate "minority-language educational facilities" nor show much sign of carrying out their commitment and constitutional duty to do so.

Bilingual signs and brochures

In two other rulings on the status of language rights in Quebec, the province's Superior Court dealt with signage and advertising materials. A section of Quebec's Charter of the French Language forbidding the use of another language together with French on public signs and commercial advertising was found inoperative because it contravenes the right to freedom of expression guaranteed in Quebec's own Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms. The Court also ruled that the Charter of the French Language does not prohibit the publication of bilingual catalogues and brochures. As we point out elsewhere, the right to use English on public signs and in commercial advertising has long been supported by a majority of French-speaking Quebecers. It would not be surprising, however, if the latter were also to see in the relative rapidity with which the courts have responded to legitimate Anglophone grievances, when compared to the pace of justice for Franco-Manitobans, a curious confirmation of Daniel Halévy's theory that the pace of history accelerates.

New Brunswick

New Brunswick is the most officially bilingual of all the provinces, by virtue of provincial language legislation and the Constitution Act, 1982. The most talked about happening of 1984 were hearings conducted by the government's Advisory Committee on Official Languages. The Committee invited New Brunswickers to discuss the 1982 Report of the provincial Task Force on Official Languages, commonly known as the Bastarache-Poirier Report.[1]

The Task Force's mandate — "to completely revise the Official Languages Act" — had been anything but modest. The report runs to well over 400 pages, ranging in its analysis across the government's legislative and administrative functions, the education and legal systems, the linguistic responsibilities of municipalities, professional associations and the private sector, to conclude with no fewer than 96 recommendations. The centrepiece is a draft for a thoroughly new Language Rights Act. The general thrust was that the time was long overdue to complement the symbolic declarations of the 1969 Official Languages of New Brunswick Act with structural changes that would reflect linguistic equality in New Brunswick in fact, not just in law.

[1] Government of New Brunswick, *Towards Equality of the Official Languages in New Brunswick: Report of the Task Force on Official Languages*, March 1982.

The size and sweep of the report almost guaranteed that the public consultation would lead to controversy. When so few could actually lay claim to having read the document, the majority relied on media reports. These in turn tended to dwell on the more radical recommendations, such as one suggesting establishment of parallel English-speaking and French-speaking work units within the civil service. Whatever the merits of its findings or proposals, the report in undigested form was seen as more of a red flag than a white paper and became the occasion for some unedifying public confrontations rather than for reasoned discussion. The government plans a two-step consultation with the public through the Committee. The open-ended information sessions and "exchanges of opinion" in 1984 are to be followed by more formal hearings of public opinion on the Task Force recommendations. We must hope that this democratic procedure can now lead to more-informed consultation and dialogue between the province's two language communities, and that eventual legislation will reflect a generous consensus.

The Territories

In June, the Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories declared French and English to be the official languages of the Territories, while granting at the same time special recognition to their aboriginal languages. The new legislation introduced institutional bilingualism in a number of areas: publication of statutes, debates of the Assembly, territorial courts, government services to the public. While the Yukon and the Northwest Territories are covered by the Official Languages Act, there is a lot to be said for having the authorities most directly concerned accept these principles both in and on their own terms.

The Official Languages Act

Among the proliferation of constitutional rulings and provincial piecework, there is some danger of forgetting that the key to what has been happening these last 15 years is the Official Languages Act, whose main provisions are now substantively mirrored in our Charter of Rights. In the words of the B and B Commissioners, the Act should be the "keystone of any general programme of bilingualism in Canada" and one of its main aims would be

> to give the Governor in Council the necessary authority for negotiating with the provincial and local authorities involved . . . to widen the opportunities for Canadian citizens to deal with the branches of government in both official languages.

Here is another salutory reminder of two things. First, that for the average Canadian citizen government is government, and the logic of providing certain services in both languages and others in only one language may not be readily apparent. To which, of course, provincial governments may justifiably reply that history is also history, geography is also geography, and legal obligation is also legal obligation. The more a particular language group is in a minority situation, the less it may reasonably expect to enjoy all the majority benefits in its own language. True, but the fact that only Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and, to a debatable

extent, Manitoba accept any legal or policy obligation to provide their services in the minority language leaves unanswered the question *what* "appropriate measures" would justly correspond to "regional circumstances" in the other six provinces, to use the terms of the B and B Report.

The second reminder, then, is that the federal government accepted a duty to give leadership in developing a satisfactory institutional infrastructure for the use of English and French throughout the country, including those six provinces. This duty included sharing with any local authority "the cost of establishing and maintaining services which [would] provide recognition of the language of the minority group." The task remains for the two levels of government to join in further defining regional official languages goals that would be consistent with the general commitment to the minorities that is implicit in the Charter's minority-language education rights. Not as a manifestation of official bilingualism, but as a demonstration of willing co-operation for a worthwhile cause.

The Official Languages Act has been used primarily to obtain technical compliance with its provisions by the institutions of the federal Parliament and government. The complementary "leadership" role that was to have been built around bilingual districts and fuelled by federal co-financing of appropriate grassroots services has, with the exception of minority-language education provisions, almost completely withered on the vine, at least outside the three most bilingual provinces.

Can national bilingualism that is based on one, moderately sound pillar, and another that is almost pure figment, expect to stand up? The Act itself has not, in spite of proposals from various quarters, undergone any significant modification in 15 years. In the fall of 1984, it did undergo minor surgery to bring it in line with changes to the Financial Administration Act. The effect was to bring subsidiaries of Crown corporations more clearly within the purview of the Act. Long-awaited changes were also made at the end of the last session of Parliament to remove anomalies from the Museums Act, the Railway Act and the Winding Up Act to make them consistent with official equality for English and French.

Bilingual districts still occupy about one-third of the Act, although government is, technically, several years in arrears in setting the machinery in motion to create a Bilingual Districts Advisory Board. The point of interest to this Office is not the removal of "dead" provisions; it is whether Parliament will accept that they need to be replaced with new provisions that reaffirm the principle of intergovernmental co-operation in this area.

Promised changes have still to be introduced to bring the Act in full conformity with the Charter of Rights. Some might say this does not reduce the Act's effectiveness in achieving linguistic equality within the federal administration or in setting the tone for official bilingualism as a national goal. We disagree. Comprehensive official languages programmes, within and beyond the federal domain, depend on the exercise of the full range of policy roles foreseen for the federal government. It is time to restore to the Official Languages Act, not a new set of teeth, but the full set of aims with which it started out and a renewed sense of mission with respect to the aim of "linguistic partnership."

Other Developments

During the past year, the courts have rendered a number of other language-related decisions.

- The provincial courts of Alberta and Saskatchewan have decided that an accused charged under a *federal* statute does not have the legal right to compel the courts of these provinces to hold proceedings in French. The Saskatchewan Court of Appeal is still deliberating whether an accused who is charged under a *provincial* statute has the legal right to compel the courts of that province to hold proceedings in French.

- The Manitoba Court of Appeal has concluded that section 23 of the Manitoba Act, which makes English and French the official languages of the province's courts, does not require an Anglophone judge to have a sufficient knowledge and understanding of the French language, without the aid of an interpreter or translation device, to be considered qualified to hear a case conducted in French. In an analogous case from New Brunswick, the Supreme Court of Canada will have the opportunity to define the degree of linguistic proficiency which is required of a judge, with or without the aid of an interpreter or translation device, who is presiding over a hearing conducted in French.

Other language issues on which the courts are still to rule include:

- Whether section 23 of the Charter of Rights permits immersion schools in New Brunswick to serve Francophone parents who want their children to receive their education in both official languages. This issue will most likely be considered in light of the Ontario Court of Appeal's pronouncement in the education Reference case to the effect that minority-language instruction must take place in the "educational environment" of the linguistic minority and whether this ruling should be interpreted as prohibiting the establishment of bilingual schools.

- Whether provisions of the School Act of Prince Edward Island requiring regional school boards to provide French language instruction only if 25 Francophones request it is contrary to the minority-language educational guarantees in the Charter of Rights.

- Whether section 133 of the Constitution Act, 1867, which provides that either official language may be used in any process issuing from any Quebec court, entitles an English-speaking person to receive a Court summons in English.

- Whether the government and institutions of the Yukon are obliged to provide services to a member of the public in the official language of his or her choice by virtue of section 20 of the Charter of Rights.

Parliamentary Committee: A New Beginning

Our reports are written for Parliament, and it is for Parliament to judge whether what we say about the implementation and prospects of official bilingualism makes sense. Hence the importance we attach to Parliament's Joint Committee on Official Languages.

This was an abbreviated year for the Committee but, like much else in 1984, a potential watershed. What was formerly a Special Committee — living an uncertain existence from one Parliamentary session to another — was, on April 5, transformed with all-party support into the Standing Joint Committee on Official Languages Policy and Programs. The original Special Joint Committee had completed a comprehensive review of the major elements of language reform, proposed improvements to the Official Languages Act, and submitted six reports to Parliament. Ministers, department heads, community representatives, academics and others testified on a host of topics. The granting of permanent status was recognition of the Committee's valuable parliamentary service.

Major Topics

The Standing Committee, expanded to 24 members, dealt principally, in the half-dozen public meetings it was able to complete before the election, with loose ends left behind from earlier work. After having the Commissioner speak on his Annual Report for 1983, it heard from the Treasury Board Secretariat and the Public Service Commission, particularly on the many language-of-work issues left in abeyance. It also heard from the Secretary of State on the department's language-support programmes, and once again from the outgoing Commissioner on his final reading of the language programme's progress. This parting memorandum focused Committee discussion on the following themes:

- the fragile condition and precarious institutional circumstances of some official-language communities who find themselves in a minority situation;
- how to achieve a better balance between demand for services in the minority official language and the effective supply of those services by federal institutions; and
- the difficulties of interpreting survey data on language use by public servants as a guide to future action in the area of language of work.

Work Programme

The Committee will have its own ideas about the programme it wishes to undertake. We hope it will find time, however, to step back a little from the specific applications of the Official Languages Act to take a measured look at the overall state of language reform. Members can play a key role in revitalizing the programme through a fresh look at the problems and priorities of achieving linguistic partnership. The present Report contains an overview of the situation, as well as more detailed analysis and recommendations. This might serve as a general framework for review.

Specifically, the Committee is well-placed to develop a popular perspective of the needs and concerns of the official language communities, both where they are in a majority and where they are in a minority. The next step is to ask whether government and non-government programmes are truly responding to those needs and what adjustments might be in order. Compliance with the Act remains the first consideration from the federal standpoint, and members will want to examine for themselves such impediments to its effective application as the seniority provisions of certain collective agreements. The Committee will also have to consider government's response to the proposals for amending the Act contained in the fifth report of the Special Joint Committee. But the fundamental question remains how well national language policy is meeting Canadians' expectations.

A possible approach to this question would be to hear first from official-language associations and other informed witnesses about how official language rights are being or could be fleshed out to respond to practical needs. Federal ministers and senior bureaucrats would be invited to account for the linguistic performance of specific institutions or programmes and the overall co-ordination of language policy. The Committee might then canvass opinion and propose actions to achieve the greater federal-provincial co-operation in support of the official-language minorities that was envisaged in the Speech from the Throne. Private sector spokesmen, as well as provincial representatives could offer useful testimony. The aim would be to stimulate a much more concerted use of government services and activities by, for example, a better sharing of the resources of our communications and cultural industries. The experience of the private sector in serving clients of both official languages would also be a fruitful source of ideas for governments. Regional hearings, to get at first hand the views of individual citizens, community leaders, businessmen, educators and government officials, would be a valuable part of this review exercise.

The Official Languages Act covers many institutions and a great deal of organizational ground. Add those aspects of Canada's language policy that concern the provinces and the private sector, and you have almost unlimited material for parliamentary scrutiny. We would therefore advise the Committee to think in terms of a multi-annual work plan, one which would enable it to give concentrated attention to each major aspect of the total programme every three or four years. To keep a general balance of outlook, the annual agenda might include an examination of the public effects of language policy and an examination of some of the judicial and administrative mechanisms.

Effective Debate and Dialogue

The Committee already has the power, under parliamentary procedure, to require that government respond to its reports and recommendations. We suggest that major Committee findings might also be raised in both Houses each year. Progress in language reform requires informed dialogue between the various linguistic interests. The Committee is the principal way of ensuring that Parliament gives the reform the consistent attention it needs, and that it hears at first hand what Canadians have to say about it.

Second-Language Education: The Learning Curve

The attitudes and behaviour of Canada's English-speaking population towards the French language, and towards the learning, speaking or even hearing of it, have been changing. There is evidence, too, that a shift is taking place in Quebec — largely a return to the historical pattern in which the French-speaking majority seeks high-quality English-language instruction for its children.

School enrolment patterns, the actions of thousands of committed individuals, teachers and parents, and students, speak of a movement that is gathering pace. Joe Clark, speaking of western Canadians, spoke for many Anglophones when he said at our Edmonton Colloquium that "French is a part of our future but, for most of us, it was not a part of our past." A parallel sentiment was expressed in an editorial in *Le Devoir*. Commenting on the recent finding that only 29 per cent of Francophone Quebecers now consider themselves bilingual, the newspaper noted that "Individual unilingualism on this scale could rapidly become a collective handicap."[1]

Majority Opinions

A notable signpost to changing opinion on the value of French was the Gallup poll released last October. Commissioned by Canadian Parents for French, the poll surveyed about 3,000 adult Anglophones across the country about their views on French language instruction for children. An impressive 68 per cent of respondents agreed that children in their province "should learn French at school so that they could become bilingual". Even though there was some regional divergence of opinion, the east-west gap was not as great as one might have expected. (See Table I.3.)

The poll also revealed an impressive level of support, nationwide, for early French immersion programmes. Fifty-nine per cent of those who answered "yes" to the first question said they would enrol a child of theirs in early immersion if it were available. No region had a positive response rate under 50 per cent. As for the reasons why parents believe their children should become bilingual, the poll confirmed previous findings that employment prospects outrank all other reasons. Intellectual or cultural enrichment were also cited to a significant degree. Although some might suspect a mirage in the assumption that French will have economic value across the country for such a large number of people, the response suggests a high level of adjustment to French as part of Canada's future.

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[1] *Le Devoir*, December 5, 1984, our translation.

Table I.3

British Columbia	57
Prairies	56
Ontario	73
Quebec	95
Atlantic Provinces	83

Source: National Gallup Poll conducted for Canadian Parents for French, June/July 1984.

A Franco-Ontarian leader commented aptly on Anglophone parents' attitudes when he spoke of a "new reality", and added, "what a pity that political leaders do not always share the perspicacity and courage of the Anglophone parents of this country."[1] Of course there are unchanged attitudes and pockets of indifference or resistance to that "new reality", just as there are still community leaders who don't want *anyone's* child to learn French. On the whole, however, 1984 presented some encouraging developments. The Federation of Francophones outside Quebec and Canadian Parents for French came together for discussions and issued a joint declaration affirming their support for the right of all young Canadians to have the opportunity to learn both official languages, and in particular for "the right of Canadian minority-language young people to education from kindergarten through post-secondary in their mother tongue in accordance with clause 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms."

Innovative approaches to language education were not, fortunately, confined to the voluntary sector. Satellite technology, computer software, video, these are only some of the buzzwords that promise to bring equality of educational services to outlying areas or schools where numbers are low. And the technological benefits apply equally to minority-language students and second-language learners. Here is a situation which is tailor-made for bigger and better collaboration between the two levels of government. Indeed such progress is in part possible because of the long-awaited implementation in 1984 of a new federal-provincial agreement for funding the official languages in education. The overall protocol of agreement for 1983-1986 had been signed at the end of 1983 by the Secretary of State and the Council of Ministers of Education, but 1984 saw the successful negotiation of detailed funding agreements with each of the provincial and territorial governments. The process was a long one: April, 1985 already marks the beginning of the last year of this "new" three-year arrangement. There are several good things to be found in the agreement: increased funds, for one thing, though in our opinion not nearly enough. Further, the bilateral aspect of the agreements allows provinces to set their own priorities.

[1] André Cloutier, then President of the French-Canadian Association of Ontario, quoted in *L'Eau Vive*, 28 April, 1984. Our translation.

The new signs of increasing innovation and co-ordination we have been able to detect make all the more puzzling the still very limited degree of inter-provincial co-operation, of joint projects undertaken on a regional basis or by two or three provinces with similar needs. Computer software for language instruction is an obvious candidate for a collaborative effort by several provinces.

Canadian Language Information Network

In last year's Report we presented a short situation report on the Canadian Language Information Network project that had been submitted to federal and provincial authorities. Since a needs study had clearly identified important arguments for linking existing teaching resource centres and a central data bank, we had hoped that those with the means to fund such a project would move ahead as fast as possible. It was not to be. Like other initiatives of this sort, the network proposal appears dead in the water. The Council of Ministers of Education referred it to a committee, which referred it to a sub-committee, from which bureaucratic maze there has yet to emerge the least sign of life. Let us hope that a new era of federal-provincial co-operation can revive it.

French as a Second Language

Immersion and core French, the two best-known members of the French-as-a-second-language family, continue to be rather an odd couple, their relationship plagued here and there by rivalries and misunderstandings.

Worries about the possibly harmful effects of the immersion boom on the school system cannot all be dismissed as anti-French or fear of change. There is some genuine cause for concern that, with primary school registrations in immersion hitting 40 per cent in many urban school districts, not enough may be left in the shrinking financial pot for expansion and enrichment of core French, the linguistic nourishment of the other 60 per cent. Proponents of the two approaches to second-language teaching must view both programmes as complementary components in a co-ordinated educational strategy. New Brunswick, which, except for Quebec, has the highest proportion of Anglophone pupils in immersion, is one province where a serious look is being taken at third options such as "intensive language training", which might bridge the gap, ease transitions or make better use of scarce resources.

Immersion

Immersion enrolments, particularly in the early grades, have continued to climb at rates which are the more remarkable for coming on the heels of several years of similarly high rates. Total 1984-85 enrolments across the country are approaching 150,000. There is as yet little sign that financial restraint is slowing down the move towards immersion. Parental demand continues like a steamroller, as forceful in Whitehorse, Yellowknife, St. John's, Newfoundland, and Fort St. John, B.C. as anywhere else.

Core programmes

Regular core French programmes, the form in which the vast majority of young Anglo-Canadians receive their in-school exposure, if any, to the French language, are at last showing some improvement in their vital signs. At the secondary level, where fewer students had been choosing to study French since most universities dropped their second-language admission requirement 15 to 20 years ago, enrolments are at last picking up a little in all regions of the country. From an average

participation rate outside Quebec of 37 per cent two years ago, they have moved to just over 38 per cent, with highs of over 60 per cent in Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick. At both elementary and secondary levels, the amount of class time devoted to study of the language is unchanged and regularly succumbs to competition from other subjects.

Improving and co-ordinating core French programmes means making the curriculum more interesting and useful to students and providing real-life language experiences outside the classroom. Some provinces, such as Prince Edward Island, have set up committees to recommend ways of overhauling their core French programmes, but in all too many parts of the country, youngsters face teachers whose own fluency is in doubt and course content that scarcely enables them to buy a croissant, let alone shop the boutiques of Quebec.

Provincial Survey

1984 was not a year of spectacular breakthroughs in the teaching of French or English as second languages, but there were some interesting developments.

In the *Yukon*, parents demonstrated a desire for the same kind of French instruction for their children as is available elsewhere in Canada. The immersion programme in Whitehorse grew by a staggering 49 per cent, and demand is strong in communities throughout the territory for core French instruction to begin in kindergarten rather than grade five. Similarly in the *Northwest Territories*, enrolments in immersion in Yellowknife have jumped 30 per cent in the past year, and the programme is now available in all but one of the elementary grades.

In *British Columbia* there were financial cuts and teacher layoffs. Immersion teachers, so often "last hired", look especially vulnerable. At the same time, the job anxieties of English teachers are especially serious. In West Vancouver, for example, 30 per cent of kindergarten children are now enrolled in French immersion. A plan is underway to retrain teachers with some background in French as immersion teachers by means of a special one-year university programme, including a semester in Quebec. Only if there are sufficient teachers strong in French can this method meet both the concerns of English-programme teachers and the shortage of immersion teachers.

French second-language instruction in *Alberta* continues to expand. The Calgary Board of Education plans to provide enough immersion places to avoid the midnight registration lineups of past years. It has also allocated $600,000 to expansion and improvement of core French programmes. Much of this money is being directed to the vital area of in-service training of teachers. The same board has successfully launched an innovative programme of "matinées françaises" for junior and high school classes, which enjoy a half day of various activities in French at a French centre.

In *Saskatchewan*, both immersion and core French programmes continue to advance. For core French, the only way to go is up; the province has long had the country's lowest participation in French instruction at the elementary level. Meanwhile, administrators are under pressure to provide immersion pupils with educational services, such as remedial and enrichment programmes, on a par with those provided to other pupils.

Immersion parents in *Manitoba* won a round in the battle for equality of access to the programme when the Court of Appeal ruled that it was discriminatory to charge parents of immersion pupils a fee for busing them to school, since pupils going to English classes can travel free.

About a third of *Ontario's* school boards now offer full or partial immersion. Most of them are concentrated in the Toronto and Ottawa areas. Resistance to the introduction of the programmes can still be disconcerting, as in Sudbury last spring when the phrase "shoved down our throats" was much in use. In core French, Ontario schools offer less than meets the eye. Although the majority of school boards begin instruction in French by grade four, only 60 per cent provide enough instructional time per day or per week for pupils to meet, by the end of high school, the 1,200 accumulated hours set by the Ministry of Education as the *minimum* level for allowing them to "participate in simple conversation."

The number of English-speaking children registered in French immersion in *Quebec* now stands at 18,000 and represents 15 per cent of students enrolled in English schools. In addition another 13,000 Anglophones are studying in French schools. Although opportunities for learning French in Quebec are manifest, a report published by the Superior Council of Education on English and French second-language instruction felt it appropriate to emphasize, among other things, that school boards should intensify exchanges between Anglophone and Francophone students.

French immersion enrolments in *New Brunswick* continue to climb. This year's total of 12,500 students represents about 13 per cent of the enrolments under English administered school boards, the highest proportion of all provinces except Quebec.

While overall immersion enrolments are still growing in *Nova Scotia*, regionally the situation varies. A pilot programme is to begin in Dartmouth in 1985 with two French immersion classes in grade one, but elsewhere, the emphasis is still on core French.

Although the number of immersion programmes has increased since last year in *Prince Edward Island*, demand still outruns supply. Limited access to French immersion was not made any more palatable by registration on a lottery basis or a phone-in system.

In *Newfoundland*, French immersion grows by leaps and bounds. The Department of Education's estimates place the 1984-85 enrolments at 1,550, up 60 per cent from last year.

English Second-Language Instruction

Second-language instruction for the linguistic majority in *Quebec*, compulsory from grades 4 to 10, is, of course, a different matter. French-speaking Quebecers face the necessity of reconciling the protection of their own language with the *realpolitik* of coping with North America's number one language. Even government ministers can now be heard urging the importance of good English-language teaching. In their recent report on English and French second-language instruction, the Supe-

rior Council of Education — an advisory body to the Minister of Education — strongly recommended the need for more and better English second-language programmes for Francophones, while reiterating the fragility of the French language in North America. According to a survey conducted by the Council, several school boards have introduced intensive English second-language instruction, involving 500 students at the primary level and 700 at the secondary level. Since English immersion is contrary to provincial regulations, the Council suggested that further research and experimentation in intensive second language instruction be authorized and systematically evaluated by the government.

In *New Brunswick*, where second-language instruction is compulsory from grades five to nine, the *Association des enseignants francophones du Nouveau-Brunswick* recently struck a committee to study the quality of English-language instruction in areas of Francophone concentration.

Post-Secondary Second-Language Education

Last year we spoke of grounds for optimism that Anglophone post-secondary institutions were beginning to accept the relevance of bilingualism for their students, and the necessity of planning for their needs. At the end of 1984, it seems that even that cautious optimism may have been wishful thinking.

Where universities have demonstrated courage and commitment in following recommendations to offer courses taught in French, the results have often been disappointing. It is perhaps too early to say whether the minuscule enrolments mean that the wave of immersion students has not yet hit the post-secondary level, that students fear their marks will suffer from the added difficulty of assignments in French, that publicity is inadequate, or that other factors are at work. It has, for instance, been a year of severe nailbiting and belt-tightening in academia, with more programmes being cut back and eliminated than expanded or inaugurated. But that would not explain the reluctance to undertake measures that involve no increase in resource allocation. We remain at a loss, to take one instance, to understand why almost none of the universities are ready to reinstate a modest second-language admission requirement.

Finally, a few 1984 crowd noises from the varsity stadium of your choice.

Cheers for:

- The organizers of not one, not two, but three conferences on bilingual education for Anglophone post-secondary students held at Carleton and at the Universities of British Columbia and Calgary.
- The Department of the Secretary of State for introducing a $25 million Centres of Excellence programme for post-secondary projects in areas of national importance; good proposals in the second-language field are now up to the universities.
- The University of Toronto for appointing a special advisor to the President on bilingualism, and for continuing to offer a few courses in French despite low enrolments.

- Queen's for appointing a French-language co-ordinator, canvassing incoming students about demand for courses in French, and offering courses in spite of the disappointing response.
- The University of Windsor for offering, for the first time, an economics course in French.
- The Universities of Winnipeg, Manitoba and Waterloo for giving committees or individual faculty members a mandate to study the feasibility of bilingual programmes.
- Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto for, in the words of its President, "coming out of the dark ages" in establishing a Department of French, thus recognizing that bilingualism is of value to technical students too.
- The University of New Brunswick for launching its first French-language courses in psychology, history, sociology and economics. While initial enrolments have been low, the University is committed to offering the courses next year, expecting that as more immersion students graduate from the secondary system, the demand for these courses will increase.
- The Universities of British Columbia and Montreal for arranging their own summer student immersion exchange programme, an idea other institutions should emulate.
- The Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers for producing an excellent detailed study of available immersion teacher training and professional development.
- The Canadian Association of University Teachers, the Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, several student newspapers, and the press in general, for taking an interest in post-secondary bilingualism and publishing thoughtful, helpful articles in their publications.

But boos for:

- The many provinces (especially Ontario and the Atlantic provinces) which continue to train teachers of French in an unco-ordinated way, with no special training or certification for immersion teachers.
- Ontario's Ministry of Colleges and Universities for stalling for 18 months before turning down a funding request for an inter-university centre for French studies that would have linked the University of Ottawa, Carleton University and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education.
- Community colleges which continue to turn a blind eye to the advantages to their students of studying French as a second language (although honourable exceptions in regions with substantial minority-language populations, such as northern and eastern Ontario and New Brunswick, put the universities in the shade).

In conclusion, we do still wonder how often university professors and administrators look out of their windows at today's reality. In 1984 three major party leaders, all of them of English mother tongue, held a lengthy televised debate entirely in French without exciting comment. As the *Globe and Mail* aptly put it, "If the tide of public opinion can immerse the school system, ivory towers cannot consider themselves watertight."[1]

Extra-Curricular and Adult Second-Language Education

There is no longer any doubt in second-language teaching circles of the necessity for supplementing classroom learning by direct contact with ordinary speakers of the language. Ministry of education guidelines in most provinces specify this, and education officials admit that opportunities such as bilingual exchanges are as indispensable to French as field trips are to geography. Yet, for some school boards, extra-curricular linguistic experiences remain a frill, available only to students whose parents can afford to arrange them privately or lucky enough to benefit from the relatively tiny federal funding programmes.[2] This, surely, is a contradiction.

Language contacts

What kinds of experiences are we talking about? The list can be a long one: bilingual group exchanges head the list, during the school year and in the summer, along with individual exchanges, one-way homestay visits, cultural group visits. Then there are immersion weekends, including ones for the whole family, summer camps, winter camps, visits to minority-language communities in one's own province. There are also the youth parliaments and other gatherings of young people of both official-language groups in one place for bilingual learning and discussion. Closer to the classroom there are drama, music and dance performances, one-day festivals, and public-speaking contests. Nor should the value of television as a language teacher be ignored. The structures are already in place that would make programming in both languages available across the country; it is up to parents and educators to make sure they are used for that purpose.

Finally, within the classroom, there can be visitors or aides from the other language group, which brings us to a mention of the Second-Language Monitor Programme. What could be more sensible, more obvious even, than paying a modest allowance to university students studying in their second language to help make their first language come alive for school children? How discouraging, then, to find that despite annual increases in the programme's budget, only some 1,100 monitors helped Canadian language learners in 1984. There is no lack of applicants for the programme; it is simply underfunded. A simple calculation based on an average class size of 30 and total second-language enrolments of two and a quarter million, indicates that there is one monitor for every 68 Canadian classrooms. The programme, to put it mildly, has room to grow.

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[1] The *Globe and Mail* editorial May 4, 1984.

[2] We estimate, for example, that under two per cent of Ontario's approximately 920,000 students of French as a second language benefit from federally-assisted exchange programmes, and participation in other provinces is even lower.

Adult learning

Another extremely important part of language learning that gets little publicity or study is adult or continuing education. In every province and territory, thousands of adults are turning up, day-time, evenings, weekends and in their summer holidays, at local schools, colleges, universities, private schools, community centres and social groups to learn to speak their second language. No reliable statistics are kept, but we know the demand is enormous. Yet they receive none of the bursaries available for full-time university students or the free, working-hours training afforded many public servants, and very few benefit from classes provided by or paid for by their employers.

In the end, whether we are talking about school children or adults, it comes down to a need to enlarge our concept of what constitutes basic educational programmes. If, as we indicated earlier, sports are considered basic to the school curriculum and the attendant costs built without question into annual budgets, then why are the essential contacts with the other language community not built solidly into the language curriculum, and costs, of exchanges for example, equally taken for granted? After all, speaking the language, in real life, is the end purpose of language education. We are reminded of an enthusiastic young correspondent who wrote to this Office recently, who mentioned that she enjoyed studying French in school and went on to make the crucial connection: "In the summer we travelled through Quebec *and I spoke to some people*" (emphasis ours). There in a nutshell is what all those second-language classes are for.

Heritage Languages: Complementarities

For several years our annual reports have dealt with the situation of languages other than English and French, also known as the heritage languages. Why are these languages of interest? It could hardly be otherwise when you consider that these more than 75 languages are the mother tongues of more than three million Canadians. There is also a direct correlation between the acceptance of our two official languages and the support given to the heritage languages by Canadians. Indeed, during a colloquium which this Office held in Edmonton last May, the President of the Ukrainian Professional and Business Federation, Mr. Joseph Slogan, reminded us that every time the Manitoba government passed legislation on linguistic matters — whether it was to make English the only official language of the province, to permit the setting up of bilingual schools, or to abrogate the Laurier-Greenway agreement — the rights of minorities, French-speaking, Ukrainian, and others, were all affected. The freedom to preserve one's cultural and linguistic ties is the inalienable right of all citizens. Thus, in 1971, the Prime Minister announced the government's policy on multiculturalism by saying: "If freedom of choice is in danger for some ethnic groups, it is in danger for all. It is the policy of this government to eliminate any such danger and to 'safeguard' this freedom."

Bilingualism and multiculturalism are equally vital for Canada's social cohesion and cultural enrichment; no effort should be spared to bring out their individual importance and complementarity. Pleased as we are with government efforts to explain the importance of official bilingualism to ethnic groups, we think it is increasingly important to bring these groups and the official-language minorities together. It is interesting to look back on the year's events in that light. There have already been exchanges between representatives of the two kinds of groups. The Franco-Manitoban community was supported by the Manitoba Association for the Promotion of Ancestral Languages in its battle to have certain language rights enshrined in the Constitution. In Toronto, the Coalition of Language Rights in Ontario joined with the French-Canadian Association of Ontario (ACFO) to press for the right of Francophones to manage their own schools. ACFO, in turn, sided with the Coalition in its campaign to have the right to an education in languages other than English and French recognized in Ontario.

Our retrospective on 1984 unfortunately reveals other attitudes which are less encouraging. An example is the situation which developed in Toronto when teachers boycotted extra-curricular activities in elementary schools where heritage

languages were taught. Over two-thirds of the teachers surveyed by the Toronto Teachers' Federation reportedly believed that the teaching of these languages could be detrimental to that of obligatory subjects such as English, mathematics and science. This is not a view of their pedagogical benefit which is universally shared. Anne Laperrière, a professor at the *Université du Québec* in Montreal, conducted a preliminary study of "the socio-scholastic integration of immigrant children from deprived socio-economic backgrounds" and concluded that a command of one's own language and culture is pedagogically helpful in acquiring a second language and culture.

Our own views on this subject are well known. We support the teaching of heritage languages not only because they are culturally important to many Canadians, but also because of their value in international communication. Providing opportunities to maintain or acquire those languages seems to us an intrinsic part of the policy on multiculturalism. Ever since that policy was officially announced, the government has been repeating its readiness to promote Canada's cultural diversity. Some concrete steps have indeed been taken: section 27 of the Constitution Act of 1982 recognizes the multicultural character of Canada; the Joint Committee on Official Languages invited various ethnic associations to give their views on section 38 of the Official Languages Act with respect to "any language that is not an official language"; and a Bill entitled the "Multiculturalism Act" passed first reading.

But multiculturalism policy still remains veiled in mystery, and not least in its relation to official bilingualism. The time may have come to establish a programme of intercultural relations which would clarify the practical implications of the policy of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework and assist organizations concerned with strengthening the bonds between heritage and official-language groups. There is no doubt at all that provincial education systems should pay more attention to Canada's future needs by providing young people with opportunities to develop their knowledge of languages other than English and French. Universities too, should improve their language courses and offer more courses on interlinguistic and intercultural relations.

We already have the makings of a useful dialogue between heritage and official-language groups on the merits of maintaining and acquiring more than one language. Governments working together should foster this rapprochement and, above all, make Canadians more aware of the practical advantages to the country of properly developing all our linguistic resources.

Shades of Opinion: Honni soit...

A reformist language policy is not going anywhere if it is not well explained and publicly accepted. While a majority of Canadians accept, as do all the political parties representing them, that Canada is an officially bilingual country, there is less consensus on how that basic concept of duality should be reflected in our institutions or in our treatment of minority-language communities. Differences of opinion one expects, but one might have hoped, over time, that earlier confusions about the ways and means of reform would have responded to treatment, and that there would be less room today for tall stories about the exorbitant human and financial costs of operating in two languages. Fortunately, such stories are only part of the picture. Official bilingualism also has its share of supporters, even enthusiasts, and above all, of people who let their actions do the talking by practising bilingualism, in schools, at work, and in other social contexts. Official bilingualism did not loom large as a subject of election debate, but in its practical form it was very much in evidence.

Opinion Polls

There were also encouraging signs of Canadians' increasing readiness to give other groups their due. A Gallup Poll conducted for Canadian Parents for French in June and July brought evidence that about two-thirds of all English-speaking Canadians across the country wanted their children to learn French at school, and about half of them wanted such French instruction to be compulsory in elementary or secondary school, or both. A comparable resurgence of interest in English instruction for young French Quebecers was expressed by Quebec's *Conseil supérieur de l'éducation* in December. The province's recent language struggles have clearly had their effect, not just on official attitudes towards English, but on the perceptions that young Francophones have of their need for a working command of the language. As French assumes the place in Quebec that English has in the rest of Canada, nationalism begins to make room for pragmatism. *Le Devoir*, in its editorial of December, pointed out that:

> . . . More than half of Anglo-Quebecers are now functionally bilingual, with 53 per cent of them able to carry on a conversation in both languages. For Francophones, the proportion is only 29 per cent. In a world where, like it or not and regardless of our historical grievances, English has become, as the Council says, a kind of twentieth-centure *lingua franca*, the Francophone rate of individual unilingualism could rapidly become a collective handicap.

Growing linguistic self-confidence among French Quebecers showed up in other ways as well. An opinion poll for the *Mouvement national des Québécois*, an organization that could scarcely be accused of excessive Anglomania, noted that only two of every five Quebecers felt that Bill 101 gave sufficient recognition to English. In 1979, less than a third of Francophone Quebecers thought that English should be allowed on public signs along with French. In 1981, a survey of Francophones on the Island of Montreal reported not quite two-thirds in favour of including English. By 1983, the figure for all Francophone Quebecers was 71 per cent, and in 1984, about 80 per cent either favoured English and French or felt the choice should be left to the businesses or other institutions involved.

There is undoubtedly something paradoxical in the persistence of this popular tolerance, even generosity, towards English in Quebec at a time when French still inspires some very ungenerous reactions in Manitoba, Ontario and New Brunswick, and when French *in* Quebec is by no means out of the woods. That there is still cause for concern on that front was shown in a document put out by the Quebec government[1], on whose diagnosis that "Having strengthened the French nature of their society, Francophones are finding a new source of anxiety within themselves", *Le Devoir* commented:

> This majority can no longer find the power to renew itself from within. New Canadians are no longer drawn towards it. Quebec is less successful than other provinces in holding on to its immigrants.[2]

Analysis of Correspondence

The nearly fifteen hundred complaints we receive each year are in a sense a sort of annual plebiscite on the usefulness of the Official Languages Act. While most of the complaints we receive about infractions of the Act come from French-speakers, by far the greater part of the negative comment we receive on the impacts of language reform — at all levels — comes from English-speaking Canadians who think that French has been getting more than its fair share of attention. Typically, this kind of comment has a two-pronged message. "We don't need more French where I live," or, "why is French being promoted outside Quebec when English is being prohibited within Quebec?"

If we were to judge simply by analysing the tone of some 50 letters of opinion received by the Commissioner's Office in 1984, we would conclude that Canadian opinion on official bilingualism, in all its manifestations, is running about 64 per cent negative, 24 per cent positive, and the rest neutral.

Media Attention

A great deal of media ink was expended in 1984 on such highly publicized issues as the future of French rights in Manitoba; proposals — and refusals — to make Ontario officially bilingual; actual or perceived changes in English rights in Quebec;

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[1] Evolution of the Quebec Population and Its Consequences, Ministère du Conseil exécutif, February, 1984. Our translation.

[2] Our translation.

and to top it all off, a televized slanging match over the recommendations of New Brunswick's Bastarache-Poirier Report on Language Equality. Quite possibly the scene of Canada's major linguistic battles has now shifted from the national to the provincial sphere, which is where, in large part, language rights assume their most everyday, practical form.

Hostile opinions tend to polarize into two distinctly opposed lobbies, each claiming to be threatened, either in its liberty or its livelihood, by the behaviour of the other group. A growing body of opinion appreciates that language reform is both just and indispensable. But we are not altogether out of the dark ages when to be blindly anti-French or anti-English was to many a badge of honour. Still, the relative respectability of language-bashing is palpably on the wain. Parliament gave short shrift, for instance, to a bill to forbid the French form 'Nouvelle-Écosse' for Nova Scotia, a usage which can be traced back to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. *Parti Québécois* ministers, for their part, were heard extolling the value of English for French Quebecers.

Where the principle of linguistic partnership has been gaining most visibly is in our political mores. Whatever the pundits might say about the close of 'the Trudeau era,' it was never more evident than in the following leadership race and federal elections that practical recognition of linguistic duality — bilingualism at work in public life — is now embedded in party conduct, regardless of affiliation. Not only was there a high level of agreement among party leaders on language policy, but reaction to three essentially English-speaking leaders debating entirely in French for a couple of hours was also uniformly positive. A common objection to official languages programmes is that they intrude central Canadian preoccupations into parts of the country that have no use for them. Or, as one of our correspondents put it, more graphically:

> When will you Eastern elitists get it through your thick skulls that the West did not ask for, does not need nor want bilingualism?

It's a fair question, and one which undoubtedly finds an echo in parts of Eastern and Central Canada as well as in the West. Whether it be in Moncton or Halifax, Winnipeg, Calgary, Victoria, or even Montreal or Toronto, proponents of the view that official bilingualism is a costly and divisive federal plot still have a ready-made following. Given the evidence before us, no one could doubt that language issues divide Canadians, but, costly? — at ten dollars a year per head, or a fifth of what we spend on our daily newspaper?[1]

It is obviously much easier to find things wrong with bilingualism than to find a place for it within the constellation of Canadian virtues and make its benefits manifest and worthwhile. This whole question of situating official bilingualism in relation to other legitimate concerns like multiculturalism was the main reason why we sponsored a Colloquium in Edmonton last May on "Official Languages: A Western

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[1] Bilingualism within the Public Service costs roughly $250 million per year. If costs such as transfers to the provinces for official languages in education are included, another $250 million is added to the bill. The bulk of language-related education costs are of course provincial, but at that point it becomes less clear how much of those costs can be separated out as "additional", or different, say, from the teaching of geography or physics.

Perspective". Under cover of that inoffensive title, a number of critical and controversial issues were discussed in the frankest possible terms. Among them: whether the two "isms" are quite as complementary as political philosophy would have us believe; where languages — be they official or heritage languages —stand relative to other factors in defining our sense of community; and why not only westerners but people of non-English or non-French background across the country sometimes feel angry and excluded by the manifestations of official bilingualism. This last theme was prominent in the keynote address of the Right Honourable Joe Clark, who pointed out that:

> There is no deep opposition to the Official Languages Act, or to French [in Western Canada]. There is just a natural fear, more evident in hard economic times, that rules are being written which make Western Canadians less than equal.[1]

Speaker after speaker stressed that the West is very different from the East in its cultural and linguistic make-up. Most participants could see a need for a pan-Canadian approach to language policy, but felt that it should include greater recognition of the ethnic and linguistic composition of Canada's Western population. Why was multiculturalism merely a policy of the federal government and not backed by legislation? There was even a suggestion that the Official Languages Act be extended to cover languages other than English and French. And when participants had finished saying that East is East and West is West, they still had to face up to the question of how to protect and give effective support to the 185,000 Francophones who live in Western Canada.

With so many different issues in the air, one might ask what the colloquium achieved. In fact, there were no official resolutions, but participants left behind some suggestions that merit serious reflection. No one summarized better the relation between bilingualism and multiculturalism in Canada than Joe Clark. First, he noted the need to equip our youngsters with a working knowledge of Canada's two official languages and wondered "why our school systems cannot make compulsory the study of both of Canada's official languages and why our universities cannot make this a requirement both for entrance and for graduation." Referring to the problem of how we approach the question of two official languages and a multitude of cultures, he went on:

> I believe that the fact that we have two official languages has created in this country what I have called a tradition of diversity. . . I believe the tradition of diversity which allows multiculturalism to flourish here is fundamentally rooted and would not exist without the official languages and the two founding cultures being reflected in our law.

As Bruce Howe and Louis Desrochers, co-chairmen of the colloquium, noted in winding up, any individual differences of perspective were offset by the lack of acrimony in the discussion and by a sense that all minority groups were allies in a common cause, the retention of worthwhile cultural diversity. More encounters

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[1] The Right Honourable Joe Clark in his keynote address to the Colloquium on "Official Languages: A Western Perspective" held at the University of Alberta, Edmonton, May 11 and 12, 1984.

such as the Western Colloquium can only contribute to clarifying the situation; the more we can dispel natural fears and suspicions, the more likely we are to find sensible accommodations instead of the traditionnl tug-of-war.

Prospects of Greater Harmony

That the divergent interests and views of various groups of Canadians can be freely yet rationally discussed in this way is already a plus, and the sweepings under the rug are much reduced. Interlinguistic tolerance and fair play need not be elitist fantasies. They can be part of an authentic and functional partnership. But that cannot be, unless the response and the practical tolerance on both sides take on a lot more of the reciprocal spirit than the various opinion polls suggest is latent, and unless they reflect something of the perspective on cultural diversity that Pope John Paul II expressed during his recent visit:

> Remember, O Canada, that the greatest of your multicultural riches is the chance they give you to help others, to extend a hand to brothers and sisters in need. That is what is made possible by faith; that is what love requires.

It is a message we have still taken imperfectly to heart.

PART II

Language Equality: The Three Principles

Serving Canadians: Courtesy in Duplicate

This part of our Report is devoted to the three goals of language reform that concern the federal administration and that are either covered by or derive from the Official Languages Act. Those three goals are service to the public in both English and French, the equitable participation of both language groups in the public service, and the right of federal employees to use their own official language as a language of work. Service to the public is divided into two chapters. The first aims to give the reader an idea of how well the public is being served in various circumstances, and how we determine this. The second examines the complaint process: who complains, about what, how institutions react, and how the entire process can contribute to producing lasting improvements.

Equality as a Yardstick

Since the Commissioner of Official Languages is known to be paid to find fault, let us begin this overview of the federal performance in serving Canadians in English and French with a brief remark on benchmarks. The Official Languages Act of 1969 gave "equality of status, rights and privileges" in the federal domain to two languages that were anything but equal at the time. The annual assessments that the Commissioner submits to Parliament therefore embody two kinds of statements. The first is an absolute estimate of the extent to which English and French *are* now equal for federal purposes. The second is a measure of the extent to which timely and appropriate steps are being taken to equalize their status and use in situations where they are still unequal.

Regular readers will recognize in these two yardsticks a familiar counterpoint of our Reports: the "things are better, but there's still much to do" refrain which goes with the job. But there is a third evaluation, combining these two, that must be offered to Parliament and public as well, and perhaps more than ever at this political juncture. That is our assessment whether, at the rate we are going, a worthwhile equality of English and French seems *likely* to be achieved, in all significant dimensions of the programme, and when. Our main message is not that there are inequalities, nor even that some federal activities are more purposeful than others. It concerns the probability that, with more or less of this or that, Parliament will one day be able to tell Canadians that the legitimacy of official bilingualism has been demonstrated and that, by and large, it is doing what it was supposed to do.

As we look, in this and the following chapters, at the face of linguistic equality in 1984, we would ask readers — and government readers in particular — to ask themselves a few simple questions.

- Does the reported treatment or use of English or French represent equality or anything that comes close to it?
- How would I feel if the situation were reversed and it was my official language that was in question?
- Since linguistic equality was legislated 15 years ago and has been an article of constitutional faith for three, what do the situations described tell us about the seriousness and urgency with which administrative and attitudinal changes are taking place?
- If I had the national responsibility for this entire array of linguistic facts, what would I feel I had to do to make this reform successful?

Feeling Equal

Both law and constitution authorize us to expect that the service we get from our government in our language is no better and no worse than Canadians of the other language group get in comparable circumstances. This fundamental notion of fair play is at the heart of official bilingualism and is the kind of social morality that we all understand. So how can we judge whether Canadians of both groups are indeed getting a fair shake from their federal government? A number of indicators have been used over the years, and on each of them we offer the reader our interpretation of how things stand in 1984. Basically, the tools of the trade are three.

- The "count-your-change" test is the proportion of both groups who complain of irregularities and the relative seriousness of those irregularities.
- The "credibility index" measures the theoretical preparedness of federal services to do business in either language. It comprises: (i) a "what-you-see-is-what-you get" test, to judge the extent to which clients are actively encouraged to use their constitutional and legal rights; (ii) a "who's-on-first" procedure to determine whether clients' telephonic overtures in English or French are greeted with equal warmth and blossom into a useful exchange; and (iii) a "morning-breath" or face-to-face test to see what sort of service lies behind that big bilingual smile.
- Finally, there is the "babes-and-sucklings" self-evaluation measure which allows federal officials to explain what they know about the programme and what they think they are doing.

Put them all together and you arrive at what could be called the "composite odds", the overall probability that clients of either group will — in a given set of circumstances — receive the sort of service in their own language that could, by any definition, be called equal — or failing that, that shows enough sense of fair play to bring them back for more.

Count Your Change

Complaints from Anglophones and Francophones vary in kind as well as in number. The most obvious explanation is that French-language service is still being developed while English-language service is an established public service tradition, albeit one that is more often challenged nowadays. From the standpoint of fair play, Anglophones may have fewer occasions to complain that service in English is systematically refused, that their rights are flagrantly and repeatedly denied, or that the response is patently insulting, but their sense of affront is no less real. Complaints and how they are handled are the subject of the following chapter.

The Credibility Index

Active offer

Although it took some time to get the point across, in the last three or four years both Treasury Board and individual federal institutions have increasingly accepted the proposition that compliance with the Official Languages Act requires not only that services be available from certain offices in English and French, but that they be *seen* to be available.

As early as 1977, government's Revised Official Languages Policies recognized the need to have departments and agencies

> take appropriate measures to advise the public of the availability of services in both official languages.

This directive was reinforced three years ago by a further statement requiring that federal services in both official languages be 'actively offered.' The concept of active offer was defined as "the provision of services in such a way that members of the public know that they can freely choose the official language in which they will receive their services." And among ways of ensuring the appropriate visibility and audibility of the federal offer, the guidelines mention telephone reception and follow-up, clear visual identification of bilingual service points, as well as bilingual signs and documentation. In short, if clients are not served in their own language, it should not be for want of knowing that their government is ready to serve them.

Some three-to-seven years later, depending on how you look at it, these eminently clear and sensible requirements are still very incompletely and inconsistently applied. A number of checks were run in 1984 and the findings are given here in summary form. All of the data relate to service situations where there is known to be a minority official-language clientele. Unless otherwise stated the service points that were audited are also listed in government's revised and updated directory of federal offices "having a full-time capacity to provide services to the public in both official languages."[1]

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[1] *Serving You In Both Official Languages*. 1984. Treasury Board of Canada.

Identification: What-You-See-Is-What-You-Get

Visibility of offer

As a way of evaluating how much Canadians are made aware of the federal offer to serve them in both languages, we sampled the outward and visible signs of that offer in six departments and three Crown corporations[1] that were either listed in the Treasury Board directory or otherwise identified as providing service in both languages. Four cities were selected on the basis of their local minority-language population: Moncton and Cornwall with over 30 per cent, and Quebec City and Edmonton with roughly three per cent each. Each office surveyed was measured on three points: whether external identification was bilingual; whether internal signage was satisfactorily bilingual; and whether the relevant services were *actively* offered in both languages by way of counter signs or comparable indications. The general results are tabulated below.

Table II.1

[redacted]

	Buildings included in the survey Number	With external identification %	With internal signage %	With active offer %
Edmonton	16	90	58	13
Cornwall	3	100	67	88
Quebec	12	100	83	89
Moncton	7	62	61	83

Source: Survey by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 1984.

With the exception of Moncton, external identification (usually the responsibility of Public Works) was good, internal signage was only moderately satisfactory in all cases, and actively signalled offer ranged from good in Quebec to very poor in Edmonton.

Reception: Who's on First?

Telephone survey

This year's telephone survey covered the same cities and the same departments and agencies. Two hundred and seventy-three calls produced the results in Table 11.2. These results are more encouraging than last year's, but hardly what one expects from offices with "full-time capacity" bent on "actively offering" the service. Although, in three of the cities, information could be provided promptly about 9 times out of 10, clients were greeted in both languages at best around 80 per cent of the time and at worst 25 per cent, in Edmonton, or 12 per cent, in Quebec

[1] Agriculture, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Employment and Immigration, Environment, Health and Welfare, and Revenue Canada — Customs and Excise, plus Air Canada, Canada Post and Via Rail. The latter three, as Crown corporations, are excluded from the Treasury Board directory noted earlier. Not all departments and agencies had offices in all four cities covered.

Table II.2

	Offices included in the survey Number	Telephone Calls Number	Greetings in both languages Number	%	Information satisfactorily provided[1] Number	%
Edmonton	17	85	22	25.9	29	34.1
Cornwall	9	43	35	81.4	37	86.0
Quebec	20	100	12	12.0	90	90.0
Moncton	13	45	29	64.5	44	97.7

[1] These are cases where intelligible information in the minority official language was provided with reasonable promptness.

Source: Survey by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 1984.

City. The quality of language use was judged unacceptable in almost seven per cent of the cases, as was the comprehensibility of the information in over eight per cent of the cases. There is still a significant gap between the impression one is left with when consulting the Treasury Board publication "Serving You in both Official Languages" and real life.

Initial Contact

Face-to-face

Even the National Capital Region is not immune. A sampling of 85 first-line, public-contact points in Ottawa-Hull late in 1984 revealed that in only 5 cases could the service be said to be 'actively offered' in both official languages either orally or through a bilingual sign of some sort. Most of the time, the reception was in English only, even on the Quebec side of the river. About 18 per cent of the time, the greeting was only in French. In all cases, a simple service in English was obtained, but an equivalent service in French was available in just over 70 per cent of cases. Even in the shadow of the Peace Tower itself, there were areas where service in French was unavailable. Neither the credibility nor the fairness of these arrangements answer to our idea of well-managed and institutionally adequate service to the public. We recommend that all federal offices required to serve Canadians in both official-languages be obliged to do so actively and specifically, at all times and in all circumstances.

Departmental Viewpoints

Recognition and readiness

Treasury Board conducted an analysis of data from departmental plans and from the Official Languages Information System (OLIS) to determine, for 40 minority-language communities outside the so-called bilingual regions, the extent to which

there was any recognition or readiness on the part of 17 departments[1] to provide service in the minority language. The answer was that recognition and readiness varied enormously, and not just in proportion to the size of the minority community. There were major differences between apparent readiness to serve Anglophone communities and readiness to serve Francophone communities. There was every kind of variation in the consistency of treatment from one department to another and from one locality to another within the same department. There was, in short, a mish-mash which, in its very diversity and uncertainty, must be a positive disincentive to minority clients even to try to be served in their own language in many of these places.

Space prevents our offering a complete tabulation of these findings, but we ask the reader to ponder the following examples with the questions we outlined above in mind. Equality? How would *you* feel? How does this reflect on the programme? What would you feel obliged to do?

- Quebec City topped the league for capacity with at least 550 bilingual employees out of a total of around 3500, or something over 15 per cent.
- Generally speaking, the minority communities in Quebec have, on paper, 10 times as many bilingual employees to serve them as those available to equivalent communities in predominantly English-speaking provinces.
- The best served Francophone community outside Quebec was in Edmonton where there are some 70 bilinguals out of about 4000 employees, less than two per cent.
- In Windsor, where there are roughly 60 bilingual employees out of a thousand, only about half the departments checked recognized any significant demand or felt it necessary to publicize their readiness to do business in French.
- Using Official Languages Plans as the source, there are fewer than 10 bilingual employees in 27 of the 40 locations and 18 have none at all; using OLIS as the source, 18 locations have fewer than 10 bilingual employees to go around, and seven have none at all.
- In Quebec, only one of the 12 communities covered has fewer than three bilingual employees to serve the minority community in its language; outside Quebec, about half the 28 communities are in that situation.

Odds on eventual equality

Here is proof, if proof were needed, that it is impossible to provide a worthwhile service to anyone merely as an act of compliance with certain rules. We indicated above that the main message of our Report is its estimate of whether, should

[1] The departments concerned were Agriculture, Revenue Canada-Customs and Excise, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Fisheries and Oceans, National Defence, Environment, Veterans Affairs, Employment and Immigration, Energy, Mines and Ressources, External Affairs, Transport, Health and Welfare, RCMP, Regional Industrial Expansion, Secretary of State, Statistics Canada and Revenue Canada-Taxation.

things go along as they are going now, there will come a time — say by the year 2000 — when the distribution, quality and availability of federal services in English or French will be equal. By present reckoning, there seems no particular reason to suppose they will.

But there is no reason why we should go on like this. There are perfectly sound, non-magical ways of breaking the pattern, ways which have already been demonstrated here and there but which must now be put fully and systematically to the test. Experience shows that those institutions prepared to give local managers clear, simple goals and a reasonably free hand to get on with the job have a much better track record when it comes to giving service than those institutions that are still painting by procedural numbers at a safe bureaucratic distance. It is no accident that Employment and Immigration generally scores well in the very same situations where Canada Post tends to fail lamentably. Three quite elementary factors make for success: a willingness to talk to the client about ways and means of meeting reasonable needs; straightforward, practical goals that have the personal endorsement of senior managers; and systems of auditing and evaluation that hold local staff responsible for results and not for paper compliance.

Significant Demand

The Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Section 20(1)) includes a provision whereby any member of the public in Canada may communicate with federal offices in either English or French "where there is a significant demand." But "significant demand" is not a self-explanatory notion and may have to be interpreted by the courts. Meanwhile, Treasury Board began an exercise in 1984 to develop quantifiable criteria that might assist such interpretation. There are dangers in conducting such an exercise in the abstract, whether it be based on current 'transactions' with supposedly bilingual offices, or on minority-population statistics. So long as there is little or no systematic or credible supply, this is simply starting at the wrong end, and putting the onus on the public to prove demand. A more sensible proceeding, since there is no real mystery about where minority clients exist, is to go all out to put a convincing service in place immediately where those clients agree it will be useful, promote it for all you are worth and keep close tabs on how it is used and why.

When it comes to serving the public in English and French, the task of the central agencies and of departmental management is to see that line managers are given a straightforward, practical direction, that they have the tools to get on with the job, and then make sure that results match the actual needs.

Complaints: The Voice of the People

English and French are the official languages of Canada, and one is not more official than the other. Equality is the operative word. To determine to what extent it has filtered down from the lofty summit of law and principle to the everyday world of government services, we must listen to the people. They are the ones who encounter language problems and go to the trouble of contacting this Office. To get a clear picture of the complaints process and what it means to the public, to federal institutions and to this Office, we must look at the kinds of complaints we receive and how they are handled.

The Complaint and its Significance

To ensure that the letter and the spirit of the Official Languages Act be respected, the Legislator gave the people of Canada access to an independent arbiter: the Commissioner of Official Languages. And taxpayers have made good use of that service. We get complaints from Canadians from all walks of life, young and old, and from every corner of the country. (Those who are interested in statistical breakdowns may consult Table A.1, Appendix A). In most instances people write to us on their own behalf, but occasionally we also receive representations from minority-language associations and other interested groups. People generally complain because they feel their rights have been denied. And many let us know their dissatisfaction in no uncertain terms.

Complaints can be classified under two headings — those which reflect genuinely isolated slip-ups and those which point to something fundamentally wrong in the institution's approach to the Official Languages Act. Slip-ups can be serious enough, but complaints that indicate a serious weakness in the system call for a more in-depth examination and in some cases a complete linguistic audit of the institution.

Since this Office was created, we have received over 16,000 complaints. In 1984, there were 1,421, of which 214 were from Anglophones, most of them Quebec residents. This ratio of one in six has remained constant over the last five years; this is obviously significant. The vast majority concerned federal organizations, but 137 dealt with provincial agencies or private enterprise. The steady stream of complaints tells us three things: that federal performance is a long way from perfect, that people take the language question very seriously, and that they also feel there

is something to be gained by involving this Office. A brief self-examination tells us how rarely we bother to complain, even when we have every provocation. It follows that each complaint could well be the tip of a very large iceberg indeed. As witness the following example.

Via Rail

A passenger on a Via Rail sleeping-car travelling from Montreal to Gaspé could not obtain service in French from the unilingual attendant on duty. Such a complaint raises a number of interesting issues. Although only one complaint was lodged, there were certainly many other Francophone passengers who were denied service in their language. How did Via Rail come to have an attendant who cannot speak French on a train in the Province of Quebec in the first place? And since this occurred on one occasion, might it not have occurred on many others? Would those who see nothing very abnormal in this incident feel equally complacent if there had been no English service aboard a train in Ontario? These are some of the questions we ask ourselves as we examine the complaints we receive.

A Sampling of Complaints

The selection that follows illustrates some of the concerns of our complainants. It is organized under the headings of service to the public, the equitable participation of both linguistic groups in government institutions, and language of work.

Service to the public

Problems of being properly served in either English or French accounted for 93 per cent of all complaints received in 1984. Understandably, departments and corporations such as Air Canada, Canada Post, Employment and Immigration, Transport Canada accounted for the lion's share, because they have the largest number of clients in the largest number of places. It should be noted also that more than half of the complaints we receive concern a very serious flaw in the system: the failure to actively offer service in the minority language.

National Museums

Example number one shows how what turned out to be a relatively isolated incident could have far-reaching consequences. A number of French-speaking students from Hull who went to the Museum of Man in Ottawa on different occasions to fulfil a class assignment were received by a uniformed attendant with suggestions that if they did not speak English, they had better go back to Quebec. As might be expected, the students and their teacher were shocked by such a sorry lesson in Canadian anthropology; so were the authorities at the National Museums of Canada when the matter was brought to their attention. The situation which involved a security guard hired on contract was promptly corrected and an apology was proffered. To make amends the students were invited back for a guided tour of the Museum.

Tax Court

Responses from certain institutions often help us to understand the frustration felt by some complainants. A Francophone appeared before the Tax Court of Canada in Montreal to contest her income tax assessment. Both the judge and the lawyer

for Revenue Canada were Francophone. At one point the lawyer gave photocopied documents in English to the complainant and the judge. Since she cannot read English, the complainant asked for a translation, only to be told none was available. When informed of the complaint, a Tax Court representative suggested that the complainant should have asked for an interpreter beforehand, a service available upon request in writing. He failed to say how she could possibly guess that one would be needed. Although this complainant did not obtain immediate linguistic redress, we asked the Court to include in its rules a section clearly setting out the language rights of appellants, one that would put the onus on the court.

Health and Welfare

Occasionally, Anglophones also have problems obtaining service in their language. Having sent a physical examination report to the Department of Health and Welfare, an Anglophone doctor in private practice in British Columbia received a form letter in French requesting further information. What at first appeared to be an oversight — the Official Languages Act does not take precedence over Murphy's Law — became more serious when the public servant involved maintained that it was his right to work in French. He eventually saw the light and apologized.

Equitable participation

Concern about equitable participation is usually expressed in the form of questions and comments on global representation figures or on what is perceived as restricted access to public service positions. We receive a number of complaints, for instance, about the language requirements of positions, aptitude tests and access to language training. While in most cases our investigations reveal that the institution is simply following official guidelines, there are nevertheless instances where the process proved less than fair.

Canada Post

For instance, we hear of notices and job descriptions which are not available in the appropriate language or board members who cannot speak the candidate's language. The following is a typical example. Canada Post placed notices for a vacant position in Quebec in a Montreal French-language paper, but did not have it published in the English-language daily. At present, fewer than three per cent of the Corporation's employees in Quebec are English-speaking. It is obvious that imbalances of this kind will never be rectified if Anglophones are not made aware of job opportunities.

Language of work

Only seven per cent of the complaints received in 1984 referred to language-of-work problems, and most of them originated in the National Capital Region. Although few employees are ready to rock the boat in this way, partly for fear of reprisals, surveys conducted as part of our audits consistently reveal a high degree of dissatisfaction with the language-of-work situation as it affects the choice of French by Francophones.

Canadian Security Intelligence Service

We received two complaints against the Canadian Security Intelligence Service. The first was to the effect that simultaneous interpretation was not available at meetings at the national level — the standard, open invitation to conduct all business in English. The second referred to a number of telexes, memoranda and other

messages sent in English only, from headquarters in Ottawa to the Quebec office. We were told that the Service is still in the process of getting itself organized and that these problems would be corrected in the months ahead. We were thus faced once more with the age-old problem the Act was supposed to correct. An organization is set up and later, almost as an afterthought, attention is given to the official languages aspects.

National Defence

A group of soldiers of the Royal 22nd Regiment in Germany ran into unexpected problems when a warehouse in Canada burned down and various goods they had in storage were lost. The insurance company involved sent a representative to meet the soldiers and their dependents to assess the amounts to be paid in compensation. To ensure that all was handled properly, the Department of National Defence sent along two of its own adjudicators to advise the soldiers and their families on their rights. The problem was that, although virtually all the armed forces personnel and their dependents were French-speaking, neither of the two departmental adjudicators could speak that language. The Department informed us that its adjudicators had had no problems because of "the complete co-operation of the Canadian Forces in Europe". On the other hand, if DND had sent at least one bilingual adjudicator, the Canadian Forces in Europe could have got on with their regular duties.

The Handling of Complaints

It takes two to tango, but three to fandango a complaint. There is the victim, the organization and the Commissioner. Let us see how the last two play their respective roles.

Employment and Immigration

A fair number of federal institutions accept complaints as a genuine sign that something is wrong and take the trouble to get to the root of the problem. Here is one example. Beginning back in 1982, we received a series of complaints about a lack of service in French in Canada Employment Centres in Hamilton. Employment and Immigration examined the situation, met with local Francophone associations and decided that what was needed was a central location where all services could be offered in French. Obviously such a project could not be carried out overnight, but we are happy to report that the centre is now in full swing.

Status of Women

Plaudits, too, for the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women. We received complaints about a lack of service in French in its Winnipeg office. As a first step, the Council hired a bilingual employee. For quite a number of departments, that would also have been the last step; but not for the Council. It organized a meeting with Franco-Manitoban women's groups to determine how it could improve the provision of service in French. That is how an organization reacts when it really cares.

Revenue Canada – Taxation

Unfortunately, not all institutions respond with such alacrity. We received complaints because service in French was not readily available at the Enquiries Office of Revenue Canada – Taxation in Ottawa. The Department replied that five of the eight employees handling telephone enquiries were bilingual and that callers sometimes had to dial several times before they could get through. The problem, the

Department concluded, had really nothing to do with language. We begged to differ. The beleaguered Anglophone client was at least assured of service in his language when he finally reached someone. Not so the Francophone. After seven letters and considerable discussion, Revenue Canada said it would consider the installation of separate English and French lines.

Fisheries and Oceans

Sensitivity to language matters is particularly important for those institutions which have regulatory functions. Unfortunately, there are instances where this sensitivity is sorely lacking. A Francophone fisherman from Nova Scotia, for instance, was brought to court by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans for having allegedly obstructed departmental inspectors in the performance of their duties. The fisherman said that he did not want the officers to board his vessel because they could not carry out the inspection in French. The judge could not find sufficient evidence that the fisherman had acted improperly. He felt that under the provisions of the Charter of Rights, the defendant should have been better served in his own language. The Department appealed the decision but without success. It finally decided to have at least one bilingual employee on each inspection team. Again, particularly because of the regulatory nature of its functions, one wonders why the Department had not done this years ago.

Via Rail

Our investigations and audits reveal that complainants' allegations are rarely off the mark. In fact, they are seldom contested by departments. Occasionally, an institution will tell us that it cannot confirm the incident in question. Two different passengers on Via Rail trains, one going to Montreal and the other to Ottawa, complained that when they asked the conductor in French when the train would get in, he answered in English. The complaints went from Via Rail to CN Railways since that is the company which employed the train crew. Eventually, CN informed us that none of its employees on either train could recall such an incident. Thankfully stopping short of questioning the complainants' credibility, CN decided to remind crew members of their linguistic obligations, a weak-kneed solution not likely to produce results. In fairness to Via Rail, it should be noted that it inherited most of its problems of service from CN.

That last example brings up a problem which plagues federal agencies like Via Rail, CN, Air Canada and Canada Post. In these organizations, employees who have been with the company the longest have first choice for assignments, regardless of their language skills. This seniority provision is part of their collective agreement. It also makes it impossible to ensure that bilingual service will be available at all times. Moreover, this festering problem has seldom been dealt with seriously enough by the agencies concerned. Until a court decides otherwise, the right of the public to be served in the official language of its choice takes precedence over seniority provisions. In this connection, the government would be well advised to review the issue and to include it in any public discussions of possible extension of services or privatization schemes.

How does this Office handle these and other situations? Our task is to obtain satisfaction for the complainant and, above all, to bring about institutional changes to remove the source of the problem.

Public Works

A subcontracting firm in Montreal found that the English text of the specifications on which it had based its successful bid lacked a paragraph contained in the French original. As a result, the firm had to do additional work valued at over four thousand dollars. The specifications had been prepared by the Department of Public Works. The Department came around to our point of view that both versions should have been identical and eventually paid compensation to the subcontractor.

Air Canada

We have already noted a few instances where complaints brought about institutional changes. Sometimes it takes a linguistic audit to get to the bottom of things. Following numerous complaints to the effect that Air Canada was not providing adequate service in French at Lester B. Pearson International Airport in Toronto, we undertook an audit and discovered that the staff did not greet passengers in both languages, nor did management require that this be done. We recommended, among other things, that an adequate number of bilingual employees be on duty at all times and that passengers be made aware of where bilingual service is available. The Corporation has begun to implement our recommendations.

It should be borne in mind that, as is generally the case with ombudsmen, the Commissioner has no statutory power to compel institutions to comply with his recommendations. His is largely a moral authority, and the Act contains no coercive or punitive provisions. He can seek to persuade and convince, but his ultimate strength lies in the reports he makes to Parliament, which serve to publicize governmental shortcomings and enlist public opinion on behalf of the citizen.

Such being the case, how successful are we in handling complaints? Obviously, those best qualified to answer that question are the citizens themselves. As part of his 1983 comprehensive audit of our Office, the Auditor General had a satisfaction survey of our complainants carried out by an independent firm. Unmarked questionnaires were sent to all those who had lodged complaints over a one-year period, and a return rate of over 50 per cent was obtained.

Overall, 80 per cent of the respondents were satisfied with our handling of their cases. Among the 20 per cent who were not, half indicated that the Commissioner should have coercive power or, in any case, find ways to obtain more satisfactory results. The other half had not yet received a final report on our investigation or else found our service too slow or our responses too vague. Nevertheless, 60 per cent of the dissatisfied respondents indicated that they would again lodge a complaint with our Office should the occasion arise.

In response to the criticisms formulated, we have taken steps to provide more rapid service and improve the quality of our replies. We have also improved our monitoring system in order, not only to speed up the handling of cases, but also to keep our correspondents better informed of developments and results.

The Last Word

Complaints are very important both to those who lodge them and to us. When members of the public go to the trouble of contacting this Office, it is because they feel they have been denied a right granted them by the Official Languages Act and

the Constitution. Any such denial is a lot more than an inconvenience; it reflects disrespect for the law, for the citizen and taxpayer and ultimately, for the whole notion of public service.

From our perspective, complaints provide a much needed link with the population at large. They help to pinpoint areas where linguistic equality is lacking and therefore where additional efforts are required. If there has been a significant improvement on the language front since the arrival of the Official Languages Act, it is due in no small part to the people who have brought unacceptable situations to our attention by means of complaints. It is our hope that the process is as useful to them as it is to the stated goal of language equality.

Equitable Participation: How You Slice It

Equitable participation of English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians in the federal government is a subject which tends to make people nervous. Fears persist that what is being proposed is "affirmative action", "reverse discrimination", or "quotas." The government has stated repeatedly that it is firmly committed to the merit principle. Nevertheless, public discussion of the policy to date has not really succeeded in dispelling misunderstandings. It is not surprising, then, if there are two very different perceptions of what the policy is accomplishing. Francophones see one picture of the relative presence and distribution of the two language groups in the public service while Anglophones see another.

Purpose of the policy

Before we examine how these perceptions arise, and on what factual basis, it is important to spend a moment on the purpose of this policy. Why is it important that the two groups share in the administration of federal programmes and that their distribution mirror, to a reasonable degree, their representation in the Canadian population?

There are several answers. First, it is basic democracy that there be equal access to government employment. Participation policy aims to remove barriers that might unfairly limit access for either official-language group. Secondly, it is only appropriate that the country's largest single employer take account of its impact on the relative incomes of both groups. Furthermore, government seeks to do business in both English and French and to reflect the values of the people it serves. Participation rates affect employees' opportunities to present their views and to work in their own language. A bureaucracy which does not come close to the linguistic makeup of the population, throughout various regions and up and down the hierarchical ladder, will be hard pressed to show sensitivity to the cultural and social values, let alone the political thinking of *all* taxpayers.

In talking about people and jobs and how they are related, we need to know what numbers are involved. In 1984 there were approximately 220,000 federal employees covered by the Public Service Employment Act (PSEA), and some 236,000 in Crown corporations. This is a large enough component of the Canadian work force for its composition to make a difference to the overall employment picture, not to mention the national linguistic balance. Table II.3 presents the overall picture for both groups of employees according to the relative size of the institutions.

Table II.3

	Employees covered by the Public Service Employment Act[1]				Other federal employees[2]			
	Institutions Number	Anglophones %	Francophones %	Total Number	Institutions Number	Anglophones %	Francophones %	Total Number
Institutions with over 400 employees	34	72.8	27.2	216,890	62	75.1	24.9	231,139
Institutions with under 400 employees	34	63.6	36.4	3,778	56	56.0	44.0	5,273
TOTAL	**68**	**72.6**	**27.4**	**220,668**	**118**	**74.7**	**25.3**	**236,412**

Sources: [1] Public Service Commission, 1983;
[2] O.C.O.L. figures, 1984. Some are estimates.

Given that the 1981 census indicated that 26 per cent of Canada's population had French as their mother tongue, it would appear that Francophone participation in government departments proper is slightly over that figure, while their participation in Crown corporations is slightly below it. Overall, however, not a bad match.

Aspects of the Problem

But a warning is required. In no other aspect of language policy is it so vital to look at the parts as well as, or even in preference to, the whole. Seen only in macro terms, participation figures frequently mislead. If we begin with the overall picture, it is *because* of the false impressions that it can create; the positive and negative trends in participation can only really be brought out by examining the breakdown by occupational group and level, by region, by type of department, and even by individual institutions. Looking at each of these in turn, we will attempt to weed out impressions and come to facts. It is important to reflect not only on the complexities of the problem, but on the many factors that have to be kept in mind in resolving it.

Public Service proper

Totalling all 68 federal departments and agencies, in 1983, 60,417 of 220,668 employees in the Public Service proper had French as their first official language, or 27.4 per cent. Not only do the total figures look appropriate, they also provide evidence that Francophones have been making steady progress over the 15 years since the Official Languages Act was passed. Table II.4 looks back to 1965, when the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism reported, although only on the basis of a small sample, that the proportion of public servants with French as their mother tongue was 21.5 per cent. This was, incidentally, close to the

World War I level and up from 12.3 per cent in 1944, the lowest point on record. By 1974, 24.3 per cent of all public servants gave French as their first official language, and the progress has obviously continued.

Table II.4

[redacted]

	1965[1]	1974	1984
French	21.5	24.4	27.8
English	78.5	75.6	72.2

[1] Mother tongue.

Sources: 1965 figures: *The Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*, vol. III p. 210, 1969, (based on sample only);
1974 and 1984 figures: Official Languages Information System, December 1984.

Global distribution, therefore, provides little cause for comment. But letters to the press or to this Office show that there are quite a few English-speaking Canadians who see evidence that there are "too many" Francophones in the public service. Not only is this untrue, as a general statement, but, as we will demonstrate below, Francophones are actually at a disadvantage in many situations, and most notably in senior management. Why, then, should misperceptions occur?

One source of confusion is the global distribution of Francophones and Anglophones by department. If we assume that Francophone representation in the 22 to 30 per cent range is acceptable, being plus or minus 4 points from the national population norm of 26 per cent, and if we review the *global* rates for those 56 departments and agencies with over 500 employees for whom we have dependable data, we find that 14 of them fall within that range, 30 exceed it, and 12 are below. In these admittedly rough terms, it might appear that there are considerably more institutions with "too many" Francophones than with "too few." And yet the Anglophone-Francophone ratio in all these institutions taken together is 76:24. How is this explicable? The short answer is by taking a closer look at the numbers, not the percentages.

Some institutions with many thousands of employees (RCMP, Environment, Air Canada, Agriculture, Fisheries and Oceans, and Transport, for example) either fall well short of the 22 per cent mark or just barely make it. Under-representation on this scale can have a major impact on the total picture. It is not until we get beyond the question of jobs *en masse* that we begin to see how well or how badly each group is actually taking an appropriate part in running government operations. That serious inequities of various kinds persist can be seen by looking at the Anglophone and Francophone proportions in the six main occupational categories of public service jobs. (Table II.5).

Hierarchical Distribution

What might be described as professional polarization is immediately evident. Over half of all Francophone employees, or 33,190 of 60,417, are in non-officer positions, two-thirds of these in the Administrative Support category, which includes clerks, secretaries and similar occupations. It also follows, of course, that English-speakers are under-represented in these jobs. On the other hand, Francophones are scarce in the Technical category as well as the Scientific and Professional category, where they make up 20 per cent and 22 per cent respectively.

Senior Management

In the Senior Management category they are scarcest of all. Moreover, as Table II.5 shows, their overall participation in the latter category has not budged from around 20.5 per cent in the last three years. About 22 per cent of the Executive group are Francophones, while for the Senior Manager group, immediately below it, participation is around 17 per cent. Nor are Francophones as prominent as they might be in the so-called "feeder groups", one and two rungs below Senior Management; here they make up about 18 per cent. However, if present recruitment and promotion trends continue, and provided that expected budgetary constraints do not modify the trends, Public Service Commission forecasters expect that the Executive category will be 25 per cent Francophone by 1987. Seen in this light,

Table II.5

[redacted]

	1981				1984			
A. OFFICER CATEGORIES	**Anglophones**		**Francophones**		**Anglophones**		**Francophones**	
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Management	1,148	79.5	296	20.5	3,199	79.5	824	20.5
Scientific & professional	17,210	80.1	4,267	19.9	17,783	77.9	5,043	22.1
Administrative & Foreign Service	39,095	72.1	15,110	27.9	39,887	70.6	16,626	29.4
Technical	21,518	80.8	5,122	19.2	22,106	79.4	5,718	20.6
Sub total: Officers	**78,971**	**76.1**	**24,795**	**23.9**	**82,975**	**74.6**	**28,211**	**25.4**
B. NON-OFFICER CATEGORIES								
Administrative Support	49,224	68.0	23,205	32.0	47,956	66.6	24,101	33.4
Operational	74,632	73.0	27,600	27.0	33,685	75.4	11,014	24.6
Sub total: Non-Officers	**123,856**	**70.9**	**50,805**	**29.1**	**81,641**	**69.9**	**35,115**	**30.1**
TOTAL	**202,827**	**72.8**	**75,600**	**27.2**	**164,616**	**72.2**	**63,326**[1]	**27.8**

[1] Employees outside Canada included.

Source: Official Languages Information System.

the steady rise in Francophone participation over the years takes on a rather different coloration. There have been some improvements in all categories over time, but they are uneven, and the excessive concentration of Francophones in support categories and their inconsistent participation in senior jobs continue to warrant special attention.

Regional Distribution

Francophone employees in the Public Service proper are massively concentrated in Quebec. Roughly half of all Francophone public servants, or 30,242, work in that province. Indeed, about 93 per cent of all Public Service employees in Quebec are French-speaking. This, too, points up the danger of global participation figures which lump all regions together.

Table II.6 permits a comparison of the distribution of Anglophones and Francophones in each major region of the country at the end of 1983 and of 1984. The good news is that Francophone participation increased slightly in every region, despite the restraints in effect during this period. The bad news is that the Anglophone minority in Quebec suffered a further decline in its already very low share of Public Service positions and that Francophone participation is still considerably under par in the bilingual regions of Ontario and New Brunswick.

Table II.6

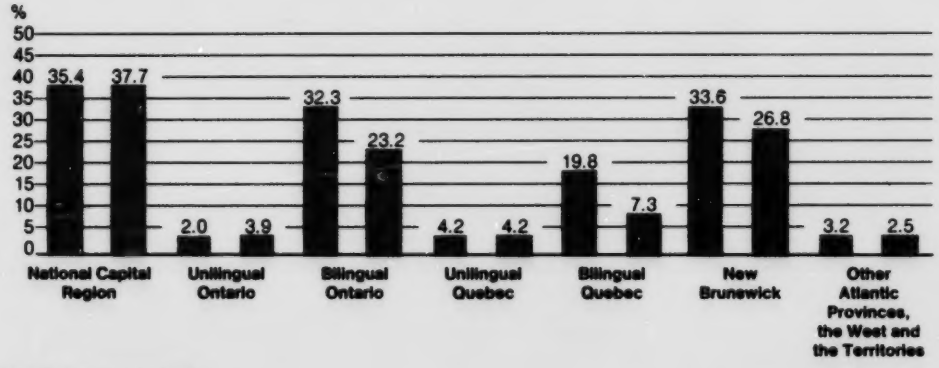
	1983				1984			
	Anglophones		Francophones		Anglophones		Francophones	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
West	49,137	98.1	941	1.9	49,154	98.0	996	2.0
Unilingual Ontario	32,411	97.3	917	2.7	32,010	97.1	972	2.9
Bilingual Ontario	2,711	77.3	798	22.7	2,834	76.8	857	23.2
National Capital Region	48,936	64.6	26,799	35.4	48,527	64.3	26,900	35.7
Bilingual Quebec	1,329	7.9	15,575	92.1	1,225	7.3	15,504	92.7
Unilingual Quebec	706	4.7	14,409	95.3	647	4.2	14,738	95.8
New Brunswick	5,730	74.1	2,003	25.9	5,636	73.2	2,062	26.8
Other Atlantic Provinces	20,753	96.6	730	3.4	21,010	96.4	792	3.6
Territories	2,472	96.2	97	3.8	2,400	96.0	101	4.0
Total in Canada	**164,185**	**72.5**	**62,269**	**27.5**	**163,443**	**72.2**	**62,922**	**27.8**

[1] Employees outside Canada omitted.

Source: Official Languages Information System, December 1983 and December 1984.

There are significant disparities in several regions. The public service in New Brunswick, in the bilingual regions of Quebec (including Montreal) and in the bilingual regions of Northern and Eastern Ontario — home to 95 per cent of the official-language minorities — are still a rather poor reflection of the minority officia l-language communities in those regions. We are satisfied that a serious and effective effort is being made to improve the picture in New Brunswick. There has also been some, less striking improvement in Northern and Eastern Ontario, where the poor performance of a few departments such as Environment and Agriculture drags the regional average down. (See Table II.7).

Table II.7



Key: ■ **General population**

■ **Public servants**

Sources: Public servants (first official language): Official Languages Information System, December 1984; general population (mother tongue): Statistics Canada, 1981 Census.

Quebec

The federal administration in Quebec, on the other hand, presents a problem of quite different proportions and merits special discussion. Only about seven per cent of Public Service jobs in all regions of that province are occupied by Anglophones, a figure even lower in 1984 than in 1983 or 1982. The situation exists both in the so-called bilingual as well as in unilingual regions, and in all categories. In the bilingual regions, Anglophone participation in federal departments has dropped from 8.2 per cent in 1982 to 7.3 per cent in 1984. In unilingual regions, the rate fell from 5.3 per cent in 1982 to 4.3 cent in 1984. We are faced with a major systemic problem on which neither the central agencies nor individual departments have so far made much impact.

There is a particular difficulty in the recruitment of Anglophone support staff, who are even less well represented than their colleagues in officer positions. Studies have demonstrated that Anglophones are presenting themselves as candidates for

support staff positions in reasonable numbers, but are not being hired in equivalent proportions. They just do not make it through the selection process. While this is not an easy problem to solve, it would help if there were more complete commitment to solving it. Despite a proliferation of studies and meetings involving the Quebec Regional Division of Employment and Immigration, which is responsible for referring candidates for federal support staff positions, it is clear to us that divisional management has not taken the problem seriously. All we hear from them is that Crown corporations in Quebec have a disproportionately high proportion of Anglophone employees, which allegedly balances out their low participation in federal departments. For this purpose they lump together corporation figures for national headquarters offices and Quebec regional operations. Confining ourselves to regional operations, Anglophone participation in Crown corporations is somewhat higher, at 11 per cent, than in departments, but it is still not high, and juggling apples and oranges in this way does nothing for the underlying trends, which are downward in both cases.

The Public Service Commission, at least, appears to take the situation to heart. Its officials have continued to follow up on the 1982 study of minority participation in bilingual regions. They have met with representatives of Anglo-Quebec communities and made effective efforts to increase referral of Anglophone candidates for officer category positions in Quebec. With the best will in the world, however, things cannot get much better in the short run. Anglophone public servants in Quebec are, on average, much older than their Francophone colleagues and are retiring in greater numbers, at a time when very little external recruitment is taking place. Departments in Quebec will have to run very hard, like Alice's White Queen, simply to stay in the same place. Another instance where concerted action is the only plausible line of improvement.

Crown Corporations

With over half of all federal employees, Crown corporations deserve closer scrutiny from the point of view of equitable participation than they sometimes get. For one thing, they do not all keep adequate records on this point. Subject though they are to the Official Languages Act, they are not obliged, as separate employers, to submit standardized participation data to Treasury Board, which is the government's overall manager in official language matters. The result is a less than complete picture of public service employment.

What information is available suggests that the largest corporations are often considerably out of line with equitable participation norms for the two language groups. Canada Post is one example. Behind a plausible, national, Anglophone-Francophone ratio of 70:30 lies a less-than-healthy reality. Slightly less than three per cent of postal employees in Quebec are English-speaking. But this imbalance has its counterparts in predominantly English-speaking regions: under seven per cent of postal employees in the Atlantic provinces are Francophone, while in the West the proportion goes down to one per cent or less. Air Canada leans the other way, with roughly 4,000 Francophone employees out of 21,000, while at Eldorado Nuclear, to take a more centralized corporation, about 20 per cent of employees

are also Francophone, but very few of them are at the management level. Typical of the monitoring problem is Petro-Canada. Our 1984 audit staff were able to learn only that there were "about 60 Francophones among the 3,000 employees in Petro-Canada's various operations in Calgary", and could turn up no firm participation figures for operations elsewhere in the country. Although we cannot arrive at precise conclusions for Crown corporations as a whole, our calculations tend to indicate that their level of Francophone participation is below the general population figure for those having French as their mother tongue.

One corporation after another tells us they simply do not *know* how many of their employees have French or English as their first official language, or how many bilingual employees they think they need, or how many *are* bilingual, and where they are located, either in the hierarchy or across regions. Given that Treasury Board has no authority to oblige these institutions to present their participation data systematically and on the same basis, we recommend that *all* agencies subject to the Official Languages Act be legally compelled to collect and report their Anglophone-Francophone figures by the standard criteria used everywhere else in the public service. This information is indispensable to providing Parliament with a complete and comprehensible picture of the employment situation, and effective supervision of the Official Languages Act makes standardized reporting of these data mandatory. The possibility of further privatization of federal agencies already represents a risk for official-languages management and evaluation; without dependable statistics on this important facet of the programme, the loss in linguistic accountability could be even more serious.

Departmental Differences

If, in time, all the hierarchical and regional inequities were straightened out, how far should we expect each department, and each sector or branch of each department, to model its Anglophone-Francophone ratio on general population norms? The only realistic and fair answer to that question is that the mandate or vocation of certain departments and agencies makes it improbable, even over the long haul, that they will exhibit a "normal" balance between the two groups. There is no great mystery, for instance, in finding a preponderance of Francophones in the Translation Bureau, or an equivalent preponderance of Anglophones at the Canadian Grain Commission. The services of the Federal Government are not all in uniform demand in every region of the country, or in equal proportion by both language groups. What is to be avoided is allowing particular occupational sectors to become the preserve of one or other group, so that "arts and culture" appeals only to Francophones and "science" only to Anglophones. One should not expect to eradicate all these so-called cultural biases, but we should not allow them to dominate our government services. In pushing hard for an end to inequities of opportunity, we are not required to fly in the face of broader market forces. Participation goals should not be artificial or lead to new inequities.

Conclusion

Progress has been made, to differing degrees in different areas, toward fuller Francophone participation in the operations of the federal government and redressing some of the vocational imbalances. The process is incomplete, but it is generally on the right lines. In Quebec, however, we can see the danger of letting momen-

tum continue forward after the moment has passed to slow down or reverse steam. The various social forces at work can easily create pendulum effects in participation that are very difficult to bring under control. All the more reason to monitor *all* the relevant factors closely and uniformly, and to intervene thoughtfully, selectively and with a proper respect for the time it takes properly to stabilize imbalances.

Healthy and co-operative participation is a state of mind as well as a mere matter of numbers. It is not a policy tap that can be turned on and off in a moment, and the results of today's decisions may take many years to reveal themselves. It is especially important in this delicate area not to let our linguistic partisanery run away with us, that data be properly presented, and that necessary changes be thought through before we over-react. There are four or five relatively localized participation problems that still need to be worked on with some urgency: the Quebec Anglophone situation; the minority situation outside Quebec; recruitment of Francophone scientists; more Francophones in management and fewer in the clerical ranks, and so on. But these particular difficulties should not blind us to the fact that we now have a much more representative and responsive public service than we had 15 years ago.

Language of Work: Dealer's Choice

The federal policy on language of work is to enable public servants to use either English or French in carrying out their duties in those parts of the public service where both Anglophones or Francophones are — or ought to be — adequately represented. Equitable language use in these circumstances has cultural as well as political implications. It has been shown that Francophones who are dissuaded by their institutional environment from using their first language, subtly or otherwise, tend over time to lose the facility to work in French and may eventually be unable to provide satisfactory service in that language. The B and B Commission noted, for example, that a number of Francophones who claimed French as their best working language on entering the public service later reported that their best working language was English (Table II.8). Although this situation has moderated somewhat, recent data show that the opportunities for Francophones to use French freely and creatively in their daily work are still limited. Translation Bureau statistics show, for instance, that in 1983-84 about 90 per cent of texts destined for internal use originated in English.[1] Unless Francophones are given more room and more incentive to choose their own language, the predominantly Anglophone public service milieu will continue to exert an anglicizing influence.

Table II.8

	Optimum Language: French	Optimum Language: English	Optimum Language: English or French
Upon entry into the public service	57.4	9.8	32.8
At a later date (1965)	31.9	13.3	54.8

Source: *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* vol. III: "The Work World", p. 125.

[1] Excludes the Parliamentary sector.

Government has a good deal at stake in fostering the use of French by Anglophones as well as Francophones. Both the public and personal investment in language training has been enormous. Graduates who do not use their second language lose proficiency and, in the process, their competitiveness for bilingual jobs. Francophone viewpoints that are transmitted to government in English are no longer really Francophone viewpoints, and a government that listens to and talks to a quarter of its constituents via translation and interpretation cannot claim to be genuinely in touch. Each year our Report focuses on an apparent lack of progress in this area. And this year, although we note an increased interest in the issue, the available evidence obliges us to say that little else has changed. A number of departmental initiatives for promoting greater use of French have been catalogued, but there has been very little central co-ordination or promotion of these initiatives, as we had recommended in our 1982 study.

Language Use Surveys

Table II.9

	Francophone Population	Francophone Public Servants
National Capital Region	35.4	35.7
Bilingual Regions of Ontario	32.2	23.2
Bilingual Regions of Quebec	66.8	92.7
New Brunswick	33.6	26.8
All Regions	**52.3**	**43.7**

Sources: General population: Statistics Canada, 1981 Census;
Public Servants: Official Languages Information System, 1984.

Last spring the Treasury Board made public the data from its 1983 survey on the use of English and French by public servants in bilingual regions.[1] Keeping in mind that public servants are reporting impressionistically on their own relative language use, the data appear to indicate that the increase in the time public servants spend using French in internal oral and written communications has been marginal. It has increased from 28 per cent overall in 1978 to 30 per cent in 1983. The following table II.10 presents the general picture over that five-year period.

[1] Federal policy designates the following regions as bilingual for language-of-work purposes: in Quebec, Montreal, parts of the Eastern Townships and the Gaspé; parts of Eastern and Northeastern Ontario; the entire province of New Brunswick; and the National Capital Region. The proportions of Francophones in the general population and among public servants in these regions are set out in Table II.9.

Table II.10

	1978	1981	1983
Anglophones	9	9	11
Francophones	57	55	55
Combined	**28**	**28**	**30**

Source: *Use of the Official Languages in the Bilingual Regions of the Public Service 1978-1983*, ("Language Use Survey"), Treasury Board, 1984.

These global data obscure certain regional variations as well as increases and decreases in the relative use of French in the different kinds of positions: English-essential, French-essential, bilingual and either/or. Inclusion of the bilingual regions of Quebec, where Francophones represent about 93 per cent of the public servant population and the use of French is understandably high, also tends to flatter the overall picture.

Language use and bilingual positions

The problem of language of work remains double-edged. The policy's raison d'être has always been to put the use of French by Francophones in the public service on an equal footing with that of English wherever both groups are substantially represented. This means developing an improved second-language capacity and use among Anglophones as well as encouraging French use by Francophones. How well these two goals are being met may best be seen by looking more closely at internal language use among public servants who meet the requirements of bilingual positions. One would have expected, given the increase in Francophone

Table II.11

	1978	1983
National Capital Region	53.3	60.3
Bilingual Regions of Ontario	41.7	58.9
Bilingual Regions of Quebec	90.4	91.4
New Brunswick	58.7	72.7

[1] These data as well as the data from the "Language Use Surveys" exclude the Post Office, which became a Crown corporation in 1981.

Source: Official Languages Information System.

representation over the period when the language use surveys were conducted, that opportunities to use English and French more equitably would also have improved. (See Table II.11 above). However, recognizing that variations of one or two percentage points may not be significant, the following table shows that the use of French in the National Capital Region and New Brunswick is low and stagnant while in bilingual Ontario it gives every appearance of regressing.

Table II.12

	Official-Language Group	1978	1981	1983
National Capital Region	Anglophones	15	15	18
	Francophones	41	41	38
Bilingual Regions of Ontario	Anglophones	22	22	15
	Francophones	40	40	34
Bilingual Regions of Quebec	Anglophones	57	57	61
	Francophones	73	73	80
New Brunswick	Anglophones	18	18	17
	Francophones	43	43	42
All Regions	**Anglophones**	**18**	**18**	**20**
	Francophones	**52**	**52**	**51**

Source: "Language Use Survey", Treasury Board, 1984.

Interaction data

To shed more light on the apparent underuse of French, the 1983 survey introduced questions on the amount of time Anglophones and Francophones spend working with members of their own and the other language group and, of that time, how much English and French is used.

By analyzing these interaction data, the relationship between the presence of English-speakers and French-speakers and the use of the two languages becomes clearer. If Quebec is excluded, the results are as follows.

- Qualified Anglophone occupants of bilingual positions spend roughly one third of their time communicating with French-speaking public servants. In doing so, they report using French 40 per cent of that time in the National Capital Region, 44 per cent in the bilingual regions of Ontario and 53 per cent in New Brunswick.

- Qualified Francophones in bilingual positions report interacting with Anglophones between 50 and 60 per cent of the time, and of that time they reportedly use French 12 per cent or less.

- Qualified bilingual Francophones generally spend at most half of their time communicating with other Francophones. The extent to which communications are in French in these interactions ranges from 80 per cent in the National Capital Region to roughly 75 per cent in the bilingual parts of Ontario and New Brunswick.

Analysis of these interactions shows that there is still a considerable pull toward English for Francophones. On the face of it, qualified Anglophones in bilingual jobs perceive themselves as using French a respectable amount of the time. But, if we use the National Capital Region as an example, it is apparent that even qualified Anglophone bilinguals spend only a third of their time communicating with Francophones and only 40 per cent of that third is in French. All of which adds up to less than an hour a day.

Critical mass

What critical mass of Francophones needs to be present in any given work unit before the use of the two languages can even approach a pro-rated parity? What, in fact, is our model of fully appropriate use? What kinds of language behaviour by Anglophones and Francophones would support such use? What is a reasonable limit on the use of French to be expected in bilingual regions? More equitable than at present no doubt. In a bilingual region like the National Capital, where Francophones make up about 36 per cent of all public servants, it should be possible to use French rather more than 30 per cent of the total time.

Relative Satisfaction

To shed some light on the present extent of choice, the two most recent Language Use Surveys asked respondents whether they were satisfied with their relative use of English and French or whether they wished to use more of one or the other language. The following table (II.13) shows that, in 1983, fewer Anglophones and Francophones were satisfied with the *status quo* and more of them wished to use more French.

Once again, this table does not capture some important regional and position-related nuances.

- Much of Anglophones' increased wish to use more French is attributable to employees in English-essential positions in the National Capital Region; the proportion of frustrated bilinguals in this category jumped from 40 per cent in 1981 to 49 per cent in 1983.

- In 1983, a significantly larger proportion of Francophones in bilingual positions in the National Capital Region reported that they wished to use more French — 34 per cent as against 26 per cent.

- The most striking exception to the assumption that Francophones will always want to use more French was found in Quebec, where the proportion of French-speaking employees who would prefer to use more English increased from 20 per cent in 1981 to 32 per cent in 1983.

Table II.13

	Satisfied		Want more English		Want more French	
	1981	1983	1981	1983	1981	1983
Anglophones	55	50	3	4	42	46
Francophones	66	60	15	17	19	23
Combined	**60**	**55**	**8**	**9**	**32**	**36**

Source: "Language Use Survey", Treasury Board, 1984.

It appears that Anglophones and Francophones alike realize that equitable language use goes beyond compliance with government policy. It has a direct bearing on career opportunities, especially in an environment where bilingual positions are numerous.

Departmental Initiatives

If French language use is relatively static but aspirations and expectations are in flux, there would seem to be scope to improve patterns of language use. Our 1982 language of work study highlighted a number of departmental initiatives to increase the use of French. They included pairing or teaming of Anglophones and Francophones to work on specific projects, setting up workshops to help public servants deal with work-related situations in both languages, and specialized language training. Last year a group of departmental Directors of Official Languages catalogued some 150 initiatives under five main themes: language training; work instruments and services; management leadership; special projects; and surveys and research on language of work carried out by departments. Treasury Board has agreed to distribute a condensed version of this compendium.

Central agency initiatives

There are other approaches to creating the environment for more equitable language use. One which was given another airing in 1984 is to raise the language requirements of bilingual positions. The Public Service Commission, in a review of the administrative instruments which it helps to manage, suggested: that imperative staffing[1] should become clearly the rule for all bilingual positions; that rules

[1] Ensuring that appointees to bilingual positions meet the language requirements of those positions at the time of appointment.

limiting access to language training be reviewed; and that the generally modest second-language proficiency levels for management categories be raised. How much these proposals would promote a more favourable language of work regime is not self-evident. So far as one can see, raised standards, re-jigged language training and increased imperative staffing have not done a great deal over the last few years to increase the overall use of French. It is true, nonetheless, that Anglophones with only the 'B' level, or intermediate proficiency, in French — the majority of Anglophone bilinguals — are a damper on greater use of French. It is also true that relatively few Anglophones have been able to reach a higher level through normal language training and existing methods. This undoubtedly presents a dilemma.

Other Approaches

As we have pointed out before, it is helpful to set aside our procedural hypotheses once in a while and look at what is actually happening and to whom. If neither bilingual Anglophones nor bilingual Francophones are using French as much as the theory says they should, it may not be primarily because the language requirements are not tough enough; it could equally well be because other aspects of organizational behaviour are circumventing the theory. Hence the need to attack this problem where it lives, in the perceptions, attitudes and behaviours of the people involved. It is conceivable that Anglophones who will not become more actively bilingual through further doses of language training would do so if confronted with organizational practices and use of French by Francophones that leaves them less opportunity to choose the easy way out. There is no teacher like the need to communicate.

Many reasons can be advanced to explain the present linguistic conduct of public servants: reasons of efficiency, conformity, hierarchy, relative second-language ability, and so on. One way to improve our understanding of these factors would be to "talk it up" more, to encourage colleagues to discuss the advantages and the drawbacks of working in two languages in a problem-solving, works-committee atmosphere, rather than in terms of compliance with policy doctrine. It is up to the people who have to live language policy to isolate the real difficulties, arrive at some consensus on what are feasible language-use goals, set out local rules, and see if they can be made to work. Above all, equitable language use must be actively and officially encouraged by senior management.

Receptive bilingualism

For instance, it has become axiomatic that, if there is so much as one relatively unilingual Anglophone at a meeting, use of French goes out the door. There is only one way to stop this and that is for the Francophones present to act on the assumption that French will be understood by all. Those who cannot follow the proceedings will either have to depend on an occasional summary or be represented by someone who understands both languages. The concept of receptive bilingualism has been around since the days of the B and B Commission. It may not be a panacea for all the complexities of language of work, but it does have an important contribution to make in situations where several people of both groups are freely interacting on a professional basis. It is one — perhaps the only — way

to increase the general currency of French in the workplace when more ambitious language-of-work requirements fall upon stony ground.

The question of choice

In effect, many Francophone public servants, particularly those from outside Quebec, have not had much practice working in French and may have understandably low expectations on that score. A regime which regularly induces Francophones to speak and write in their second language is not more efficient; it is only less trouble than it might be if things were done properly. It may well be that, in the future, as a growing number of bilingual Canadians — particularly bilingual Anglophones — find their way into the public service, the language-of-work issue will slowly resolve itself. Until then, there is a need for conscious efforts to break down the behavioral patterns which discourage genuine choice. To allow nature to follow its course is to continue to accept a two-dimensional policy, one which recognizes the justice of equitable participation, but fails to consider the cultural and political reasons for government's being tuned in to Canadians in and through both languages. This will not be achieved easily. Management attention must be brought to bear on specific organizational contexts, such as meetings, to make sure that people know what linguistic fair play *looks like* in action. There is no explanation like exemplification.

Flexibility and co-operation

The need for flexibility and co-operation in this area was thrown into relief in the fall, when the question was asked whether the choice of new ministers to receive oral and written briefings in their own language ran contrary to the right of public servants to draft documents in *their* preferred official language. The question is not as new as press reports made it sound, nor as acute. Ideally, there would be enough second-language skill and personal adaptability on both sides to make the problem academic. In the meantime, the minister's right is indisputable, and the senior bureaucracy must by now have enough bilingual capacity at its disposal to bridge the gap. What would be harmful, of course, is if these ministerial requirements ran overwhelmingly one way and against the freer use of French. This would not be in the spirit of linguistic partnership, and the indications we have received show that ministers are aware of that fact.

Conclusion

The use of French in the federal public service has unquestionably progressed since 1969. But more recently, the movement has apparently levelled off, in spite of a continuing desire for change on the part of many public servants. To get things moving again, we recommend:

- a clear statement of expectations, or models, for equitable language use, particularly between employees in bilingual positions;
- a series of micro studies to establish the how's and why's that govern language conduct among public servants on a day-to-day basis; and
- much more active central agency evaluation, co-ordination and promotion of those initiatives that can be shown to equalize the choices between English and French.

The National Capital: Setting the Example

We deal with the National Capital Region in a section devoted to the application of the Official Languages Act for two reasons. The first is that the national capital is the one place in Canada where the spirit of an officially bilingual Canada should be most manifest, in every way intended by the Official Languages Act. The second is that the federal capital has not yet had the kind of attention it deserves on that score.

We will not examine in detail the reasons why Queen Victoria chose Ottawa in December 1857 as the capital of the province of Canada before it became the capital of Canada as a whole. However, three quotations from Wilfrid Eggleston's excellent book, *The Queen's Choice*[1], seem to us to shed an interesting light on the origins of the capital and to be useful in understanding the later story. The Governor General of the day, Sir Edmund Walker Head, justified his proposal of Ottawa as the capital by saying, among other things: "Ottawa, is, in fact, neither in Upper nor Lower Canada. Literally it is in the former; but a bridge alone divides it from the latter." British humour or a rhetorical flourish to persuade the sovereign? In any event, the real intention could not have been better camouflaged. Eggleston interprets this remark more bluntly: "Sir Edmund Head laboured under the same delusion as Lord Durham had nearly two decades earlier, that the French-speaking Canadians were destined to be assimilated . . ." John Hamilton Gray, a Father of Confederation, was even more pointed in his book, *Confederation of Canada*, published in Toronto in 1872, when he wrote: "No provision was made for creating a federal district for the capital and withdrawing it from the exclusive control of the local legislature of one of the Provinces."

The British North America Act, designating Ottawa as the capital, made no reference to the linguistic status of the federal capital. Although Head and Gray had each in his own way underlined the anomaly, over a century passed before anyone tried to correct it. There was, it is true, the National Capital Act of 1927 and other subsequent laws, but they related solely to the organization of the territory on the two sides of the Ottawa River and not to its linguistic status. It was not until February 1969, in fact, one year before the formal report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on Bilingualism and Biculturalism on this subject, that a constitutional conference of first ministers agreed that, while Ottawa remained the capital, "the cities of Ottawa and Hull and their surrounding areas shall be the Canadian capital

[1] *The Queen's Choice*, Queen's Printer and Controller of Stationery, Ottawa, 1961, pp. 102, 106 and 145.

region" and expressed the wish "that the two official languages ... [be] recognized by all governments concerned in these two cities and in the capital region in general ..."

Publication of Book V of the B and B Commission, *The Federal Capital*, provided an authoritative basis for how the capital area *should* be if it is to play its proper national role and become a community which clearly represents the two "founding peoples", as well as the two most populous provinces of Canada.

Nine of the Commission's recommendations referred to the role of the federal government and seven to that of Ontario and Quebec. The final recommendation invited these three governments to create an advisory tripartite agency. The essence of the message, however, is contained in the very first recommendation, that: "for the present federal capital and areas . . . designated as part thereof, . . . the French and English languages have full equality of status, and that the full range of services and facilities provided to the public be available in both languages throughout the area." The federal government was to "assume a direct, positive role in promoting equal partnership in all its aspects between Francophones and Anglophones in the present federal capital and in areas to be designated as part thereof." Finally, it was to correct imbalances between the Ontario and Quebec sectors by expanding its presence in Hull.

The federal government's reaction to these recommendations was generally favourable, and it announced its intention to play a major role. Since "no single government or authority can by itself build a truly national capital", it agreed that "a continuing dialogue must be maintained . . . to assure that energies are channelled in a common direction." In effect, a good many of the Commission's recommendations were accepted by the public authorities, in one form or another, although, at times, after considerable procrastination.

Demography of the Region

Before looking at how the recommendations of the B and B Commission were followed up, let us look at some fundamental population statistics for the National Capital Region from the 1981 census. The City of Ottawa has 304,462 inhabitants, 66.5 per cent of whom are Anglophones and 19 per cent Francophones. The City of Hull has some 56,225 inhabitants, of whom 88.5 per cent are Francophones and seven per cent are Anglophones. French is the mother tongue of 35.4 per cent of the entire population of the National Capital Region, which stands at around 718,000. The proportion of Francophones in the National Capital Region is therefore clearly greater than the proportion of Francophones in the Canadian population generally.

The Federal Government

It has been the federal government, in applying the Official Languages Act, which has generally shown the way in putting into practice the legislative or regulatory changes recommended. Such measures, stemming from the general federal policy

on official languages, have had their impact on the national capital, making it, in the process, something of a laboratory for official bilingualism in Canada.

The federal administration also undertook to balance the distribution of its institutions between Ottawa and Hull. By moving several departments such as the Secretary of State's Department and Employment and Immigration, and agencies such as CIDA, the CRTC and the Canadian Transport Commission, the number of federal employees working in Hull had reached 17,133 by 1983, about a quarter of the public service population of the capital region. Some 7,456, or 44 per cent, of this number are Francophone. On the Ottawa side, 17,684 of the 54,775 federal employees, or 32.3 per cent, are also Francophone. As we have already seen, however, this global distribution, equitable in appearance, fails to reflect important hierarchical imbalances.

Progressively, and sometimes painfully, changes have come about. The outward face of federal institutions in the capital has become bilingual, either through bilingual identification of buildings or through the road signs of the National Capital Commission. In 1984, bilingualism in the federal administration has taken the form of more bilingual positions and more qualified occupants of those positions, (33,708 of 40,080, or 84 per cent).

Federal cultural institutions such as the National Arts Centre, Public Archives and the national museums now reflect, in varying degrees, the officially bilingual nature of the federal administration. But service in both languages, despite real progress over the years, is still deficient in a number of respects. As our recent survey demonstrated, there are still too many occasions when the first contact with the public is only in English, and even more when, *mirabile dictu*, service in French is not available at all in the heart of Ottawa.

On language of work, the reader has only to refer to the vignettes in Part III of this report to realize that the right accorded to Francophones to work in their own language in the National Capital, the bilingual region *par excellence*, can still not be used to the full. The results of a survey by the Treasury Board on the use of the official languages in the 17 largest departments of the National Capital Region are also worth noting. If Francophone public servants in Hull are able to use French 50 per cent of the time, their counterparts on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River have to make do with a bare 17 per cent. A measure of what has been achieved . . . and what remains to be done.

Ontario

In 1968, the province of Ontario set out its policy on providing services in French. In the same year, changes were made to the Schools Administration Act and to the Secondary Schools and Boards of Education Act to permit creation of French-language primary and secondary schools and classes. In 1972, Ottawa became one of the first regions designated under this policy. Subsequently, in 1979, the Ontario Ministry of Education declared that school boards would henceforth be responsible for creating French-language classes, units, or schools "where numbers warrant." Finally, in 1984, the Ontario Court of Appeal handed down a decision recognizing the rights of Franco-Ontarians in managing and controlling

their own educational institutions. The effects of this judgement will no doubt be felt in Ottawa-Carleton in the near future, but, for the moment, French schools in the regions are administered by 'bilingual' rather than Francophone school boards.

Where health and social services are concerned, institutions on the Ontario side of the capital region still suffer from a lack of professionals able to provide services in French with any degree of consistency. In the legal area, cases can be tried in French in the National Capital Region since 1977, in both the criminal and family divisions of provincial courts. Since 1982, French is also used in the higher civil courts of the region. Finally, thanks to a 1979 amendment to the Municipal Act of Ontario, the use of bilingual forms by the City of Ottawa and surrounding municipalities is both legal and customary.

Despite the excellent work accomplished by successive Co-ordinators of French-Language Services, one may wonder whether the nature and quality of French-language services have not been adversely affected by the refusal of the Ontario government to recognize French as an official language of the province. Nothwithstanding praiseworthy efforts, services offered in French too often remain unreliable or improvised.

The City of Ottawa

At the municipal level, the Ottawa City Council has recognized English and French as official languages since 1970. A preliminary policy on bilingualism was adopted, as well as guidelines on the use of bilingual traffic signs or pictogrammes. In 1971 a translation service was established. In 1979 the City gave official status to its Advisory Committee on French Services, which was given the task of studying municipal policy from the official languages standpoint. And in 1982, following the Report of the Special Advisory Committee on French Services, the City Council reviewed its policy from top to bottom and established new objectives for the municipality in the areas of signage, information and services, work instruments and the equalization of employment and career opportunities. This policy can be seen as promising further extension of French-language services to the public and the eventual possibility of using French as a language of work. The fact remains that, in order to obtain certain municipal services, automatic, first use of English is the best guarantee of rapid and efficient service.

Quebec and the City of Hull

Let us now look at the other side of the coin, the situation of Anglo-Quebecers in the Outaouais Region. Paradoxically, while Ontario has been moving gradually toward a bilingual regime, Quebec has increasingly opted for official unilingualism. With Bill 101, French has become the official and predominant language in all aspects of Quebec life, and Anglophones of the region have been finding it more difficult to receive provincial, regional and municipal services in English. For example, Quebec government offices and other institutions in the National Capital Region provide telephone reception and signage, as well as forms and documentation, only in French. The resulting irritation is not difficult to imagine.

In practice, however, the services of a number of provincial and municipal agencies are often available in English. This is explicable in part by the fact that the population of the Quebec side of the National Capital Region is often more bilingual than that of the Ontario side. According to the 1981 census, 57 per cent of those living in the Quebec part of the National Capital Region speak both languages, compared to 35 per cent on the Ontario side. The Hull police force, for instance, has much more bilingual capacity than its Ottawa counterpart. Moreover, the Anglophone minority has always had its own network of primary and secondary schools, albeit recent declines in enrolment are a cause for concern. The question of linguistic control of educational facilities has also become more acute in recent years. In light of these realities, would it be too much to hope that Quebec could contemplate the possibility that Hull and the surrounding municipalities might provide a full range of services in English without endangering their linguistic identity ?

The National Capital Region of Tomorrow

On the whole, the portrait we have drawn of the national capital is one of linguistic unevenness. There is often a world of difference between federal, provincial and municipal services. From one part of the territory to another one can easily pass without warning from a suitably bilingual oasis to a unilingual desert. A glance at the private sector confirms that the situation is not exactly a flourishing model of bilingualism there either. The Ottawa-Carleton region is predominantly Anglophone, and many things will have to be done before French gets equal billing, either on the visual level or in the active offer of services by a majority of commercial establishments. In contrast, although the Quebec side presents a French exterior, most commercial establishments can serve their clientele in English.

There is, nonetheless, a language transfer factor among Anglophones in the Quebec part of the National Capital Region of 14 per cent. In the census division of Hull, for instance, 2,500 people whose mother tongue is English report using mostly French in the home. However, the power of attraction which English has for Francophones within this regional microcosm helps explain their higher rate of assimilation or transfer. For the Ontario side of the National Capital Region, language transfer among Francophones was around 22.6 per cent in 1981, which is hardly a statistic for the national capital to brag about. This represents a loss to the Francophone community of about 14,300 people who now use mostly English at home. The fact that English is still the usual working language of many sectors of the federal administration, and even more so of the institutions, municipalities and businesses of Ontario, clearly has something to do with it. Given that the National Capital Region is a major recruiting pool for the federal administration, with 27.8 per cent of all appointments in 1983, the consequences of this linguistic assimilation could be very serious. In view of the complexity and seriousness of this situation, we plan to undertake a detailed study of all its aspects. At the same time, we would like the authorities concerned to be one step ahead of us and take initiatives to ensure that the National Capital Region observes a linguistic regime that is really in keeping with its national role.

What concerns us is not what has or has not been done, but what must be done in the future. Our horizon is not 1969 but the year 2000. We regret the relative lack of effective co-operation between the various players so far, with the exception of the National Capital Commission, whose own service to the public is usually beyond reproach and which has successfully concluded agreements on land development with some of its Quebec and Ontario partners. However, it should be remembered that the B and B Commission recommended that "the federal government and the provinces of Quebec and Ontario establish a specific advisory Tripartite Agency" to carry out a programme of overall development. We must breathe new life into this concept. The private sector must also become more directly involved in the undertaking defined in the National Capital Commission's mandate as ensuring that "the nature and character of the seat of the Government of Canada be in harmony with its national importance."

Although there have been significant strides towards making the National Capital Region a reflection of the country's linguistic duality, much more remains to be done. Above all, there must be better co-operation on the part of government authorities and a greater co-ordination of initiatives. In short, it is desirable that federal, provincial and municipal governments act together and that they include the private sector. We therefore recommend that the federal government invite representatives from all interested parties to take part in a working group. Its mandate would be to review the present relationships between English and French in the region and draw up a plan of action that would more clearly recognize the linguistic duality of the capital and strengthen the bilingual nature of its institutions.

PART III

Language Equality in Operation

Federal Institutions: In Word and Deed

In the pages that follow, the reader will find assessments of more than 110 federal institutions. Our evaluations are based on the findings of audits and follow-up investigations, on the analysis of complaints, and on the careful study of information and documentation supplied by those directly involved and by central agencies responsible for the progress of linguistic reform. The introduction to the present chapter deals only with methodology, since Part II contains a synthesis of the issues that particularly concern us.

We have introduced a new approach. Instead of using a similar presentation for each organization, we have decided instead to paint full-length portraits of the main players and those institutions which were audited during the year, but to pencil only a rough sketch of the reform in other institutions. Our assessments comprise five elements: 1) planning and monitoring in the area of official languages; 2) service to the public; 3) the use of English and French at work; 4) equitable participation of the two linguistic groups; and 5) the nature and significance of complaints received.

Even a cursory reading of our comments on action plans and monitoring techniques shows that some problems just will not go away. By way of illustration, it is always the same employers (Air Canada, CN, Canada Post, Via Rail) who keep running into the eternal wall of seniority as an obstacle to meeting the linguistic needs of the public. Yet, is it too fanciful to rate linguistic competence as a criterion for job postings? It is also interesting to observe that some agencies and departments can change their structures for umpteen different reasons. Among the reasons invoked however, rarely does one find improved service for a linguistic minority. Maybe they reflect La Rochefoucauld's dictum, that those who get too involved in minor matters cannot handle great ones. Be that as it may, we continue to study the successive metamorphoses of the various organizations to make sure that they still serve the purpose of language reform.

In taking up the question of service to the public, we not only examine the theoretical capacity of departments to serve the client in his or her language (number of bilingual positions, signage, printed matter) but we also examine how this is translated into daily reality — the speed with which institutions actually make an active offer of their services to the linguistic minority. We pay special attention to particular circumstances affecting this or that sector, for example, the non-observance of the linguistic rights of citizens who might be liable to penalties. In this regard, we

put under a microscope those monitoring processes set up by managers to uncover failings in the provision of bilingual service. In addition, we always rate the value of the corrective measures taken following our interventions, reporting important breakthroughs — and manifest deficiencies.

The analysis of the surveys we have conducted among employees in the institutions that we audit sheds light on the limited possibilities of using French and English at work and particularly on the willingness of management to provide an atmosphere where the equality of the two languages is more than just theoretical. In the final analysis, it is senior officials who set the pace; unless they encourage their Francophone employees by word and deed, nothing will change.

Several departments and corporations have satisfactory participation rates overall, but a closer look reveals an overabundance of Francophones at the administrative support level, on the one hand, and a scarcity of Anglophones in Quebec, on the other. To make a fair evaluation, we take into account the following factors: the nature of the services, the mission of the organization, the location of its head office, its recruitement areas, the territory it serves, and its clientele. In short, good will toward a fair balance is not enough. We must make sure that the entire recruiting process is fair; definition of requirements, advertising, selection boards and so on.

What is so striking from our study of complaints is the inexplicable, even inexcusable nature of the incident reported. Since modern management prides itself on checking everything, we are surprised that so many cases can escape its vigilance.

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Agriculture

In 1984, the Department of Agriculture did little more than mark time on the language front. It integrated its official languages programme with its human resources and operational planning, but made little progress in other areas.

Of the Department's 9,815 employees, 2,283 (23.3%) occupy positions that require proficiency in both official languages. The percentage of employees who meet the language requirements increased from 77.6% to 81%. Bilingual services are offered in the National Capital, Northern and Eastern Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick. Elsewhere, with only 34 bilingual employees scattered hither and yon, service in French leaves much to be desired.

Francophone participation has improved only marginally and still hovers around 22% (2,200 of 9,815 employees). Although the number of employees in the Management category has increased by more than 60% (from 97 to 160 employees), the Department has only three more Francophones in management positions than it had last year. Francophone participation has therefore slipped to an unacceptable 13.7% in the Management category and is still low in the Scientific and Professional category (20.1%). Their participation has increased slightly in New Brunswick and the West, but remains unacceptably low at 18.4% and 0.6% respectively. In Ontario, outside the National Capital and the eastern and northern regions, the 1,392 employees include only 9 Francophones. Similarly, Anglophone participation in Quebec is at a standstill at approximately 5%. We trust the measures introduced into the Department's human resources and operational planning will finally end these long-standing imbalances.

English is still the only language of work outside Quebec. Commonly used work documents are bilingual, but those of a scientific and technical nature are usually in English only. Meetings are conducted almost exclusively in English and, although 702 of the Department's 968 supervisors are bilingual, performance appraisals are usually conducted in English. The Department encourages its employees to improve their second-language proficiency; to this end, it has made the calendar of language training courses part of its Vocational Training Manual. A bit more imagination, however, is called for if the standing of French in the workplace is to improve.

In 1984, we received 15 complaints about Agriculture Canada, 14 of which related to language of service, especially the absence of French-language service by telephone or in person, as well as the lack of French-language publications and the poor quality or absence of advertising in minority-language newspapers. The remaining complaint concerned a unilingual English memorandum distributed to all staff. Eleven of these complaints were resolved in 1984.

Air Canada

Official languages at Air Canada remained stable in 1984, in spite of a major structural reorganization. The substantial improvements we have been calling for over the years have not materialized. The various systems to ensure compliance with

the Act are in place, but they are hampered by a chronic shortage of bilingual staff. As a result, the Corporation continues to have great difficulty providing service in French and respecting the language rights of its employees.

The Corporation's language policy was revised during the year and now includes, among other important elements, the requirement that bilingual agents greet the public and actively offer service in both official languages. However, for ground services, this requirement applies only in certain regions. The policy is also inadequate in at least two other notable areas: unilingual billboards can still be posted in regions where demand for service in the minority language is significant, like in Montreal or Toronto, and unilingual advertising is permitted in two-thirds of the city sales offices.

Last year, the Corporation's standards for minimal bilingual capacity were respected in 28 of 72 ground service points in Canada, but there has been a marked decline in 1984 to only 13 of 72. Indeed, some city sales offices such as those in Regina, Saskatoon, Windsor and Saint John (N.B.) lack even a single bilingual employee. As in the past, Francophone passengers are denied personal service in French at Timmins airport, and the problems we highlighted last year with respect to the bilingual counter at Winnipeg airport have yet to be corrected.

If you seek foreign climes and wish to be served in French, avoid the United States or the South and fly to Europe instead. In these former regions, 12 of the 34 ground service points have no bilingual employees.

Airport announcements are generally, but not systematically, made in both official languages, and the Corporation distributed a series of small "reminder" cards to bilingual agents to make this job easier. Travellers are usually able to contact Reservations in either language without difficulty, and recordings of arrival and departure flight information are, for the most part, no longer problem areas.

Our study of language of service at Toronto airport revealed a major weakness found virtually throughout the system: a scarcity of bilingual agents (95 out of 470). Managers rely heavily on language training to bridge this gap, but the effects will obviously be felt only in the long term. In the meantime, the Corporation must make absolutely certain that, among other things, the lights used to indicate the location of bilingual agents are systematically turned on. According to Air Canada, the solution to several problems observed at this airport depends on the outcome of current negotiations with one of its major unions. It would therefore appear that the application of a law, now fifteen years old, is still negotiable.

In-flight personnel is 56.6% bilingual (1,877 of 3,311), in marked contrast to the Corporation's goal of 80% in this regard. The number of complaints received suggests that, while all is not perfect with respect to in-flight flight announcements, personal service suffers most of all from the lack of bilingual staff. Announcements in English and French can be made by a single bilingual flight attendant, but this does not hold true with respect to the provision of bilingual service from one end of the aircraft to the other. In an effort to improve the active offer of bilingual service, the Corporation decided to announce the number of bilingual flight attendants on board at the beginning of each flight.

No discussion of language of service would be complete without mentioning, once again, the need for a change in attitude on the part of some public-contact employees who are often discourteous to passengers wishing to be served in French. The Corporation should attack this long-standing problem more vigorously.

In a more positive vein, it is worthy of note that Air Canada took the excellent initiative this year of arranging meetings with minority official-language associations. We hope these exchanges will result in improved service.

There were few changes on the language-of-work scene, whether at headquarters or in the Ottawa District. The presence of a large number of unilingual English supervisors makes day-to-day spoken communications in French difficult. On the other hand, the language preference of employees is usually respected in written communications, and most work documents are available in both languages. A new bilingual lexicon for ramp personnel was issued this year.

Francophones represent 21.8% of the Corporation's employees. In Maintenance, the figure is 39%, but only 18.8% among managers. Overall, the situation is much the same as it was last year.

We received 152 complaints against Air Canada in 1984. Thirty-six concerned written communications with the public, including 33 about advertising; 39 were about in-flight service; 48, airport service; nine, Reservations; four, freight services; and 16, language of work. Fifty-one of these complaints were still under investigation at the end of the year.

Anti-Dumping Tribunal

The Anti-Dumping Tribunal, which reports to the Minister of Finance, receives complaints and conducts inquiries into the dumping of foreign products on the Canadian market. Our 1984 audit of this agency revealed that it has the necessary structures and human resources to effectively discharge its linguistic obligations.

The Tribunal has entrusted management of its official languages programme to the Administration Branch of the Department of Finance. By and large, this agreement has produced positive results and the Department's official languages policy, adopted by the Tribunal, appears to meet its needs.

The five Tribunal Members and the Secretary understand both official languages. Seven of the 12 positions in the Research Branch require a knowledge of English and French, and six of the incumbents meet this requirement. The Secretariat, which also includes the administrative support sections, has 13 positions, nine of which are designated bilingual and occupied by qualified incumbents.

Twelve of the agency's employees are Anglophone and 12 Francophone. The Tribunal provides simultaneous interpretation services at hearings and communicates with manufacturers and importers in the appropriate language. Because the vast majority of its clients are Anglophone, English is used more often than French within the agency. Overall, the Tribunal deserves high marks for its performance in the language field.

Atlantic Pilotage Authority

Except for the addition of a bilingual employee at its headquarters in Halifax, the language-of-service situation at the Atlantic Pilotage Authority has remained stable. Our client survey indicates that its small number of French-speaking clients are generally satisfied with the quality of services provided through translation: billing and correspondence. However, there are still no Francophones among its 71 employees.

Two complaints were lodged against the Authority in 1984. They both concerned the publication of notices in English-language newspapers only, and were promptly resolved.

Atomic Energy Control Board

The language situation at the Atomic Energy Control Board continues to be generally satisfactory. As a rule, the Board provides service to its clients in the nuclear industry and to the public at large in the language the individual or organization prefers. It has yet to produce the comprehensive official languages policy we recommended in our 1983 audit, but staff are periodically reminded of their obligation to communicate in the client's language.

All of the Board's bilingual positions (105 of 264) require at least intermediate-level second-language skills. At present, 70% of the incumbents meet the requirements. French is used to some extent at meetings and quite frequently in the Regulatory Research Directorate, Public Information Service, Personnel Division, Montreal regional office and by staff at Gentilly in Quebec.

The Board added 24 employees to its ranks in 1984. The expansion was matched by a considerable improvement in Francophone participation, which grew from 22.5% to a satisfactory 25%. However, the number of Francophones remains low in the Scientific and Professional category (32 of 181).

The one complaint received against the Board in 1984 concerned language-of-work problems. The Board's response was rather slow.

Atomic Energy of Canada Ltd.

Atomic Energy of Canada Limited's strongest point is service to the public. Visitors to AECL's various sites are particularly well served in both English and French. French has become the normal language of work in the Montreal office and is used within small units at head office in Ottawa and AECL's plant in the National Capital Region. However, Francophones are still poorly represented (only 6.2%) among the 6,500 or so employees, the majority of whom are located in Ontario. One result is that French plays a very small role in the scientific research. The three complaints received in 1984 concerned two advertisements placed by AECL in newspapers and were satisfactorily resolved.

Auditor General

Numerous cracks appeared in the official languages programme at the Office of the Auditor General this year. Closer scrutiny of the programme, as well as the institution of control mechanisms, are vital to ensure its success.

Such are the principal conclusions of our recently completed audit of the Auditor General's Office. The lack of controls is evidenced particularly by the absence of an official languages plan. Without this important document, it is difficult for managers and for the Office as a whole to set objectives, monitor progress, or pinpoint any weaknesses.

The language programme at the Auditor General's Office has focussed almost exclusively on language training for employees. While we commend the Office for accommodating the language training needs of its employees, we do not agree that these in-house courses should be made available exclusively to Anglophones. Ninety of 411 Anglophone employees participated in these courses over the past year.

The Auditor General's Office employs 594 people, of whom 345 (58%) occupy bilingual positions. Of these, 307 meet the language requirements. The Office has divided its auditors into teams to permit auditing in French and in English. This explains in part why 57% of the positions in the Scientific and Professional category do not require a knowledge of the second language. We realize the merits of this system, which encourages employees to work in their preferred language, but would suggest that each team include a minimum representation of the other language group. Moreover, the Office must ensure that it does not inconvenience the client department with which it officially deals in both languages. Clients cannot always choose the language in which they are interviewed, and the draft audit report is generally submitted to the department in only one language, thereby forcing the department in certain instances to translate the report itself. Also, whenever contract services are arranged through the Office, the language proficiency of those hired to provide a specific service is not always taken into consideration, nor are language requirements necessarily stipulated in the contract.

Other aspects of language of work also present problems. Work instruments are not always available in both languages, and 10 of 32 professional development courses or seminars offered to Office personnel this year were in English only. Also, almost half of the 106 positions in the Operations Branch, which may require supervisory duties, are filled by unilingual incumbents; 35 of these positions require English only, and another 14 are filled by employees who do not meet the language requirements of their bilingual positions. Moreover, because implementation of official languages objectives is not a mandatory element of performance appraisals, employees are offered little incentive to strive in this direction.

The overall participation of both official-language groups stands at 69% Anglophone and 31% Francophone. However, in the Management category, only 22 (16%) of the 135 employees are Francophone. On the other hand, 65 (47%) of the 139 employees in the Administrative Support category are Francophone. The Auditor General should set specific objectives to overcome such imbalances.

Bank of Canada

The Bank of Canada remained a star performer in 1984. Service to the public presented no problems and French was used increasingly as a language of work, largely as a result of a dynamic, job-oriented language training programme. Francophone participation was still too high (34% of 2,250 employees), but a better balance was achieved in some areas, notably among senior managers and in the Professional/Analysis group (27% and 22% Francophone representation respectively).

Canada Council

The Canada Council continues to exhibit the traits which have made its record on service to the public so enviable in the past. However, it should endeavour to improve other aspects of its programme. Eight months after receiving the report of our most recent audit, the Council has still not addressed some of the language-of-work and participation problems we highlighted.

The Council offers a superior level of service to its clients in both official languages. Just over 200 of its 236 employees are qualified incumbents of bilingual positions, and its advertising material and general publications are bilingual. Furthermore, applications for grants are dealt with in the official language chosen by the applicant, and the Council monitors the grant programme to ensure that the approval of applications is free of any linguistic bias.

Receptive bilingualism, as practised at the Council, means that employees can use the official language of their choice, confident in the knowledge that they will be understood. In addition, central and personnel services are available in both languages. Portions of our recommendations on internal written communications have been adopted: employees can now indicate on the appropriate forms in which language they would prefer to be evaluated, and all memoranda to staff are issued in bilingual format. However, our concerns about the simultaneous distribution of both versions of Council resolutions, internal reports and policy papers have yet to be resolved. This matter is especially important in light of the fact that 11 of 17 Council members are unilingual, and this imposes additional constraints in the work milieu.

Since 1980, we have been pressing the Council to tackle the problem of low Anglophone participation in the Administrative Support category. It is therefore disappointing to note that there has been no visible improvement again this year, with only 18% of employees in this group being Anglophone. While the Council contends that available local manpower is largely Francophone, we nonetheless believe that Anglophone representation in this category is much too low and that the issue should be tackled more aggressively. Anglophone-Francophone representation in the Council as a whole seems to have settled at the 1983 levels of 37% and 63% respectively.

In the interests of better planning, we recommended that Council management revise its official languages policy and make section heads accountable for achiev-

ing the Council's language objectives. To assist managers with this new responsibility, the Council distributed to them the 1984 official languages plan and carried out a partial review of the programme's achievements to date.

Canada Deposit Insurance Corporation

The Canada Deposit Insurance Corporation has no problems regarding either service to the public or language of work, 10 of its 12 employees being bilingual. Anglophone participation is, however, much too low (2 of 12). The Corporation should therefore try, over time, to redress this imbalance.

Canada Labour Relations Board

The Canada Labour Relations Board outperforms several other agencies by providing impeccable service to its clients in English and French, and enabling its employees to work in the language of their choice. However, only 33 of the Board's 87 employees are Anglophone, a substantial imbalance in terms of equitable participation.

Canada Lands Company

The three subsidiaries of the Canada Lands Company we audited in 1983 — Le Vieux-Port de Montréal, Le Vieux-Port de Québec and Mirabel — had halted nearly all their activities by the end of 1984 while the government pondered their future. In the case of the first two, little had been done to implement our recommendations. Mirabel, however, had been progressing on the linguistic front in the first half of the year.

We received six complaints against the Vieux-Port de Montréal. Five referred to unilingual French signage and the sixth to the organisation's unilingual French listing in the Montreal telephone directory. The two complaints received against the Vieux-Port de Québec dealt with advertisements which appeared in French papers but not in English ones. Neither organization showed great diligence in handling complaints.

Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation

The Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation maintained its good record for bilingual service and is continuing to strive to achieve a better language-of-work regime. Anglophones, however, are still seriously under-represented in Quebec.

The Corporation can generally provide service in both languages in bilingual areas and is seeking improvements elsewhere. This year, for instance, Regina and Vancouver were added to the list of offices where service is available in the minority

language. To determine the extent of public satisfaction with the language aspect of its services, the Corporation placed boxes of stamped, self-addressed cards on countertops in its offices, inviting comments from clients. The comments received were quite positive.

One of the main obstacles to the use of French in the workplace is the unilingualism of a number of supervisors. Although this could hardly be called news, it was nevertheless referred to a number of times in answers to a questionnaire distributed to Francophones at the National Office in Ottawa, and management is now committed to trying to come up with a solution.

Francophones accounted for 32% of the 3,408 employees; in Quebec, the staff of 440 includes only 13 Anglophones.

We received 18 complaints against the Corporation in 1984. Three dealt with a lack of service in French at various branch offices. The rest could be called an unfortunate comedy of errors: unilingual English press releases were sent to a French weekly; notices in French were sent to Anglophones, while four Francophones received letters in English; and a newspaper advertisement was placed in an English paper but not in a French one in the same area. The Corporation made up for the last of these errors by doing just the reverse in another city, where it published three advertisements in the French but not in the English press. Linguistic equality of a sort, but not that envisaged by the Act. The Corporation was, as usual, very co-operative in handling complaints.

Canada Museums Construction Corporation

The Canada Museums Construction Corporation, created in 1982, is responsible for the construction of new buildings for the National Gallery in Ottawa and the National Museum of Man in Hull. Eighteen of the 32 employees at headquarters are bilingual, and the Corporation has no difficulty serving the public in both official languages. Telephone reception, signage and most documents are bilingual, but technical documents relating to construction of the new gallery are available in English only and tender calls for this project were not published in the French-language press. The Corporation responded to our audit recommendation regarding tenders by advertising in both French and English publications.

English is the principal language of work, and meetings of the Board of Directors are held entirely in English. However, employees are supervised in their preferred language and central and personnel services are available in English and French. We have recommended to the Corporation that offers of employment, which are currently written in English, be prepared in the official language of the successful candidate's choice.

In terms of participation, although there is an almost even number of Anglophone and Francophone employees overall, it should be pointed out that over 80% of the managers and officers are Anglophone, while more than half of the support staff are Francophone.

We received two complaints against the Corporation in 1984. One concerned a unilingual English sign and the other, the poor quality of the French version of plans and legends on display. Both have been resolved.

Canada Ports Corporation

In 1984, three more ports (Quebec City, Prince Rupert, Halifax) joined Montreal and Vancouver in operating as independent Crown ports, and thus need to adopt their own official languages policy. Generally speaking, this modified status did not affect the Corporation's good linguistic performance. Anglophone representation in Quebec is still low at 8%.

Three of the five complaints against the Corporation involved the absence of publicity in French-language weeklies; the fourth, which concerned tickets issued by Canada Ports authorities, led to settlement of the question of summonses issued in French only by provincial courts in the Montreal area. The last complaint, about unilingual French telephone reception at the Port of Montreal, was quickly settled.

Canada Post Corporation

With more than 8,300 points of service throughout the country — from the main post office downtown to the small counter in the corner drugstore — Canada Post Corporation is called upon to serve all citizens at one time or another. In view of the great importance of its role, at once symbolic and real, the quality of its services, including the linguistic aspect, is one of its major preoccupations, which is why the Corporation drew up an ambitious action plan for a better linguistic tomorrow. Unfortunately, a number of its projects were hampered by the provisions of its collective agreement with the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Slowed to a crawl, the Corporation was forced to delay bilingualization of counter service at 9 of the 12 localities earmarked for 1984. It has now set new targets for the next four years and hopes to make up for lost time. However, it will be difficult to be optimistic, at least until the Corporation assumes the authority to make the appropriate personnel assignments.

It should come as no surprise that in 1984 few main post offices were added to the list of establishments that offer bilingual counter service. Among the neglected can be found several cities with sizeable Francophone communities, notably Windsor and Winnipeg. In a number of these cities, the Corporation has to rely on sub-post offices, which offer only a limited range of services, to deal with its minority-language clientele. In addition, the Corporation has no up-to-date data to evaluate its bilingual capability. The most recent figures (March 1984) show that only 3,958 employees (6.9% of the total work force) occupy bilingual positions and that over 40% of these positions are concentrated in the Montreal region.

Among the few solid improvements, we could mention the upgrading of the linguistic requirements of some positions and the inclusion of linguistic elements in a new training course for counter clerks. The Corporation is also using its in-house publications to familiarize managers and employees with its official languages policy and objectives.

Apart from a few offices where the employees can work in English or French, as they choose, the presence of unilingual supervisors, whether at head office or in the regions, continues to be a hindrance to the exercising of that choice. Outside Quebec, even in the National Capital Region, French has yet to find its proper place.

In early 1984, the global Francophone participation rate stood at a high 30.4%. Yet, from Winnipeg to Vancouver, only 138 Francophones could be found (0.9%), and in the Ottawa headquarters, there were but 7 among 40 executives. Moreover, Francophones account for only 17.4% at the senior levels. On the other side of the ledger, only 2.9% of the personnel in the Montreal region was English-speaking, a marginal improvement over the previous year. The Corporation should take the measures necessary to correct these imbalances without delay.

We received 123 complaints this year, slightly more than in 1983. As could be expected, two-thirds of the cases concerned the absence of service in one language, usually French — at the counter, on the telephone, and in signage. Among other subjects of complaints, there were letters addressed in French and delivered late or not at all, unilingual forms, and advertisements which were not placed in the minority press, contrary to the Corporation's policy. At the end of the year, about 45% of the complaints had been settled satisfactorily. Complainants are finding the Corporation's lack of urgency in this regard more and more irritating and we urge it to adopt more efficient administrative procedures in order to reduce to a minimum the delay in settling complaints.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

The role of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the cultural life of our country cannot be overestimated. Providing radio and television to Canadians in both official languages, its networks are an indispensable lifeline to the Francophone and Anglophone minorities across the country. It does a commendable job and seems to be on the same linguistic wavelength as most of its clientele.

At the end of the year, the Corporation had to undertake substantial budget cuts, which could affect both the national networks and local stations. Francophone associations outside Quebec, although worried, were less affected than they had feared at the outset. Representatives of the Quebec Anglophone community, on the other hand, deplored the severity of the cuts, which could affect the quality of English-language regional programming. In both cases, these are situations to be followed closely.

A recent follow-up to our 1982 audit indicated that most of our recommendations have been acted upon. Improvements in 1984 include better services in French from the marketing arm, CBC Enterprises, in both Montreal and Toronto and the installation of a Zenith line that allows Francophones in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island to obtain information on programming and scheduling in their own language. The Corporation also intends to look into the possibility of extending a similar service to Francophones in Newfoundland, who at present deal with the English network to obtain information in French about radio and television broad-

casts. The Corporation should also replace those unilingual French signs that are still to be found in Quebec, and unilingual English signs in the rest of the country.

Although English predominates at headquarters in Ottawa and in the Engineering Division in Montreal, the vast majority of employees in both networks can be supervised and appraised in their preferred official language. Problems described in our last report concerning difficulties experienced by production crews in obtaining technical services in their own language on the other network continue in locations such as Montreal, Toronto, Edmonton and Vancouver. In addition, Francophones cannot count on obtaining central and personnel services in French in areas where the English network is the common source of these services, even in places such as Edmonton and Vancouver, where they are present in some number.

Fifty-nine per cent of the Corporation's 12,300 employees are Anglophone and 41% Francophone. It is understandable that 98% of the English-language network employees are Anglophones and that 96% of the positions in the French-language network are occupied by Francophones. The two linguistic groups continue to be appropriately represented in the various regions and at the managerial level at headquarters, where 66% of the managers are Anglophone, and 34% Francophone.

This year, we received five complaints against the Corporation. They concerned unilingual French signs at Radio-Canada headquarters in Montreal, the quality of the interpretation of a speech by the Prime Minister, the lack of telephone reception in French in Toronto, and interviews conducted in English and shown without translation on the French network. The Corporation continues to drag its feet in settling complaints.

Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety

The Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety has done remarkably well over the last few years. Despite its location in Hamilton, it has managed to improve its bilingual capability and Francophone participation. Approximately 30 of its 126 employees are now bilingual, and service in both languages is available in every key area. English remains the principal language of work, although internal services can be provided in either language. There are currently 15 Francophones on staff. The four complaints received against the Centre in 1984 dealt with job notices which, in Quebec, did not appear in English dailies. The matter was promptly resolved.

Canadian Commercial Corporation

The Canadian Commercial Corporation slightly improved its linguistic standing in 1984. Reacting favourably to the recommendations of our 1983 audit, it has developed and distributed an official languages policy to its 21 employees, as well as to

the staff of the Export Supply Directorate, its operational arm in the Department of Supply and Services. This measure, accompanied by appropriate control mechanisms, should enable the Corporation to solve the few difficulties it has had providing bilingual services to clients. It has also improved its Francophone participation, which now stands at 28.6%. Its only remaining problem is the sticky issue of language of work.

Canadian Human Rights Commission

The Canadian Human Rights Commission deserves praise for the initiatives it took in 1984 to correct the weaknesses noted in last year's Report. However, it is still having difficulty establishing a properly balanced internal use of English and French.

On several occasions, we have asked the Commission to tighten up the administration of its official languages programme. Some progress has been made in this regard. The Commission has undertaken to develop its own official languages policy and is developing more rigorous control mechanisms to ensure that the objectives outlined in its sound official languages plan are achieved.

There is also good news regarding service to the public. The Commission now has a satisfactory bilingual capacity in its seven regional offices, which are now actively offering service in both languages. The Commission's overall bilingual capacity remains satisfactory: 64% (84 of 132) of its positions are bilingual and 91% of these are occupied by incumbents who meet the language requirements. The Commission requires a superior level of second-language knowledge for several of its investigating officer positions. It has also issued officers with a reminder of their obligation to respect the language preferences of all individuals questioned in the course of an investigation.

The language-of-work situation is less rosy. Although the Commission reminds its employees from time to time that they have the right to work and be supervised in their language, English continues to be the predominant language of work. Unfortunately, the Commission has made no effort to determine the reasons for this situation. It does, however, plan to follow up on our suggestion to conduct an employee survey to get to the heart of the matter. The Commission is continuing its efforts with regard to work documents; computerized complaint reports will be prepared in both languages as of 1985.

With regard to participation, Anglophones represent two-thirds of the staff and Francophones one-third.

We received no complaints against the Commission in 1984. We did, however, call its attention to a situation which we believe was inconsistent with the Official Languages Act. A Human Rights Tribunal set up by the Commission issued, in French only, a decision relating to Canadian National's hiring practices for women. Since we believe this decision, which was given wide media coverage, was "of general public interest or importance" (as per section 5(1) of the Official Languages Act), we advised the Commission that it should have been issued simultaneously in both

languages. We indicated that this requirement should apply to all decisions issued by tribunals established by the Commission. The Commission made a commitment to ensure that decisions are published simultaneously in both languages except in cases where the delay caused by translation would be detrimental to the parties in question. We shall be giving careful attention to the implementation of this policy; we continue to believe that the development of efficient translation procedures would enable tribunals to publish all their decisions simultaneously in both official languages.

Canadian Industrial Renewal Board

The Canadian Industrial Renewal Board, created in 1981, has a mandate to revitalize the textile, clothing and shoe industries, to strengthen and diversify the economy of regions dependent upon these industries, and to help the workers involved to adapt to change. The Board has 54 employees located at head office in Montreal or in one of the small regional offices in Ottawa and Winnipeg.

Our 1984 audit of the organization revealed that, with regard to language of service, the overall situation is quite good. Indeed, 80% of its employees are bilingual and the Board can generally deal with its clients in the official language of their choice.

We nevertheless recommended corrective action for a number of weaknesses turned up by our audit. The Board has no official languages policy and has not kept its employees abreast of language matters. A few Anglophone and Francophone account executives have weak second-language skills and cannot deal effectively with clients. Some of the publicity material distributed (but not produced) by the Board is not bilingual, and receptionists at head office sometimes greet the public in French only. Employees tend to prepare documents in English because several Board members do not understand French. On the other hand, internal services are not always available in English.

Anglophones account for only 30% of the Board's employees, and we have recommended increased efforts to correct this situation.

Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat

The Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat is conscientiously implementing the recommendations of our 1983 audit and drafting an official languages policy.

The Secretariat's 24 employees have a strong bilingual capability. Twenty-two of the positions are designated bilingual, and 19 of the incumbents satisfy the requirements. Moreover, all the Secretariat's supervisors are now required to have at least intermediate-level skills in their second language. There are, however, only 7 Anglophones out of 24 employees.

Canadian International Development Agency

Top marks go once again this year to the Canadian International Development Agency for its consistent success in making language reform a matter of second nature in its everyday operations. The Agency continues to show vigorous leadership by exploiting its large pool of bilingual employees and by expanding and refining its array of administrative tools designed to keep the official languages machine running smoothly.

Among this year's additions to the system of checks and balances is a monthly monitoring of the staffing process to ensure that the identification of linguistic requirements for positions is properly on track. Similar vigilance is being applied to a systematic review of translation requests for short texts to determine their conformity with policy, and mini-audits or surveys are often conducted as follow-up to an investigation of a language problem.

Last year's figure of 80% of all positions identified as bilingual dropped slightly to 78% in 1984, but all management positions retained their bilingual status, and the percentage of staff meeting their requirements rose from 89% to 91%. A further boost to the Agency's overall bilingual capacity is the fact that 25% of bilingual positions require a superior level of second-language proficiency, and 65% an intermediate level. CIDA conducts regular monitoring to ensure systematic communication with the public in the appropriate language. Two such measures are monthly checks of telephone reception and, newly introduced this year, a thorough audit of documentation to ensure that the availability of the other language version is always mentioned.

The balance of Francophone and Anglophone employees on CIDA's total staff of 1,209 remains stable at 54% and 46% respectively. The Agency would be well advised to step up its efforts to recruit more bilingual Anglophones, particularly in the Administrative Support category, where the imbalance we mentioned last year has gone uncorrected.

The language-of-work outlook remains healthy, with a number of new initiatives to its credit. An official languages information session was held for employees, and a document concerning their right to work in the language of their choice has been prepared. Anglophone members of the programme management group are offered a special work-related course to perfect their second-language skills, and a parallel course for Francophones is in the offing. This year, the Agency also evaluated the linguistic quality of services offered to future overseas employees and their families, and determined that the latter were being briefed on assignments in the language of their choice. Finally, a new performance appraisal form actively solicits the employee's choice of language for assessment and includes a section for the evaluation of supervisors' language performance.

The one complaint we received against CIDA in 1984 concerned a competition advertisement which did not appear in the Anglophone minority press in Montreal. It was settled promptly, and a procedural adjustment was made to prevent a recurrence.

Canadian National

As in the past, Canadian National Railways chugged along the rails of language reform at a sluggish pace, ignoring the public's need for speedier, more direct service.

In 1984, the Company continued its efforts and achieved most of its self-appointed official languages goals — goals, we might add, that are often vague and undemanding. Nothing was done to correct the shortcomings that have now become the leitmotifs of our Annual Reports: CN still has no data on the first official language or language proficiency of all its employees; its policy still contains overly restrictive statements on language of work, especially in the Atlantic Region, where English remains the only recognized language; and union-management discussions have failed to reach agreement on the matter of service to the public in both languages.

Although members of the public are usually able to correspond with the Company in the language of their choice, this is not the case for service in person. CN's efforts rarely go beyond makeshift substitutes which, at best, require Francophone clients to wait while a bilingual clerk is found to serve them in French. CN should change its objectives regarding personalized service and should offer the general public services of equal quality in English or French.

However, with the exception of the Hotel Newfoundland, where CN seems to experience great difficulty recruiting linguistically competent staff, bilingual service at hotels and the **CN Tower** continues to improve. There are still some signage problems, and both CN and its concessionaires sometimes fail to provide service in English and French.

The 29 complaints we received this year about **CN Marine** clearly testify to the shabby quality of its services in French. These complaints cover the entire range of activities, from cash receipts in one language only to the general lack of service in French, failures that are as much the responsibility of CN Marine as that of the Company's concessionaires. Even with signage — an easy enough thing to correct — there are still numerous examples of unilingual English signs at passenger terminals and on vessels. CN Marine should correct this deplorable situation at once.

CN's performance in matters related to internal work documents, work instruments (including computer systems), and its own training programmes continues to rate good marks. However, even at headquarters in Montreal, French in no sense enjoys equal status with English as a language of work.

Participation rates remain largely unchanged from last year. The percentage of Francophones in the 300 most senior positions rose slightly, from 19.3% to 20.7%. Despite minor improvements, Francophone participation at the senior management level is still too low at headquarters (17.2%) and in the Atlantic Region (12.5%), where the level of Francophone participation in middle management is also low (16.6%).

Besides the complaints already mentioned with regard to CN Marine, we received 23 against CN, six of which concerned its hotels and three, Montreal's Central Station.

Canadian Patents and Development Ltd.

Canadian Patents and Development Limited obtains patents and concludes agreements with regard to licences for inventions and technological innovations developed by the federal government, universities and non-profit organizations. Our audit confirmed that the company is generally able to provide most of its services in both official languages. However, we also found a few serious breaches of the Act.

Twelve of the Company's 26 positions require a knowledge of English and French, but only eight incumbents meet the prescribed language requirements. In general, correspondence is answered in the appropriate language. However, when contact is first made with a client, all branches use French exclusively for circulars sent to Quebec and English exclusively for those sent to the other provinces. We recommended that the Company do more to respect the correspondent's choice of language. However, it refused to be swayed, arguing that such action might undermine the efficient transfer of technology by the Crown. For similar reasons, it is reluctant to ask inventors to indicate in writing the language in which they wish to correspond. On the other hand, the Company did accept our findings on other aspects of service: trade exhibits, advertising and its catalogue of inventions.

Since the vast majority of documents sent to the Company are written in English, English is the predominant language of work, and certain internal documents — a manual and forms — were available only in English at the time of the audit. We recommended they be translated. Central and personnel services are usually available in both official languages.

Eight of the Company's 26 employees are Francophone, two of them officers and six support staff, a fairly satisfactory proportion.

The only complaint lodged against the Company this year dealt with a cheque stub in English only sent to a Francophone employee. A bilingual rubber stamp was ordered.

Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission

Correctly anticipating its clients' linguistic wishes continues to be one of the main preoccupations of the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. Decisions and publications are issued simultaneously in French and English and interpretation services are normally provided at hearings. In addition, with 233 employees meeting the language requirements of their bilingual positions, service in both languages is available at all offices. The CRTC still has to perfect its language-of-work regime, but employees can now formally indicate which language they prefer for appraisal purposes, and both English and French are used at all senior-level meetings. Overall Francophone representation is still too high, at just over 50% of the 416 employees. Of the two complaints lodged in 1984, one concerned unilingual telephone reception and was easily resolved; the other, received late in the year, involved the failure to publish a decision in the minority press.

Canadian Transport Commission

The Canadian Transport Commission is moving increasingly closer to achieving an excellent standard of linguistic service to the public and made a serious attempt in 1984 to overcome the major weaknesses remaining in the area of language of work.

Unilingual level-crossing signs outside Quebec will finally be replaced, eight years after the first complaint on this subject was received. An amendment to the Railway Act has enabled the Commission to issue new regulations establishing country-wide signage based on pictograms.

The Commission was the subject of two complaints in 1984. One raised the issue of unilingual signs at level crossings and the other, which was promptly corrected, concerned an advertisement that had not appeared in the French-language press.

Canadian Wheat Board

There has been little change in the linguistic situation at the Canadian Wheat Board. Most of its services and a number of its publications are available in both official languages. The language of work is English, which is hardly surprising as the Board has a very large English-speaking clientele and only 3% of its 529 employees are Francophones.

The Board still refuses to translate the producer's permit book, the permit book application and the accompanying explanatory brochure into French.

On the other hand, the Board said in response to a complaint we received in 1984 that it would translate the background documents used at public information sessions when there is a demand for them.

Cape Breton Development Corporation

In 1984, the Cape Breton Development Corporation experienced both economic and organizational difficulties. However, it is now developing an official languages policy and has committed itself to publishing its advertising in the minority-language press. This is a first step towards the implementation of the recommendations of our 1983 audit. The only complaint received in 1984 concerned the failure of the Corporation to place an advertisement in the minority-language press. It was promptly resolved.

Chief Electoral Officer

Since 1984 was a general election year, the Office of the Chief Electoral Officer buzzed with activity, setting the machinery in motion to enable millions of Canadians to vote. Because it attaches a great deal of importance to the right of citizens

to vote in their language, the Office had refined its language procedures. In spite of everything, a few grains of sand managed to slip into what was otherwise a well-oiled machine.

Two innovations implemented during the election are particularly worthy of note: the Office arranged for bilingual notices to be posted in the polling stations of bilingual ridings (92 of 282, or one third) to inform electors they could be served in their language; and Elections Canada staff wore special badges to distinguish them from the representatives of political parties.

The 36 complaints we received from people who were unable to obtain service in their language during the enumeration or when voting show that things did not always turn out as planned. Among other things, we told the Office we found it difficult to understand why returning officers had hired unilingual staff in Ottawa and Moncton. Fifteen or so complaints issued from these two regions.

To prevent similar situations from arising in future elections, the Office plans to introduce additional measures. It was agreed that returning officers would inform the political parties — which provide the names of people who fill enumerator and deputy returning officer positions — of the need to fill these temporary positions with the greatest number of bilingual people possible. The Office will use the training sessions for election personnel (returning and deputy returning officers, enumerators and revising officers) to make them more aware of their language obligations. It will also try to better identify concentrations of minority-language group members in unilingual ridings so that it can assign bilingual staff to these areas.

Seventy per cent of the 71 positions within the organization require knowledge of both languages, and all but one incumbent meet the language requirements. Employees encounter no problems using their language in internal communications. Work documents, supervisory and central services are available in both languages. However, the proportion of Anglophones declined from 20% last year to 18% in 1984, a situation that clearly calls for prompt corrective action by senior management.

In addition to the complaints noted above, we received another one concerning low Anglophone representation on the Office's staff.

CNCP Telecommunications

This year CNCP Telecommunications maintained the linguistic quality of its communications with the public and adopted an official languages policy.

We are pleased to report that the Corporation followed through on most of our 1983 recommendations. It took a step designed to improve its services by specifically asking clients using its data networks to state their language preference. However, the language of work at headquarters is still English and data on the participation rates of the two official language groups on staff are still not available.

Three complaints were lodged against CNCP this year: two concerned the poor quality of French used in a telegram, and the other, a unilingual French sign. Corrective measures were taken in all cases.

Commissioner for Federal Judicial Affairs

The Office of the Commissioner for Federal Judicial Affairs continues to offer excellent service to its clients. However, certain anomalies concerning language of work remain uncorrected. Supervision is not available to all employees in their first language, and 19 of the Office's 22 Francophones were appraised in English this year.

Serious attention must also be given to improving Anglophone participation. Although the one permanent employee hired this year was English-speaking, only seven of the Office's 29 employees are Anglophone.

Communications

The Department of Communications made progress in 1984, particularly in language of service and language of work. However, Francophone participation fell slightly in some employment categories and, in Quebec, Anglophone participation remains very weak.

With 905 bilingual employees (39.8% of its staff), the Department offers service in both languages. An annual client satisfaction survey revealed that close to 98% of respondents were satisfied with the linguistic quality of services. However, one of the Department's components, the **Government Telecommunications Agency**, seems to be having difficulty convincing private telephone companies to respect its agreements, which oblige them to provide bilingual government telephone services at all times.

In face of the growing influence of English-language television on French culture in Canada, we are pleased to note that one of the Minister's goals is to encourage the extension of French-language radio and television services and the expansion of the range of French-language programming throughout the country. We are hopeful that this review of French-language broadcast services in Quebec and in the rest of Canada will have long-term benefits for the survival of French where it is most threatened. This is all the more important in light of the stringent budgetary cuts that had to be made last fall and that affected both networks (see Canadian Broadcasting Corporation).

The Department is striving to increase the use of French at work despite the ubiquitous use of English in the technological and telecommunications fields. In 1984, it produced a large number of research documents and publications in French. It organized a national colloquium at which more than one-third of the 50 papers were delivered in French to an audience provided with simultaneous interpretation service. It also formed a terminology standardization committee, which is studying the scientific terminology currently used in the Department and encouraging the use of the appropriate scientific terms in both languages.

Anglophone and Francophone participation stands at 70% and 30% respectively. However, only 59% of the support staff are Anglophone. In the western provinces, less than 2% of staff are Francophone, and they represent a mere 3% in Ontario. Anglophone participation is still only 1.3% in Quebec.

In 1984, we received six complaints about telephone service. A seventh complaint dealt with the quality of French in instructions published in a government telephone directory and another with a unilingual reference to the Department in an advertisement. The Department's co-operation in resolving seven of these complaints was satisfactory.

Comptroller General

Some of the progress made by the Office of the Comptroller General over the past few years was jeopardized in 1984 by weaknesses in language of work and participation.

The Office published a revised official languages policy, which advocated firm steps to ensure that services to government clients are provided in the appropriate official language. However, the policy's pronouncements on language of work were somewhat less inspiring. As a central agency, the Office of the Comptroller General chairs or co-ordinates many interdepartmental committees whose bread and butter is working documents in draft form that are all too often in English only. The revision of its official languages policy would therefore have been a golden opportunity to set high standards for the use of both languages at this working level. Instead, the revised document seems to maintain the status quo, notably in its guidelines for written documents, which need not be bilingual unless they "have a long-term use and/or a relatively wide distribution."

The Office's bilingual resources appear adequate for the job at hand — 118 of its 160 employees (73.7%) occupy bilingual positions, and 108 (91.5%) meet the language requirements. However, promises made in 1983 to raise the levels of some of these positions have come to naught, and the current total of three positions at the superior level is clearly inadequate.

The overall representation of Francophones and Anglophones on the Office's staff is equitable at 26.9% and 73.1% respectively. But considerable ground has been lost insofar as distribution of the two groups is concerned: in the Administrative Support category, Francophones have once again topped the mid-way mark at 54.3%, and their numbers have dropped from 22% to 15.9% in the Management and Executive groups. We hope that 1985 will bring concerted efforts to correct these disparities.

Results of the Office's annual language-of-work study indicate a need for close scrutiny of internal language habits. Sixty-three per cent of Francophones communicate in English only with their immediate supervisors, and an unsettling 94% received their performance appraisals in English. Although 73% of the Francophones interviewed chose English as the language of assessment, the reasons for these figures certainly merit investigation. Not surprisingly, English continues to dominate internal meetings: only 21% of the Francophones interviewed used French at these meetings.

We received three complaints against the Office of the Comptroller General in 1984. They concerned the unavailability of a publication and training courses in French. Two were resolved satisfactorily, and the third is under investigation.

Consumer and Corporate Affairs

The highly-rated official languages stock of the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs suffered only slight fluctuations in 1984. The Department encountered only minor difficulties providing services in both languages, but it still has to overcome obstacles to the use of French as a language of work and make greater progress on the equitable participation front.

Forty-eight per cent of the Department's 2,618 employees occupy bilingual positions and 90% of them meet the language requirements. In addition, the Department increased the number of bilingual employees in the West to 30 out of 326. Consequently, it appears better equipped to provide service in French, but it should also ensure that such service is actively offered. To this end, representatives of the Bureau of Consumer Affairs now give their clients a suggestion card on which they may express their opinions on the linguistic aspect of services.

Eighty-four per cent of the 393 supervisors occupying bilingual positions meet their language requirements, and central and personnel services are normally available in English and French. However, French is still not used as often as it might be in the workplace (internal communications and supervision) and the Department is currently investigating the reasons for this situation. In this regard, it might review the language of communications between regional and district offices in bilingual regions.

The Department's Francophone component is fairly large — 1,005 (38.5%) in 1984. Francophones are equitably represented in all employment categories except Administrative Support, where they are over-represented (505, or 51.9%), and Scientific and Professional, where they number only 49 (15.9%).

Anglophone participation in Quebec is low at 6.5% (14 of 214 employees). The Department staffed only some 10 positions in the Province of Quebec in 1984 and recruited only one Anglophone. At this rate, little progress can be expected in the forseeable future. A high priority should be given to correcting this imbalance.

Seven complaints were lodged against the Department in 1984. Three dealt with the absence of advertisements in the minority-language press; one with errors in the language of correspondence; one with unilingual advertisements on Winnipeg buses; and two with unilingual telephone reception. The Department was diligent in resolving these problems.

Correctional Service

The Correctional Service of Canada took some praiseworthy steps during the year in response to the recommendations of our 1983 audit. However, it needs to do a great deal more before it will be in a position to provide adequate services to minority-language inmates in most of the country's penitentiaries and make French an everyday language of internal communications at headquarters.

The Correctional Service has approximately 11,000 employees to deal with the some 12,000 inmates assigned to 60 penitentiaries across Canada.

A major flaw revealed during our audit was the lack of official languages objectives for correctional centre administrators. Action plans have now been established for each of the major institutions and managers are clearly responsible for their implementation. The Service is finalizing mechanisms to monitor implementation of the plans.

The principal challenge of the Correctional Service is to ensure that services are provided to inmates in their own language. To meet this goal, 14% of the staff (1,468 of 10,413) are required to have a knowledge of both languages, and 92% of these positions have incumbents who meet the requirements. In our view, this percentage is clearly inadequate, especially when one considers that 83% of such positions are in New Brunswick, Quebec and the National Capital Region.

Of the 2,413 employees in Ontario, only 156 are bilingual; in the West, only 117 of 3,835. Even if the Service has made efforts to assign at least one bilingual case worker and residential unit worker to each of the institutions in these regions, it has not yet been able to guarantee that all its services are provided in French to Francophone inmates. The services that leave the most to be desired are medical and psychiatric care. In addition, administrative communications and dealings between inmates and guards take place almost exclusively in English in these regions.

The Correctional Service has tackled the important issue of inmate training we raised in our audit. Vocational training is offered solely in English in English-speaking regions of the country, but the Service is now attempting to identify more clearly the needs for training in French, with a view to establishing a training programme in that language. Although the situation is a little better for English-language inmates in Quebec, serious weaknesses still require correction.

It should also be noted that the Service has committed itself to requiring that 50% of the staff to be assigned to the new penitentiaries in Drummondville (Quebec) and Renous (New Brunswick) be bilingual. It is also addressing the problem of communications with the public. Most institutions in Ontario and the Prairies now have bilingual telephone receptionists. However, in a large number of penitentiaries, visitors are still addressed in English only.

Little has changed over the past year with regard to language of work. English is still the predominant language at headquarters, even though Francophones represent more than 35% of staff. A significant obstacle is the unilingualism of 25% of supervisory staff. The Service is to take an inventory of unilingual work documents and establish a plan for their translation, and is continuing its project to establish a language training programme designed to develop receptive bilingualism.

Anglophones comprise 68% of staff and Francophones 32%. The latter's high representation is attributed to the fact that over one-quarter of the Service's employees work in the Quebec region. At the regional level, the imbalances noted last year persist. In Quebec, only 10 of the more than 3,000 employees are Anglophone and, in Ontario, only 50 or so of 2,400 are Francophone. Given the large number of employees in these regions, it is inconceivable that the Service should

have failed to correct these anomalies, even if only to a limited degree. Precise directives from senior management are needed to get the two regions moving on this matter.

The number of complaints against the Service rose from five in 1983 to 40 this year, most of them relating to a lack of services in the inmate's language. The Service's cooperation in resolving complaints was spotty. Complaints about Quebec institutions led to the development of precise plans to rectify anomalies, but elsewhere problems were given rather more superficial attention.

Defence Construction (1951) Ltd.

Defence Construction (1951) Limited has demonstrated continued concern for the needs of its clients and is actively seeking to improve its services in both languages.

DCL has agreed to provide bilingual service as soon as it receives three requests for service or information in the minority official language. A reminder was issued to all employees about their linguistic responsibilities when serving the public, and an upcoming survey will measure client satisfaction.

The language-of-work situation showed no improvement and headquarters still sends some of its technical directives to regional offices in English only. Francophone participation (49 of 259 employees) increased from 18% to 19%.

The one complaint received in 1984 related to a notice that was not published in a minority official-language weekly. In a spirit of cooperation, DCL agreed to publish future notices in this weekly on a trial basis.

Economic Council of Canada

The Economic Council of Canada continues to provide excellent bilingual service to the public and has substantially improved its language-of-work performance. Although English still predominates, the Council estimates that French is now used between 30% and 40% of the time in meetings, and all support services are available in both languages. Anglophones now represent 59% of the 130 employees, up 2% from last year. Francophone participation is high in every category except Scientific and Professional, where 9 of the 40 employees are Francophone. The Council should continue its efforts to redress these imbalances.

Eldorado Nuclear Limited

The linguistic situation at Eldorado Nuclear Limited has changed little since 1983, leaving room for improvement in the years to come. At headquarters, Francophones represent 19.1% of the 152 employees and there is a small geological unit which works in French. Of particular concern is the Blind River refinery in Ontario

where, despite the fact that 35 of the 177 employees are French-speaking, English is the sole language of work and signage is almost exclusively in English. The Ottawa-based Crown corporation has another refinery in Port Hope, Ontario, and uranium mines in Saskatchewan. Eldorado manages to handle the occasional demand for service in French.

Employment and Immigration

Over the years, the Canada Employment and Immigration Commission has earned a reputation for being something of a linguistic trail-blazer. However, although it had some laudable initiatives to its credit in 1984, it was unable to maintain the pace of previous years.

The Commission still attaches considerable importance to the management of its official languages programme. Regional directors and those at headquarters sign annual memoranda of understanding in which they make commitments to senior management to achieve specific goals.

The Commission has consolidated its French-language service centres in Hamilton and in major cities in the West. Furthermore, the Commission deserves applause for gradually extending its network of offices capable of providing bilingual service outside areas of significant demand. It has, however, a black mark on its record in this regard: despite several complaints that the service arrangements for Francophone clients in St. John's, Newfoundland, were unacceptable, the Commission is reluctant to provide the centres with a bilingual capability.

The Commission has finally settled the thorny issue of Farm Labour Pool offices in the Okanagan Valley by agreeing to equip them all with bilingual personnel as of 1985. It is currently developing a new computerized system for offers of employment. We hope the Commission will see to it that this system produces the offers in both languages.

To better identify the need for vocational training in French in Ontario, the Commission has created advisory committees with local Francophone associations in several parts of the province. The reports were submitted at the end of 1984 and the Commission is preparing its response.

Almost a quarter of the Commission's 25,350 positions are identified as bilingual and 88% of them are occupied by bilingual incumbents. Bilingual capability is high in New Brunswick, Quebec, and in Eastern and Northern Ontario. We encourage the Commission to continue its efforts to increase the number of bilingual employees in other regions, in particular Newfoundland, where only three of the 734 employees are bilingual, Prince Edward Island (6 of 197) and British Columbia (21 of 2,613).

The Commission has completed an analysis of its second language-of-work survey of employees in bilingual regions and at headquarters. Forty-two per cent of Francophones, compared to 37% in 1979, stated they were able to work entirely in French. For Anglophones, the rate remained unchanged at 66%. Supervision is

the area that leaves most to be desired: 40% of Francophone respondents do not receive supervision in their language. The Commission recently asked senior managers to prepare action plans to implement its study recommendations.

Anglophones represent only two-thirds of all staff and Francophones are over-represented in most of the occupational categories. The situation is the same in New Brunswick (43%) and Manitoba (7%). However, Anglophone participation in Quebec has remained at 2% for several years. Rather than taking energetic measures to correct this situation, the Commission has channelled the bulk of its energy into studies on the Anglophone work-force in Quebec and has let opportunities for significant change slip through its fingers. Of the 77 people recently hired at eight employment centres in Quebec (Gaspé, Sherbrooke, Quebec City and Montreal), only one was Anglophone, although 2.5% of the candidates were English speakers. The ball is now in senior management's court.

We received 75 complaints against the Commission in 1984. Approximately 60% of them dealt with the lack of bilingual telephone or counter services at CEIC offices. Others related to the absence of advertisements in minority-language newspapers. Our attention was drawn to cases of unilingual signage and training courses available in only one language. The Commission's co-operation in resolving complaints continued, on the whole, to be very good. For example, when complaints recur in a particular region or city, the Commission sends a team of language auditors to investigate.

Energy, Mines and Resources

In 1984, the Department of Energy, Mines and Resources concentrated its efforts on service to the public. It now offers better services to its clients in both official languages and willingly publicizes that fact. The implementation of its new policy on scientific publications should enable it to increase the number of French-language works it issues. Of the Department's 5,083 employees, 1,583 meet the language requirements of their positions, 95 more than last year. The Department's orientation programme for new employees now includes information on their language rights and responsibilities.

Despite some improvement, the use of French in the workplace is a major challenge the Department has yet to overcome. Although work documents as well as central and personnel services are available in both official languages and employees may choose the language in which their performance appraisal is conducted, English is still the dominant language of internal communications and meetings everywhere except in Quebec.

Francophone participation remained stable at 23.4%. It is low in the Scientific and Professional category (13%), and weakest in the Management category, where Francophones represent only 11.1% of staff. This situation does little to promote the use of French in the workplace. Francophones are under-represented in the western provinces, numbering only 12 of 429 employees, whereas Anglophones represent only 6% of staff in Quebec.

We received 10 complaints against the Department in 1984. Six concerned language of service, especially in posters and advertisements, and four, language of work. One of the latter dealt with the quality of French in a memorandum, another questioned the procedures for staffing a bilingual position and the last two related to the distribution of a memorandum written in English only. The Department's co-operation in settling these complaints was satisfactory.

Environment

The Department of the Environment maintained the accelerated pace of language reform it adopted several years ago, but still has a few obstacles to overcome before it earns top marks.

Parks Canada made some improvements in its services and has agreed to review its policy concerning the linguistic aspects of road signs and place names, both of which are still all too often in only one language. We anticipate as a result that all road signs within national parks will in due course respect the equal status of the two official languages.

Service in both languages this summer was made possible by the large number of bilingual part-time employees hired for the season. However, unless the number of permanent bilingual employees is increased, the problem of providing services in both languages will have to be faced afresh every year.

The **Atmospheric Environment Service** extended its bilingual weather forecasts by telephone to more major cities in the Maritimes and western provinces. There is thus reason to expect that, before very long, these services will be available in both languages right across the country.

The percentage of the Department's 12,830 employees occupying bilingual positions remained unchanged at 22%, but a larger number of incumbents are now considered bilingual (up from 80% to 82%). However, there is still room for improvement throughout the Department with respect to the active offer of bilingual services by telephone receptionists.

Francophone employees increased marginally during the year and now represent 20.5% of staff. However, the Department should step up its effort to achieve a more equitable participation of Francophones in the Management category, where there are too few (14.8%) to have much impact on the use of French as a language of work. More effort is also required to improve the situation in the following categories: Scientific and Professional (16.8%), Technical (18%), Operational (16.1%). Francophone participation is also weak in Northern and Eastern Ontario (9%), and in New Brunswick (15.5%). Anglophones represent only 6% of staff in Quebec.

English is still the language of internal communications, except in Quebec and in a few units at headquarters. This situation results from the less than equitable representation of the two language groups and deeply ingrained language habits.

In 1984, we received 33 complaints against the Department, 17 of which concerned billboards and advertising, and 16 others regarding unilingual reception or telephone service. The Department's co-operation in settling 23 of these complaints was generally good.

Export Development Corporation

The Export Development Corporation is actively implementing our audit recommendations of last year. For example, formerly unilingual work documents have been translated and the internal audit group will henceforth deal with the issue of service to the public.

Of its 577 employees, 293 (51%) are bilingual, and the Corporation has no significant difficulty providing clients with service in their language.

Although French is slowly gaining ground as a language of work, a great deal remains to be done. The Corporation is placing a strong emphasis on language training for supervisors: 36% (45 of 124) require such training. Written communications between head office and the Montreal office are more regularly conducted in French. Lastly, meetings of the management committee are held in both official languages. In general, the Corporation is well on track.

Participation rates are 71% Anglophone, 29% Francophone. A similar balance exists at all levels of the Corporation.

External Affairs

Our 1984 audit of External Affairs headquarters revealed serious weaknesses in language of work and equitable participation. The situation is generally more acceptable at posts abroad where there is a strong bilingual capability among foreign service officers.

The Department has a good policy and a well-articulated official languages plan, but their implementation at headquarters is not a priority. As a result, managers do not have precise objectives and the Department has not yet established a monitoring programme to ensure that such objectives are achieved.

The Department took a number of useful initiatives at posts abroad in following up on the recommendations of our 1982 audit. The major posts are now developing specific language programmes and the Internal Audit Service is giving closer attention to the official languages situation abroad. The Department has also distributed information brochures to rotational and locally hired staff.

The Department's capacity to offer services in both languages is largely dependent on the number of bilingual employees on its rotational staff. Although bilingual capacity remains satisfactory among the 1,400 or so foreign service officers (78%), it is clearly inadequate among support staff, where only 46% of the approximately 1,000 are bilingual. It is therefore not surprising to find that tele-

phone and reception services are often provided solely in English, particularly at headquarters. The Department is continuing to pursue its objective of making all its reception services abroad bilingual by 1986.

The Department will have to concentrate most of its efforts on language of work. French is widely used in 25 of the 120 posts abroad. With the exception of a number of units in the Political Affairs Sector, where the use of French is well established, English is clearly the dominant language of work at headquarters. It is virtually the only language of work in the trade sectors and at senior echelons of the Department.

In many cases, supervision and performance appraisals are conducted solely in English. Training courses, especially orientation sessions for new staff, are frequently offered in English only. The lack of support services in French is another serious impediment to the use of French at work. Only one-third of the 475 rotational secretaries have achieved an intermediate level of second-language knowledge, and the fact that the Department has suspended full-time language training for secretaries does not help matters. It will have difficulty achieving its objective of increasing the proportion of bilingual secretaries to 70% by 1988.

Although the Department's capacity to offer central services in both languages is slowly increasing, some units do not yet have a sufficient number of bilingual staff. Examples include the Management Review and Audit Bureau, the Operations and Maintenance Group, and the Telecommunications Division. A revealing illustration of the lack of sensitivity toward the right of employees to receive central services in their language was the team of four unilingual Anglophones and one bilingual employee that headquarters sent to Paris to set up a computerized financial control system.

The overall participation rates are 71% for Anglophones and 29% for Francophones. The latter make up 21% of 156 Management category employees and only 15% of the 200 commerce officers. The Department aims to have 25% Francophones in the commerce group by 2003. The situation has improved somewhat in the foreign service officer group, where Francophone participation has increased from 22.5% last year to 24% this year. There is also a trend toward polarization, with Francophones concentrated in social, cultural and administrative programmes and Anglophones dominating technical, economic and trade sectors. This situation does not help to achieve a better balance in the internal use of both languages.

Seven complaints were lodged against the Department in 1984, four of which dealt with unilingual telephone reception. Although the Department moves quickly to correct routine problems, it is very slow to resolve files that require policy changes.

Farm Credit Corporation

The Farm Credit Corporation managed to maintain the bilingual staff required to provide services in both official languages. Twenty-seven per cent of its 650 employees are bilingual. The Corporation's staff can use French at headquarters and in bilingual regions, but English is still the predominant language of work. The

overall participation rates are 76% for Anglophones and 24% for Francophones. Anglophone participation in Quebec remains much too low: only one employee out of 90. We received two complaints in 1984. One concerned unilingual English telephone reception service in Winnipeg, which is already resolved; the other related to the lack of advertising in a minority French-language newspaper.

Federal Business Development Bank

Continuing its 1983 belt-tightening measures, the Federal Business Development Bank underwent an additional 15% reduction in staff in 1984. The Bank now has only 1,400 employees, of whom some 250 are bilingual (15%), a factor that has produced a touch of linguistic anorexia. For example, Ontario branches in Sault Ste. Marie, Mississauga, Scarborough and Toronto, and the New Brunswick branch in Saint John are no longer able to provide service in French. Consequently, the Bank has had to fall back on a referral system. In spite of these difficulties, it usually manages to provide services in English and French to its clients in the bilingual regions of the country.

The Bank has completed the first part of its language testing programme at head office in Montreal and is currently determining the language skills of its employees in the Quebec Region. It has also reviewed its internal audit programme with a view to introducing more stringent language provisions.

Outside the Quebec Region and Northern New Brunswick, French is rarely used as a language of work. We find it regrettable that 36 of the 76 managers at headquarters are unilingual. Even so, employees do have access to bilingual work documents, and central and personnel services are available in English and French.

Francophones represent 27.6% of staff and are well distributed throughout the various occupational categories. At headquarters in Montreal, 175 (61%) of the 287 employees are Anglophone, but only 9 of the 244 employees in the Quebec Region are Anglophone.

Of the 21 complaints lodged against the Bank in 1984, 13 dealt with the absence of advertisements in the minority media, six with unilingual service and two with a unilingual brochure. The Bank was conscientious in resolving these cases.

Federal Court

The Administration of the Federal Court struggled resolutely this year to find a solution to its problem of producing simultaneously in both official languages judgements of public interest or importance. Unfortunately, other language concerns were not given the same consideration.

Certain recommendations in our 1983 audit report have not been fully implemented. The Administration has yet to develop a plan to include well-defined objectives and designated areas of responsibility for official languages. More encouraging, however, is the completion of a language policy, an important step in the right direction.

Since our audit, the Administration of the Federal Court has been more conscientious in discussing language matters at staff meetings. It has also devised ways to enable staff to clearly identify the language preference of litigants. However, it has pursued with less vigour our request that service contracts with Provincial Superior Courts be revised to include an official languages clause. We suggest that the present negotiations on this matter with New Brunswick be completed without delay.

Ninety-seven of the Federal Court's 152 positions are designated bilingual, and all but three of the incumbents meet the prescribed language requirements.

An examination of the participation of the two official language groups reveals imbalances, both in terms of overall percentages and individual employment categories. Overall, there are 77 Anglophones and 75 Francophones. Anglophones occupy only 35 of the 81 positions in the Administrative Support and Operational categories, and only 42 of 71 positions at the more senior levels.

Despite the high proportion of Francophones, English tends to be the principal working language. Encouragement is nonetheless given to employees to draft reports or conduct meetings in their preferred language. Not all working manuals have been translated, despite a specific reference in the new policy that all should be bilingual.

The Federal Court has discussed with the Translation Bureau of the Department of the Secretary of State the establishment of guidelines governing the priority to be given to the translation of its judgements. The two organizations have also investigated the possibility of locating a number of translator-revisors at the Federal Court. While the Bureau is uncertain of the overall benefit to be derived from such a move, both the Federal Court and our Office believe that the advantages would outweigh any potential inconveniences, thereby reducing, and probably eliminating, present delays in translating judgements.

Federal-Provincial Relations Office

The Federal-Provincial Relations Office consolidated the gains made in previous years, and once again turned in an acceptable performance in the language field.

The FPRO has designated 48 of its 51 positions bilingual and 43 incumbents meet the language requirements. The Office plans to keep its employees well-informed of official languages matters by issuing an "Employee's Guide on Official Languages."

Both languages continue to be used for reports and at meetings. However, only 46% of Francophones in the FPRO requested that their performance evaluations be conducted in French. Given the Office's efforts to encourage employees to request their preferred language both for the report and interview, we wonder why this figure is so low.

As a result of the Office's policy to upgrade the linguistic levels of positions occupied by officers and senior managers from an intermediate to a superior level

following appointment, 4 of 10 supervisors in the FPRO do not meet the requirements of their positions. In 1984, this policy was used on six occasions for 11 staffing actions.

The participation of the two official languages groups is similar to previous years, with 25 Anglophones and 26 Francophones. Francophones account for 6 out of 21 positions in the Management category, while only 3 of 18 employees in the Administrative Support category are Anglophone. The FPRO should attempt to correct this imbalance.

Finance

The Department of Finance seems to have solved its few remaining problems with service to the public. It is, however, still wrestling with the more difficult issue of language of work, and in our view should be trying a little harder. Francophone participation remains slightly high, mainly because of the abundance of Francophones in administrative areas.

In the past, the two major problems with regard to service to the public were telephone reception and unilingual display material for Canada Savings Bonds; unilingual French displays in various financial institutions in the Montreal area in particular produced a number of complaints over the years. To correct the first problem, the Department re-issued a circular giving clear directions on how telephones are to be answered. Subsequent monitoring revealed that telephones are now answered in both languages. For the 1984 Canada Savings Bonds campaign, publicity material came in a variety of linguistic guises — posters with English on one side and French on the other, bilingual free-standing displays, unilingual brochure holders, and bilingual counter-top displays. This is undoubtedly better than in former years, and produced only one complaint this year.

Of the Department's 840 occupied positions, 64% are bilingual and 88% of incumbents meet the language requirements. Most of the bilingual positions (71%) require an intermediate level of proficiency. Senior management has decided to leave most positions at this level and make fuller use of the skills of employees who have reached the superior level. While this arrangement does not seem to hinder the provision of services in both languages, it represents an inhibiting factor for language of work.

According to the Department's most recent in-house survey, the use of French among Francophones in the workplace remains at 35%. Proposed new measures in the area of language of work may bear fruit in 1985, but will require a sustained and concerted effort on the part of management and staff.

Francophones account for 34% of the 840 employees. They constitute almost half of the 278 employees in the Administrative Support category and 36% of the 202 in the Administrative and Foreign Service category. On the other hand, in the key departmental category (Scientific and Professional), Francophone representation stands at 21%, while in the Management category it is very low (7 employees of 62). A stepped-up effort will be required to achieve a better balance.

One complaint brought to the attention of the Department in 1984 concerned a unilingual memorandum from the Deputy Minister to all staff. We also received some 10 complaints about the absence of advertisements in French weeklies. These are under review.

Fisheries and Oceans

Although the general picture at the Department of Fisheries and Oceans is somewhat brighter, particularly in terms of service to the public, the Department should take up the challenge to increase Francophone participation and the use of French in the workplace.

A 12% increase in the number of employees meeting the language requirements of their positions (from 835 to 937 in 1984) enabled the Department to offer better service in French in Eastern Canada and the National Capital Region, where its largest concentration of Francophone clients is located. Publications, press releases and publicity are bilingual, and new employees responsible for dealing with the public are well briefed on their obligation to offer service in both official languages. In the Atlantic provinces, the Department is about to provide French courses better adapted to local needs.

The Department made significant progress with regard to the participation of both language groups. Francophone participation rose by 2.5% in 1984, but Francophones account for only 14.7% of staff (970 of 6,618). They are underrepresented in all professional categories, especially in the Management (11%), Technical (13%), and Scientific and Professional (9%) categories.

In the Maritimes, Francophones account for 13.6% of the 3,089 employees and most of those are in New Brunswick (252 of 607 employees). In Quebec, Anglophones account for only 8.0% of 447 employees.

All the evidence indicates that the low level of Francophone participation has a direct influence on language of work. Despite a series of measures designed to promote a more widespread use of French (designating certain days for working in French, French courses adapted to work units, alternating languages for meetings) French is seldom used for internal communications outside Quebec and New Brunswick.

In 1984, we received eight complaints against the Department. Two concerned unilingual signage and telephone reception, two others were prompted by letters in the wrong language to English and French clients and the other four concerned the lack of advertising in minority official-language newspapers. Two of these complaints have been settled.

Foreign Investment Review Agency

Following our 1983 audit, the Foreign Investment Review Agency conducted a thorough examination of its linguistic problems and has already implemented some

of our recommendations. For example, it has distributed a summary of its official languages plan to employees, established an action plan for reviewing the language requirements of its positions and language training, translated some internal documents and corrected anomalies relating to the availability of internal services in French.

Since 50 of the incumbents of its 64 bilingual positions meet their language requirements, the Agency is normally able to provide bilingual services to its clients. It has also corrected its telephone reception problems.

English dominates as the language of work. However, employees receive their performance appraisal reports in the appropriate language and are invited to express themselves in the language of their choice at meetings. However, 6 of the 23 supervisors in bilingual positions still do not meet their language requirements — a sure obstacle to communications in both languages.

Francophone participation stands at 25% (33 of 130), but this apparently acceptable percentage is misleading: of the 15 managers, only one is Francophone.

This review is actually a post-mortem, since the Agency has been reborn as Investment Canada. We hope that the new organization will build on the good points we have mentioned, thus avoiding possible future criticism.

Harbourfront

Harbourfront Corporation, which reports to the Minister of Public Works, has as its mandate to create an urban area in Toronto that combines public areas and recreational activities with residential, retail and commercial office space. The Corporation receives some two million visitors each year and serves a local Francophone population greater than that of Moncton and Winnipeg.

Our 1984 audit showed that its record was unfortunately not very distinguished when it came to language matters: no French-language corporate name, no official languages policy or programme and serious weaknesses in the delivery of bilingual services.

Although it has not established language requirements for its 175 employees, the Corporation believes that 10 or so are bilingual. Unfortunately, they are not distributed in such a manner as to ensure bilingual service at all points of contact. Signs and advertisements are very rarely bilingual and most of the Corporation's educational, recreational and cultural programmes are available only in English. The Corporation believes it has three or four Francophones on staff. The language of work is English.

We recommended that the Corporation adopt a French-language corporate name and develop a language reform programme that would include the creation of bilingual positions, the provision of services in French and the use of bilingual signs, printed matter, publicity material and information documents. We have also encouraged it to improve its ties with the Francophone community and make Francophones more aware of job opportunities.

House of Commons

The House of Commons' performance in 1984 was not up to the mark of previous years. The House appears content with past achievements and neglects to address persistent language-of-work and equitable participation problems.

Management of the official languages programme contains the same positive elements as in the past, but also the same weaknesses. The House has a sound language policy and the heads of the three main sectors establish annual action plans. However, it has so far failed to follow up on the suggestions we made last year to establish more rigorous control mechanisms and to provide its staff with more complete information on their language rights and responsibilities.

More than 70% of the House's 1,713 positions are classified as bilingual and 66% of these are occupied by bilingual incumbents. The Sergeant-at-Arms' sector has the highest proportion of employees who do not meet the language requirements of their positions (48%). This increase of 4% since last year is no doubt due to the fact that the language requirements of some 20% of positions were raised in 1984. In the Clerk's sector, by contrast, the percentage of incumbents meeting the language requirements of bilingual positions has increased by 14% over the past year.

The House is making an effort to increase the number of bilingual security guards, and takes their knowledge of English and French into consideration when arranging shifts. Sixty-eight per cent of the guards are now bilingual. However, the complaints received in 1984 indicate that the assignment system is still far from perfect. The House was extremely slow to act on these complaints.

Overall, Anglophones are still under-represented on the House's staff (37%), even though their participation is higher in the upper echelons of the Management (54%) and Administration (42%) categories. The first step to redress this situation has, we hope, been taken: the Management Committee of the House has approved development of an action plan to deal with the question.

French is not used as regularly as one might imagine in the workplace, the unilingualism of 26% of the 250 supervisors being a major impediment to a more widespread use of French. The House continues to translate work documents for the Sergeant-at-Arms' and Administrator's sectors, and has also ensured that its new electronic internal communications service operates in both official languages.

The House of Commons was the subject of seven complaints in 1984. The first four concerned the unilingualism of Anglophone security guards. Another referred to unilingual English telephone reception at the Sergeant-at-Arms' sector. Two others, received at the end of the year, dealt with the methods used to assess the language proficiency of candidates for competitions, and are still under study.

Indian Affairs and Northern Development

The official languages programme at Indian Affairs and Northern Development failed to gather any real momentum in 1984. However, some modest gains were made and the Department now feels confident that the just-completed restructur-

ing of its official languages network will enable it to make more significant progress in the future.

The Department's capacity to serve the public in both English and French has evolved very little over the past year. In 1984, the number of bilingual positions dropped very slightly (to 1,200 of a total of about 5,600), but the proportion of incumbents who meet the language requirements rose by about 3% to 83%. Nevertheless, few offices offer service in both languages as only eight of the 2,660 positions west of Ontario are bilingual and staffed with qualified incumbents. Although only 10 bands in Quebec and New Brunswick have expressed the wish to be served in French, the Department should also anticipate the linguistic needs of other minority-language clients.

The Department estimates that about 96% of its clients prefer to deal with it in English, but there has been no in-depth survey to measure the demand for service in French. More than a year after establishment of the nationwide INWATS line we mentioned last year, the Department has done no advertising of its existence except by having a listing included in some telephone directories. Initially set up on a trial basis, the service is still in place, but neither the level of its use nor the satisfaction of clients has been evaluated.

In general, employees in the Quebec and National Capital regions are able to work in French, but even in the latter area, recent internal departmental audits revealed some language-of-work problems. Personnel and central services are still not available in both official languages in all regional offices and most meetings, including those of the management committee, are held in English only. What is more, the appraisal form still does not enable employees to indicate their language preference.

With regard to participation, which remains 84% Anglophone and 16% Francophone, the Department maintains that the highly decentralized nature of operations, the eventual dissolution of certain regional offices and the low demand for service in French make it both difficult and unnecessary to increase the proportion of Francophone employees. In our view, this pro domo justification is highly debatable. We note that Francophones are under-represented in the Operational (4%), Technical (12%), and Scientific and Professional (9%) categories, in Ontario and New Brunswick offices (2% and 13% respectively) and at the senior hierarchical level (16%).

Of the four complaints received against the Department in 1984, three concerning unilingual telephone or personal reception have been resolved. The fourth complaint, identical to one received at the end of 1983, concerned the failure to publish a call for tender in the minority press in Saskatchewan; both of these are still unresolved.

Insurance

The Department of Insurance is quite capable of providing service in both languages and has made some headway in language of work. An in-house survey of the Department's clientele revealed a high degree of satisfaction with the linguistic

aspects of its services. To help promote the use of French in the workplace, Wednesday morning discussions in French have been reinstated, simultaneous interpretation was introduced at the 1984 annual meeting of directors and regional officers, and efforts have been made to ensure that Francophones can receive their appraisals in French. Overall Francophone participation remains at a healthy 26% of 209 employees. Francophones are well represented throughout the various occupational categories, but at the Executive level all seven employees are Anglophone.

International Development Research Centre

The pace of language reform has picked up at the International Development Research Centre. However, the Centre remains steadfast in its refusal to produce its scientific and technical publications simultaneously in both official languages.

The Centre's language training programme continues to be popular. Twenty-five per cent of its 361 employees are taking courses to improve their second-language skills. The internal audit group now includes official languages in its audits, and the number of bilingual supervisors has grown by 5%. However, Francophone representation in the Executive, and Scientific and Professional categories remains too low, at 21.5% and 17%.

The three complaints received this year concerned the Centre's recruitment advertising practices. A more cohesive policy on this matter is being drafted.

Justice

Our 1984 audit of the Department of Justice revealed that senior administrators attach great importance to the official languages issue, but that the same enthusiasm does not extend to their managers. As a result, the establishment of French as a language of work still encounters serious obstacles.

The official languages programme enjoys strong support from the Department's senior management, and a senior-level committee coordinates its implementation. However, two vital elements are missing: managers have no precise objectives and control mechanisms are fragmentary.

Fifty-four per cent of the Department's some 1,400 positions are designated bilingual, and 90% of the incumbents meet the language requirements. A little over 50% of the 209 positions occupied by legal advisors who provide legal services to departments and agencies in the National Capital Region are bilingual, and 90% of the incumbents meet the language requirements. We would note, however, that only 15% of bilingual positions require a superior level of second-language proficiency and that more than one-third of senior counsels are unilingual Anglophones. Bearing in mind the significant repercussions that a legal advisor's work can have on the use of both languages in departments, these two situations, already mentioned in last year's Report, should be corrected without delay.

At headquarters, 47% of legal advisor positions require knowledge of both languages, and 50%, knowledge of English only. There are three bilingual legal advisors in the Edmonton regional office, and one Winnipeg-based advisor is on language training. The Department often calls upon lawyers in private practice to handle certain cases, but contract agreements do not specify the language regime to be followed with regard to third parties.

An employee survey, conducted as part of our audit, revealed a distinct predominance of English among headquarters staff and counsels. Eighty per cent of all meetings take place in English. Approximately 40% of Francophones are supervised and evaluated in English, hardly a surprising figure when one considers that 22% of supervisors are unilingual. The level of Francophone dissatisfaction with personnel and central services is also very high. Almost 50% indicated that they did not receive all such services in their language.

The Department should be applauded for its efforts to give equal status to English and French in legislative drafting. More legislation is now drafted originally in French, and pains are taken to ensure that the French translation of legislation drafted in English is of the highest quality. The same does not hold true for the review of regulations, where the French version is given much less attention.

Anglophones represent 65% of staff and Francophones 35%. Francophones account for 27% of legal advisors. Francophone participation in the Management category increased from 20% in 1983 to 26% in 1984. The proportion of Francophone legal advisors is only 2% in provinces outside Quebec.

We received five complaints against the Department in 1984. The first four were about service to the public and the fifth concerned the language used in documents prepared for the Minister. The Department clearly reaffirmed the right of public servants to prepare documents in the language of their choice and made the necessary arrangements to ensure that the material is available in the Minister's preferred official language.

Before being dismantled, the **Canadian Unity Information Office** was the subject of 13 complaints about notices that had not been published in minority-language weeklies.

Labour

Over the years, the Department of Labour's progress in official languages has been quite slow, and our 1983 audit revealed that it is not yet out of the woods. It must now consolidate its achievements by making managers more accountable for implementation of the official languages programme and by conducting internal audits to provide an objective evaluation of progress.

The Department is able to provide most of its services in both languages. Some 438 (53%) of the 835 positions are bilingual and 87% of the incumbents meet the prescribed language requirements. On the other hand, the Department has not yet

measured the demand for service in French from specialized clients such as employers, unions and associations, a task we recommended it undertake. Since the provincial workers' compensation boards provide services to federal employees, we encouraged the Department to negotiate the provision of such services in both official languages. Similarly, we asked it to include a bilingualism clause in agreements concluded with unions receiving financial assistance for union training. Lastly, we emphasized the importance of simultaneously publishing *Revue de la négociation collective* and *Collective Bargaining*, since the French version usually appears a month later than the English.

The Department's employees work primarily in English, although French is used in Quebec, Moncton and in some units at headquarters. A number of internal documents and central services are not always provided in French and, although most of the some 166 supervisors occupying bilingual positions meet the prescribed language requirements, our audit revealed that a significant number would be unable to perform their supervisory duties in their second language. The Department is looking into these problems.

The overall participation rates remain unchanged: 32% Francophone and 68% Anglophone. However, the Administrative Support category is overly subscribed by Francophones: 136 of 337 (40%). Another special case is the Women's Bureau, where all 10 officer positions are occupied by Anglophones. Lastly, only 2 of the 66 employees in Quebec are Anglophones. The Department should make every effort to resolve these imbalances.

Two of the four complaints lodged against the Department in 1984 concerned unilingual telephone reception service and were quickly resolved. The third concerned a directive received from on high asking departmental employees to attach an explanation or English translation to documents addressed to the Minister. The last concerned correspondence sent in French to an English-speaking public servant who suffered an injury at work. The last two cases are still under study.

Laurentian Pilotage Authority

The Laurentian Pilotage Authority, which we audited for the first time in 1984, has headquarters in Montreal and three regional offices in Quebec. It has little difficulty meeting its official-languages obligations, but should ensure that its abundant bilingual resources are properly used, particularly with respect to service to the public.

In our view, development of an official languages policy and its distribution to staff would enable the Authority to make optimum use of these resources. It has committed itself to implementing our recommendation in this regard.

Providing service in both languages to shipping agents and pilots on contract is a simple matter for the Authority, 68 of whose 79 employees are bilingual. However, telephone reception is in French only, a shortcoming we have asked the Authority to correct. Another problem demands particular attention: although invoices for pilotage services are printed in both languages, they are completed in English only.

The Authority has not recorded the first official language of its employees and should do so. It is evident, however, that almost its entire staff is Francophone. When the Authority finally collects these data and informs its employees of their language rights, it should, as required, translate its work documents, which at present exist only in French. Furthermore, it should make efforts to develop a more equitable participation of Anglophones among its staff.

Law Reform Commission

Except in the area of participation, the Law Reform Commission's linguistic performance remains virtually unchanged. Eighty per cent of the Commission's 45 permanent employees are bilingual and the same percentage applies to its 21 contract staff.

English and French co-exist in the workplace with no problem. However, to further enhance its performance, the Commission should increase the number of Anglophones on its permanent staff (17 of 43). Among contract staff, there are 12 Anglophones and 9 Francophones.

Library of Parliament

In 1984, the Library of Parliament developed a long-overdue, formal official languages policy. The document now awaits senior management approval. Service to the Library's public continues to be good, and 30% of this year's acquisitions were French-language publications.

Francophones represent 53% of the total staff of 223 and 73% of the Administative Support category. A greater effort should be made to recruit bilingual Anglophones.

The two complaints lodged against the Library of Parliament in 1984 concerned an internal memo written partly in English only and advertising that appeared only in the English-language press. The first was promptly resolved and the second is still under investigation.

Medical Research Council

The linguistic performance of the Medical Research Council was more than satisfactory in 1984. The Council published its official languages policy and reassessed the language requirements of its 49 positions in order to ensure better service to its clients and staff. Anglophone participation has improved to 63%. Employees have access to bilingual work documents and are able to work in the language of their choice.

National Arts Centre

The National Arts Centre once again earns praise for its successful efforts to reach the clients of its myriad programmes in the appropriate official language. Some advances have also been made behind the scenes, but approximately one-third of supervisors in bilingual positions still have little or no knowledge of the second language. Francophones continue overall to occupy too large a proportion of the 267 permanent positions (59.5%), and the Centre will have to develop a staffing scenario that enables it to establish a better balance over time. The NAC's official languages programme appears to meet the needs of the public: only one complaint was brought to our attention this year and it was easily resolved.

National Capital Commission

In 1984, the National Capital Commission continued to follow the straight and narrow through the forest of bilingualism. Although it had to pay penance for four complaints about errors in its posters, the Commission did not encounter any serious difficulty providing the public with quality service in English and French. Nonetheless, the Commission should increase its efforts to improve the rate of bilingualism among supervisors (72%) and resolve its low Anglophone participation rate (53% of 850 employees).

National Defence

The Department of National Defence spent a good deal of its time in 1984 preparing new battle plans rather than making concrete advances in the field of language reform.

The Department did take some appropriate measures: it eliminated the elementary level of second-language proficiency for military positions, clarified two orders on official languages, made the language requirements of positions more specific, accelerated the translation process, and revised its public recruitment policy to make systematic use of the minority-language press. Not all these steps, however, will have the immediate effect of improving service in both languages.

Although 16.3% of military personnel are bilingual (13,200 of 80,760), only 6.5% (5,220) are to be found in the 10,480 bilingual positions. Civilian personnel number 33,440, with 3,710 qualified bilingual employees (11%) occupying the 4,450 positions that require knowledge of both languages. On the other hand, the Department has recognized the existence of significant demand for bilingual service to the public in 12 of its 77 establishments (16%), and to the military community in 49 of 77 establishments (64%). When we consider the disparity between the Department's bilingual resources and demand, the service shortcomings are hardly surprising, especially with regard to oral communications. The Department is trying to bridge these gaps with a battery of "alternative administrative arrangements," but it must increase its resources and controls if it is to achieve its goals. The situation at recruiting centres in several cities is improving, and candidates for the armed forces are usually served in their language at these locations.

On average, some 3,500 military personnel receive language training in any given year, but only about half are posted to bilingual positions during annual reassignments.

Francophone participation is sharply different for military and civilian personnel: in the military sector, it rose from 26.9% to 27.1% (21,900 of 80,760), mainly as a result of the proportion of corporals (29.8%) and privates (32.7%) rather than that of commissioned officers (22.3%). Francophone representation in the different forces and specializations also varies: 35% in the infantry, 17% in the navy and 23% in the air force.

On the civilian side, Francophone representation still stands at 19.9% (6,700 of 33,440) and is particularly weak in the Management (12.8%) category. The lone exception is the Scientific and Professional category (27.6%). Anglophone representation in Quebec is 11.9% and that of Francophones in New Brunswick 14.2%. In the National Capital Region, Francophones make up 23.1% of personnel. Representation at the various levels has shown little improvement: Francophone civilian personnel represent 20.2% of the junior, 18.4% of the intermediate, and only 13.7% of the senior echelons.

The use of French as a language of work continues to be frustrating for Francophones who do not have access to work documents of a technical nature or to specialized military training in their language. This problem is compounded by the lack of bilingual supervisors (28% among civilian staff) and the linguistic constraints, real or perceived, of military operations. The two French-language naval units, in spite of remarkable progress, still include a number of unilingual Anglophones; consequently, the use of French is often confined to the mess. Although these problems are less evident in Quebec, it is vital that the Department take concrete steps to correct this situation in the near future.

The preliminary results of our fall 1984 audit of the military colleges in Saint-Jean and Kingston revealed that both language groups are well represented. The practice of alternating between French and English (in all aspects of daily life except classes) helps develop an increasing number of bilingual officers, though second-language proficiency is better in Saint-Jean than in Kingston.

In 1984, we received 45 complaints about the Department, 36 of which concerned language of service. Twelve complaints dealt with signage, a matter which, 15 years after the proclamation of the Act, should have long ago been settled. In a Department where everyone must march in step, this rather slack approach is nothing less than astonishing. Thirteen related to lack of advertising in the minority-language press, a problem that should soon be resolved by the Department's new policy. Reception, by telephone or in person, was the subject of eight complaints. Settlement of complaints is still slow and controls could be improved.

National Energy Board

The National Energy Board maintained its high standards in serving the public in both languages. Its new language policy has finally been promulgated and efforts are being made to encourage the use of French as a working language. Francophone participation is still low, especially at senior levels.

The hearing process functions smoothly in both official languages. Simultaneous interpretation is available at hearings in Ottawa, and elsewhere if required by the parties or for cases where a linguistically mixed audience is anticipated. Decisions are published simultaneously in both languages, and the proceedings themselves are recorded in the language of the speaker.

Of the 431 employees, 174 (40.4%) are in bilingual positions. Incumbents who meet the language requirements of their positions increased slightly this year (82.5% compared to 80.7% in 1983), but we should emphasize that only six positions require a superior knowledge of French.

The recent practice of providing simultaneous interpretation at Board meetings is beginning to have the desired ripple effect: several internal reports which would previously have been automatically prepared in English are now being written in French. Intensive job-related French courses for managers and the use of audio-visual aids to familiarize staff with French technical terminology should also help promote the use of the language.

Francophone participation now stands at 18.3% (79 of 431 employees), an increase of 5% over last year. There are still no Francophones in the executive group and only 2 among the 56 other senior officers in the organisation. In the face of these numbers, the use of French is bound to remain limited.

National Film Board

It is still early to predict what impact the new national policy on video and film will have on the National Film Board's traditional mandate, which requires it to reflect our bilingual, multicultural and regional reality to Canadians and to other nations. We sincerely hope that the reductions imposed on the Board will not significantly affect its ability to fulfil the distinct social and cultural needs of our official-language minorities. In 1984, the NFB maintained its commitment to the official languages programme and once again turned in an excellent performance.

Our audit of the Board confirmed its reputation for high achievement, particularly with regard to service to the public. Almost half of its 863 employees are in bilingual positions. Since 96% of the incumbents of these positions meet the language requirements, each of the six regions established by the Board is able to offer bilingual service to the public. In a bid to further refine this capacity, a significant number of bilingual positions have been upgraded and only 8% now require the minimum level of second-language proficiency. In addition, all publications intended for general distribution are available in both official languages. One weakness reported last year is still in evidence: telephone reception at operational headquarters in Montreal and in one of the regional offices is occasionally unilingual, even when bilingual service is available.

The co-operative spirit among Anglophone and Francophone employees at different levels has paved the way for employees to use their preferred language of work at offices in Moncton, Montreal, Ottawa and Winnipeg. Although some technical manuals originating outside the country are not yet available in French, internal

reports, manuals and memoranda are in both languages. As a rule, employees are supervised and appraised in their language of choice; however, our audit revealed that the annual appraisal form bore no indication of the employee's preferred language and that little monitoring of employee satisfaction with that aspect of the evaluation had been carried out. Once made aware of these observations, the Personnel Division made the appropriate changes to the form.

Although there are 100 fewer employees this year than last, the staff composition remains stable at approximately 50% Anglophone, 50% Francophone. The high proportion of Francophone employees is explained by the location of operational headquarters in Montreal and the existence of separate production units for English and French films. The same balance is found in many of the regional offices. However, the Board should strengthen its minority representation in its Quebec and Ontario operations and also tackle the marked imbalances in the Scientific and Professional and Administrative Support categories (80% and 60% Francophone respectively).

In 1984, we received a total of eight complaints about the National Film Board, most minor and all quickly resolved. The complaints involved unilingual invitations, circulars and stamps, as well as problems with telephone reception at the Halifax and Montreal offices.

National Health and Welfare

The Department of National Health and Welfare, one of the larger and more visible departments with 8,200 employees, maintains a presence in all provinces and territories through some 500 regional, district and local offices. It handled its official languages responsibilities to its extensive clientele quite well in 1984. However, an increasing number of complaints about service, as well as the continuing need for improvements in language of work and participation, prevent us from giving the Department a clean bill of health.

Income Security Programmes, the Branch dealing most often with the minority-language communities, took several measures to improve its service: counter signs were installed in offices where there is no on-site bilingual capacity, to inform clients that, while there might be slight delays, service is available in their language through a telephone link with another office; a cassette was prepared to teach unilingual receptionists how to greet clients in both official languages; and toll-free telephone service through the use of INWATS lines was extended to areas of low demand.

While 82% of the 2,647 incumbents of bilingual positions meet the language requirements, for the most part at the intermediate and superior skill levels, we doubt there is sufficient bilingual capability in some areas. For example, west of Manitoba there are only 15 linguistically qualified employees in bilingual positions (1.3% of all employees); in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, there seems to be no hope for service in French, since there is only one bilingual position out of over 600, and the person occupying it is not linguistically qualified. Newfoundland has no bilingual positions at all.

The language-of-work situation does not seem to have changed much in 1984 and French is still not on a secure footing at headquarters. The Medical Services Programme and Health Protection Programme still work in French only 15% and 10% of the time respectively in the National Capital Region. These percentages may reflect the linguistic composition of branch clientele, because a high proportion of services are provided to clients in the North, where English and native languages predominate. The Department did, however, make attempts to increase the use of French at meetings. The Medical Services Branch issued a directive encouraging employees to use their preferred language during meetings, and in the larger branches, minutes are prepared in the official language of the speaker or in bilingual format. Although we suggested last year that the Department revise its appraisal form to enable employees to indicate their preferred language, it has not yet done so.

The participation of Anglophones and Francophones in the Department has remained unchanged (Anglophones 77%, Francophones 23%). Imbalances exist in some employment categories: for example, Francophones are represented equitably only in the Administrative and Foreign Service and Administrative Support categories. In addition, Francophones represent only 12% of the 2,830 employees in the Medical Services Branch. There are also geographical inequities: only 2.9% of the employees in Ontario are Francophone and only 3.9% in Quebec are Anglophone. The Department claims that, in certain scientific disciplines, there is a lack of Francophone candidates and that a large proportion of the staff of the Medical Services Branch operates in unilingual regions of the West and in the North. Nevertheless, the Department should continue its efforts wherever possible.

We regret to say that **Fitness and Amateur Sport** did not make it off the official languages critical list in 1984. A funding contribution agreement containing a commitment to take better account of the two linguistic communities was to come into effect in July and official languages plans were to be submitted by national sports associations. However, at year's end less than half of the 22 organizations had submitted plans and although a special fund had been set aside for official languages purposes such as translation, no monies had been disbursed. The Department must take a more active role in assisting the associations with which it deals to carry out their language responsibilities.

Of the 36 complaints received against the Department this year, 13 concerned Fitness and Amateur Sport. They included such varied topics as the lack of advertising in the minority-language press, correspondence in the "wrong" language and unilingual printed material issued by national sports associations. The 10 complaints against the Income Security Programme and four against the New Horizons Programme concerned lack of service or the poor quality of service in French. The remaining nine complaints related to unilingual form letters, posters, newspaper advertising, telephone reception and correspondence. The Department continues to respond promptly to complaints, but we wish more action were taken to prevent recurrences of the same problems.

National Library

The National Library again showed proof of its goodwill and initiative in 1984 by improving upon linguistic services and controls that were already quite adequate. For example, it raised the language requirements of approximately 30 positions involving service to the public, and surveyed people who write to the Library to determine their satisfaction with the linguistic quality of services. The Library also contacted all employees whose performance appraisal was not completed in their first official language to ensure that they were aware of their linguistic rights. Overall participation rates were stable (64% Anglophone and 36% Francophone). Anglophones remain under-represented in the Administrative Support category, and Francophones in the Scientific and Professional category.

National Museums

Although National Museums of Canada exhibited only a partially restored linguistic picture in 1984, definite improvements are visible. With more bilingual positions requiring superior and intermediate language skills, some sectors of the Corporation are now better able to serve the public in both languages. Other areas are somewhat disappointing: there has been little discernible improvement in the use of French as a language of work, and participation problems are to be found in almost every employment category. There are too few Francophones in the Management, Scientific and Professional, and Technical categories (16%, 12% and 17% respectively) and not enough Anglophones in the Administrative Support and Operational categories (both at 53%). Five complaints were received in 1984. One concerned errors in the French edition of a Canadian War Museum publication. Another involved a unilingual message on a shopping bag and the others, the lack of bilingual service by security guards at the Museum of Man. A summary of the latter appears in the complaints' chapter.

National Parole Board

The National Parole Board maintained its satisfactory language performance in 1984.

English and French continued to be used regularly at headquarters, and the participation rates were the same as in 1983 (60% Anglophones and 40% Francophones). The Commission should make efforts to increase its Anglophone representation.

Half of the Board's 260 positions are occupied by bilingual employees. It has managed to hire a bilingual employee for its Saskatoon office, but no longer has any bilingual staff in Burnaby. Seventeen of the 23 Board members are able to conduct parole hearings in either language.

We received two complaints against the Board in 1984. One concerned a letter written in French sent to an Anglophone inmate and the other related to a unilingual English document distributed to Francophone employees. The Board promptly corrected its errors and took steps to avoid their repetition.

National Research Council

There was little movement on the language front at the National Research Council in 1984. Bilingual services were expanded to enable the Council to offer industrial assistance in both languages in six regional offices, but its bilingual capacity is still inadequate to cover its entire range of scientific specialties. Francophones (19.9% of 3,346 employees) continue to be under-represented especially in the Management and Scientific and Professional categories (11.5% and 9.7% respectively). The three complaints received in 1984 all concerned service to the public and were satisfactorily resolved.

National Revenue (Customs and Excise)

The Department of National Revenue (Customs and Excise) has decided to delay implementation of the principal recommendations of our 1983 audit, despite evident linguistic weaknesses, repeatedly brought to its attention, in services to the travelling public. It has not yet revised its official languages policy to include specific references to active and equitable offer of services in both languages, and it has still not adopted entirely adequate control and evaluation mechanisms. In spite of this, it does have several noteworthy accomplishments to its credit. For example, information sessions on the official languages programme have been given to approximately 900 employees, and terminology, drafting and text revision services have been upgraded.

The Department's some 10,300 employees across Canada serve thousands of travellers as well as local business clients. Thirty-one per cent occupy bilingual positions and 93% of that number meet the language requirements. However, the bulk of this bilingual capacity is concentrated in Quebec and the National Capital Region, and staff at border crossings in English Canada are not always able to provide adequate bilingual services. As a result, the Department must fall back on ineffectual telephone referral systems in an effort to meet the needs of travellers. Even so, the fact remains that Francophones crossing at most border points outside Quebec are not only not greeted in their own language, but need the patience of Job and a fair dollop of luck to find a bilingual customs officer. Moreover, the Department's refusal to include employee obligations vis-à-vis official languages in its customs officers' "Code of Conduct and Appearance" does little to increase their awareness of the language rights guaranteed by the Official Languages Act and the Constitution. Need we once again remind the Department of the considerable coercive powers at the disposal of customs officers? In our opinion, it is time to bring an end to this hit-or-miss approach to bilingual services.

In general, work documents exist in both official languages and central and personnel services are provided in the employee's language. However, difficulties persist in operational communications (memoranda, supervision) in some bilingual regions. Furthermore, 29.9% of administrators (Management category) in the National Capital Region are not adequately bilingual, a factor which certainly influences freedom of choice in language of work.

Francophones represent 26% of the Department's staff and their level of participation is generally acceptable in all occupational groups except for senior man-

agement (9 of 53). Little progress has been made with regard to Anglophone participation in Quebec: only 138 (7%) of the 1,990 employees are Anglophone, including only 75 of the 1,327 employees in Montreal. Improvements are clearly in order.

Of the 16 complaints received this year, four dealt with unilingual signage, 10 with various aspects of service and two with language of work. Although the settlement of complaints was often piecemeal, the Department handled itself with dignity.

National Revenue (Taxation)

The Department of National Revenue (Taxation) handles millions of tax returns each year. While many are undoubtedly routine, others involve sensitive contacts with the public, and the Department must be given passing marks for serving the vast majority of Canadian taxpayers in their preferred official language. In addition, most employees can work in their first official language, and in the majority of employment groups, Anglophones and Francophones are adequately represented. The Department has moved to implement several recommendations of our 1982 audit and has developed and circulated to all employees a brochure on language of service entitled "In English or in French?". In short, the overall official languages picture is fairly good.

But certain problems persist. When the Department launched a publicity campaign to provide "tax tips" during the 1984 filing season, it failed to make use of minority-language weekly newspapers, thus depriving some official-language minorities of information in their language. Moreover, several district offices and taxation centres, notably in Southern Ontario and Western Canada, have too few bilingual employees to ensure an acceptable level of service in the minority official language.

As for language of work, the pace of reform is slow. Technical divisions at headquarters continue to experience difficulties serving the Francophone operations staff in French, and in the National Capital and other bilingual areas some supervisors do not meet the language requirements of their positions. Consequently, many Anglophone employees in Quebec and Francophones outside Quebec must communicate with supervisors and receive their performance appraisals in their second language.

In the area of participation, we continue to be preoccupied by the Department's failure to recruit adequate numbers of Francophones into the large Computer Services employment group and by the fact that the training programme for new recruits is offered only in English. The overall Francophone participation rate of 26.6% of 16,709 employees in 1984 is marginally higher than the previous year's 26.2%. An increase has been noted in Francophone participation in the Executive and Management categories, where it now stands at 25.7% and 22.8% respectively. On the other hand, there has been only a slight improvement in the representation of official-language minorities in the regional establishments since 1982. Anglophone representation in Quebec, for instance, is still at a very low 3%.

The number of complaints against the Department fell to 26 in 1984, the lowest number in five years. Most of the complaints referred to a lack of bilingual service over the telephone or at the counter and the difficulty of obtaining tax forms in French at district tax offices and post offices in predominantly Anglophone areas. The Department's failure to use official-language minority weeklies was the source of five complaints, and one complaint dealt with language of work. The Department generally responded quickly to routine complaints, but remained slow in taking preventive action to avoid problems.

Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council

Thanks to its large complement of bilingual employees (99 of 129), the Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council has maintained its fine record of providing services in both official languages. English and French are commonly used as languages of work in spoken communications, although English is still more widely used in the written word. Francophones occupy a large number of positions (74 of 129), with 52 in the Administrative Support category, compared to only 16 Anglophones. Obviously, Anglophone participation must be increased.

Petro-Canada

Petro-Canada's linguistic performance was somewhat uneven in 1984. It continued to show improvement in several important areas, but the overall impression was marred by its hesitation to live up to its commitments on the signage issue and by undue delays in resolving complaints.

We look forward to substantial advances in 1985, now that Petro-Canada has completed its internal reorganization and has had time to digest our linguistic audit. In addition, Petro-Canada decided in January to extend the scope of its policy on designating as bilingual service stations which cater to both official-language communities.

During 1984, Petro-Canada was engaged in a variety of promotional and public relations activities, including safety campaigns and women's car care clinics. It took great care to get the official languages aspects right, and to its credit it succeeded, with only the occasional slip.

In the previous year, Petro-Canada had installed bilingual signs at 39 service stations it owned and operated itself in Quebec communities with a substantial English-speaking population. Regrettably, the work came to a standstill after this first batch was completed. Thoughout 1984, we kept on urging the Corporation to put up bilingual signs at the other stations in the province with a substantial Anglophone clientele, but Petro-Canada's decision to go ahead did not come until after the year-end. In all, 127 of the 930 service stations in Quebec will be affected. Elsewhere, Petro-Canada has 152 stations with bilingual signage in Ontario, 11 west of Ontario, and 43 in the Atlantic provinces. In other words, in the near future, almost 60% of its stations in bilingual areas will have bilingual signs.

Petro-Canada's offices in Montreal, Ottawa and Moncton have little difficulty serving the public in either language. Its head office in Calgary and its main office in Toronto have arrangements to provide service in both languages, and a growing number of its other offices now have at least some bilingual capability.

Generally speaking, English is the language of work outside Quebec, the main exceptions being its offices in Ottawa and Moncton, where both languages are used. In Quebec, the language most frequently used is French. A translator was hired during the year to specialize in translating into English the increasing number of management documents now being produced in French at Petro-Canada Products headquarters in Montreal — a sign of the times. Moreover, Francophones are able to perform virtually all tasks at the Montreal refinery in French now.

At the time of writing, Petro-Canada had 6,000 employees. About 13% of them have requested services in French, but the Corporation estimates the proportion of Francophone employees to be slightly in excess of 20%.

We received 32 new complaints against Petro-Canada in 1984, 18 of which have been resolved. However, 11 files are still open from previous years. Eighteen of the outstanding complaints concern signs at service stations, and the others relate to stationery, use of media serving official-language minorities and the corporate name. The Corporation was rather slow, but generally co-operative in dealing with complaints.

Privy Council Office

The Privy Council Office continues to give close attention to official languages matters. However, Francophones remain under-represented at the executive level, and over-represented at the administrative support level. These imbalances tarnish an otherwise acceptable performance.

Managers at the PCO are actively involved in planning and monitoring functions associated with the official languages programme. Each Secretariat prepares a quarterly report outlining its general linguistic situation, which includes a study of language profiles and participation rates. Employees are generally well-informed of official languages matters, and will soon be even more so following distribution of the "Employee's Guide on Official Languages." The PCO has also developed language guidelines for newly established commissions of inquiry.

Its clientele, composed principally of ministers and deputy and assistant deputy ministers, participated this year in a PCO survey to determine their degree of satisfaction with the Office's service in both official languages: 100% of the Anglophone and 87% of the Francophone survey respondents expressed satisfaction with the services.

The PCO employs 377 people, 313 (83.2%) of whom occupy bilingual positions. It is encouraging that 259 (82.7%) of the incumbents meet the language requirements and that all 10 officers and senior managers recruited in 1984 possess at least intermediate-level skills in their second language. In keeping with the Office's

recruitment policy, these employees will be expected to achieve an advanced level of second-language proficiency within two years.

French continues to be encouraged as a language of work, and all central and personnel services are available in both languages. Performance evaluations are generally in the language of the employee's choice, following a request that they indicate their preferred language for this procedure.

The staff includes 196 (52.1%) Anglophones and 180 (48%) Francophones. The high level of Francophone participation results from their preponderance in the Administrative Support category, where they occupy 155 of the 269 positions (58%). Francophones still remain slightly under-represented at the executive level (5 of 23 employees).

The PCO resolved two complaints in 1984. One concerned the presence of unilingual commissionaires at the entrance to the Langevin Building. This complaint remains only superficially resolved, and we continue to believe strongly that despite present stop-gap measures, and given the strategic and symbolic importance of the PCO and its clients, bilingual commissionaires should be on duty at all times. The other complaint, concerning the inconsistent use of both official languages on Order-in-Council agendas, was resolved to our satisfaction.

We also informed the Office of two complaints regarding the **Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada**. One concerned the Commission's failure to use the minority-language press when publicizing its hearings and the other, its oversight in not sending out a French version of its report, "Challenges and Choices." Both were satisfactorily resolved.

Public Archives

In 1984, the Public Archives continued to provide service with equal ease in English and in French. In addition, it amended the appraisal form to allow employees to indicate their language preference, and ensured that supervision was available to employees in their preferred language. The Archives' one shortcoming remains the general over-representation of Francophones (38%); this is reflected in four of the six employment categories, while Anglophone-Francophone participation is balanced in the remaining two.

Public Service Commission

The Public Service Commission improved its performance in 1984, particularly with respect to some aspects of language of service and language of work. However, one important area still needs further attention: Anglophone participation remains low and has even declined in certain categories.

The Commission has close to 2,500 employees, 80% of whom are located in Ottawa and the remainder in 15 offices across the country. With 89% of its 2,000 bilingual positions occupied by qualified incumbents, the Commission is able to

Upgraded requirements for 13 of the Board's 165 positions reinforced its already solid bilingual capacity, which stands at 149 bilingual positions and 115 linguistically qualified employees. The number of performance appraisals completed in French rose from 11% to 33% this year, a much-needed improvement given the Board's composition of 83 Anglophones and 82 Francophones. The latter remain over-represented in the Administrative Support and Technical categories (61% and 71% respectively).

Public Works

The Department of Public Works is still moving at a halting pace toward achieving language reform. Service to the public has improved, but sizeable problems remain in language of work and participation.

The Department has begun drafting a policy on tendering and contracting in both official languages. A study was also carried out to determine language training needs at headquarters and other offices in the National Capital Region. The Department has devised a series of indicators for an incipient monitoring programme. Our recent audit report had recommended that such a programme be established to keep management up to date on efforts, among other things, to provide bilingual services to government employees in federal buildings in bilingual regions.

In some areas, the Department can generally deal with the public in both official languages. Last year, we noted that telephone and office reception was not always offered spontaneously in both languages. However, we received no complaints on the matter this year. More firm data on this and other aspects of service will be available when the monitoring process is in operation.

Only 21% of the Department's 8,489 employees are in bilingual positions, a marginal increase over last year, and 77.5% of the incumbents meet the requirements, again a slight increase. While these increases appear minor in percentage terms, in absolute numbers they mean that 80 more employees are in bilingual positions and 160 more meet the language requirements.

French is not widely used as a language of work outside Quebec. A number of documents are still available in English only, while some internal services are not offered in French outside Quebec.

Overall Francophone representation stands at 26.6% of 8,489 employees. This, however, is mainly due to the high proportion of Francophones in the Operational category (32.2% of 3,670 employees). Predictably, they are under-represented in the Management and Scientific and Professional categories (23 of 121 and 116 of 638 employees respectively). In the National Capital Region, Northern and Eastern Ontario, and New Brunswick, the participation of both groups is adequate on the whole. In Manitoba, however, there are only two Francophones among 236 employees. Anglophones, on the other hand, represent only 2.9% of 1,106 employees in Quebec.

We received 33 complaints against the Department in 1984. Most dealt with signage and advertising, while two referred to language of work. The Department was quite co-operative in handling these matters.

offer service in both official languages at all of its offices. This year, the proportion of positions requiring a superior level of knowledge in the second language has risen significantly and most offices in bilingual regions have more linguistically qualified employees in bilingual positions: in Montreal, for example, the number has risen from 76 to 108 (86.4%). All offices serving the minority population have a bilingual capacity. Other improvements included the establishment of feedback mechanisms to verify the quality of service provided to the public in both languages and the publication of a brochure on telephone reception for employees. In its role as a central agency, the Commission also made some progress. It issued a directive to departments that reaffirmed the policy to produce competition and appeal notices in bilingual format, and extended it to include all regions with a significant demand for service in both languages: thus, the cities of Toronto and Winnipeg were added to areas previously covered. In addition, the number of professional development courses given in French increased by 25. The percentage of courses offered in French now stands at 21.8%.

Work documents and central services are bilingual and employees in bilingual regions are said to be able to work in the language of their choice. Appraisal forms revised last year enabled employees to indicate their language preference, but control mechanisms have not yet been set up to ensure that supervisors respect that choice. The Commission took the initiative of issuing a brochure to supervisors outlining their linguistic responsibilities.

The negative side of our report on the Commission is that Anglophone participation has not improved. Even excluding the employees responsible for language training and the Career Orientation Programme for language teachers, where the employees are mainly Francophone, Anglophones represent only 44% of staff. Slight increases in the proportion of Anglophones in the Administrative Support and Technical categories (to 33% and 46% respectively) were outweighed by decreases in the Management and Scientific and Professional categories, now 51% and 24%. The Commission is aware of these imbalances, but has not yet developed a concrete corrective strategy.

Eleven complaints were lodged against the Commission in 1984, about half of last year's total, and seven have been satisfactorily resolved. Four concerned the publication or circulation of unilingual English notices of employment opportunities. Others involved such matters as telephone reception in English only at two Ottawa branches, the failure of a staffing section in Ottawa to actively offer service in French, and unilingual English correspondence sent from Regina to a Francophone association.

Public Service Staff Relations Board

The Public Service Staff Relations Board turned in a strong linguistic performance this year, but has yet to implement our 1981 audit recommendation to publish all its decisions simultaneously in both official languages. Data on this year's decisions show that, in a nine-month period, only 51.6% of all decisions were released simultaneously in both official languages, and that 80.9% of the translations completed took over four weeks to reach the parties involved. Efforts to reduce these delays should be given top priority in 1985.

Regional Industrial Expansion

The reorganization of Regional Industrial Expansion is now complete and language reform has come out of the upheaval relatively unscathed. The Department can generally serve its clientele in both languages, but major efforts will be required to establish French as a viable language of work outside Quebec. The participation of both language groups is adequate except in Quebec, where Anglophones are under-represented.

A minor irritant in service to the public is telephone reception, the subject of several complaints each year since the Department's first incarnation. In 1984, the matter was looked into and telephone reception is now being monitored periodically. In addition, the regional offices have established contacts with various official-language minority groups to determine their degree of satisfaction with the service.

English continues to be the dominant language of work. To help promote the use of French, a flexible language training programme is available to employees. The Department also distributed a leaflet on official languages rights and responsibilities to all employees.

Francophone participation stands at 32% of 2,655 employees, mainly because of the rather strong representation of Francophones in the Administrative Support category (39% of 941 employees). In Quebec, there were only 25 Anglophones out of a total of 341.

Our 1984 audit of **Tourism Canada**, a component of the Department, revealed that the organization is generally capable of offering bilingual service; however, telephone calls are sometimes answered in one language only in Winnipeg, Toronto, Montreal and Fredericton. English is by far the main language of work except in Market Development (Canada) and Tourism Development (East) where French is frequently used. Memoranda addressed to employees or to regional offices are sometimes in English only, as are most telexes sent abroad to Canadian embassies and consulates.

We received nine complaints against Regional Industrial Expansion in 1984. One mentioned a unilingual French poster in a shopping centre in Montreal. Two referred to unilingual telephone reception and four came from Francophones who had received English documents or poorly drafted French ones. The last two concerned advertisements that were not placed in minority weekly newspapers. The Department was very co-operative in handling complaints.

Restrictive Trade Practices Commission

The Restrictive Trade Practices Commission maintained its enviable record in the language field in 1984. It can serve the public in both languages, employees can work in the language of their choice, and 4 of its 13 employees are Francophone.

Royal Canadian Mint

Both official languages are doing relatively well at the Royal Canadian Mint. The Mint endeavours to ensure through regular surveys that visitors on guided tours of

its plants are properly served in their own language, and has 63 bilingual employees in its 67 public-contact positions. However, it has not come to grips with its problem of Anglophone under-representation in all employment categories. English-speaking staff represent just under 50% (314) of 630 employees. French is well developed as a language of work, especially in the National Capital Region, and meetings are often conducted in both languages.

The three complaints received against the Mint in 1984 related to its failure to use the minority press in an advertising campaign. After considerable delay, the Mint agreed to abide by government policy on the use of media serving official-language minorities.

Royal Canadian Mounted Police

Our recent audit of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in Quebec and at headquarters has confirmed our view that, despite improving its services to the public, it has been dragging its heels in the area of language of work.

The RCMP's official languages monitoring system has difficulty keeping abreast of official languages matters in the 18 directorates at headquarters and 16 divisions across Canada. Communication links between headquarters and the 34 official languages officers across Canada are infrequent and informal, and existing programme controls and monitoring mechanisms are not entirely effective. The RCMP has plans to improve the situation by conducting on-site language audits, and by asking official languages officers to submit quarterly reports.

The RCMP has designated 19.4% of its 16,900 member positions bilingual, and 60% of the incumbents meet the language requirements. Twenty-five per cent of the 3,805 public servant positions are bilingual, and 84.8% meet the language profiles.

Service to the public is generally satisfactory in all regions of the country. However, we were made aware of certain incidents in Alberta, Manitoba and Nova Scotia where officers were reluctant to provide an active offer of service, either on patrol or in the detachments. Periodic reminders should be issued to members regarding their obligations to serve the public in the official language of its choice in these provinces.

In terms of language of work, the RCMP continues to lack the impetus needed to give both languages a secure place within the system. At headquarters, the language of work continues to be English and only 31% of supervisors are bilingual. Moreover the bilingual capability in most units is weak, thereby placing responsibility for service in French on one or two individuals. Although central and personnel services may be available in both languages, they are not actively offered in French. Another problem area lies in communications between headquarters and Quebec; 20% of all exchanges still take place in English only. On a more positive note, the RCMP has made concerted efforts to increase the use of French as a language of work in New Brunswick. It is now used more frequently at meetings and when drafting reports.

Anglophone-Francophone participation rates remain largely unchanged: 84.8% and 14.8% among members, and 77.2% and 22.8% among public servants. The sizeable Anglophone representation among police officers may be partially justified by the large RCMP presence in the four western provinces where it acts as a provincial police force. More than one-half of the police officers (8,073 of 15,296) work in these provinces, and only 5% of them are Francophones. At head office, 16% of the police officers are Francophones. While we realize that the RCMP is operating within budgetary constraints and has greatly reduced its recruitment activities, we encourage senior management to remain firm in its commitment to bring about a more equitable Anglophone-Francophone representation.

The 14 complaints we received against the RCMP for the most part concerned a lack of service in French at detachments in the western provinces. Several complaints also questioned the RCMP's promotion procedures as related to its official languages policy. Four complaints are still under study.

St. Lawrence Seaway Authority

In 1984, the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority adopted an official languages policy and provided information sessions about it to management. However, it is still unable to provide precise data on its bilingual capacity.

The Authority will conduct a new survey to assess the demand for bilingual service at the Welland Canal. This time, services will be actively offered in both languages during the survey.

Employees now benefit from professional training courses in their language. French courses have been offered to supervisors in the Engineering Branch. Five of the 20 engineers working in the Eastern Region are Francophone, compared to four last year.

We received one complaint about an advertisement the Authority published in an English-language newspaper only.

With headquarters in Cornwall, the Authority's subsidiary, the **Seaway International Bridge Corporation Limited**, has 19 employees. Following our 1984 recommendations, it has made a firm commitment to rectify the weaknesses revealed by our audit. In 1985, we will monitor the implementation of these recommendations. The Corporation's accomplishments include an excellent official languages policy and telephone reception services that are now bilingual. Steps are under way to make receipts and invoices bilingual. Also, employees will have to be properly advised of the availability of central and personnel services in both official languages.

Science and Technology

For a number of years the Ministry of State for Science and Technology has enjoyed an enviable reputation in the area of official languages. This year, because

of its major reorganization, it was unable to provide us with firm figures on its bilingual capability or the number of Anglophones and Francophones on its staff.

The only complaint we received in 1984 concerned an advertisement which, through an oversight, was not placed in a French-language weekly.

Science Council

The language situation at the Science Council remained virtually unchanged in 1984. With 22 bilingual employees on its staff of 52, the Council is able to serve its clients in both official languages. Its publications appear simultaneously in English and French and it encourages its Francophone employees to make greater use of French in the workplace. The rates of Francophone and Anglophone participation are still out of line at 46% and 54% respectively.

Secretary of State

A key organization in federal language reform, and certainly the one with the highest public profile, the Department of the Secretary of State has a dual role to play, first as an institution of the federal government like any other, and second as the government's principal instrument for promoting and developing bilingualism in non-federal institutions. In the latter capacity, it negotiates and administers the federal contributions to programmes to improve minority-language education and second-language instruction in the provincial school systems, and is also involved in supporting teacher training, student exchanges and other similar projects. Added to this, the Department offers advice and financial assistance to official languages communities so they can set up and maintain their own institutions and develop effective organizations. It also encourages and assists businesses, institutions and voluntary organizations to develop and provide services in both official languages. If anything, the Department of the Secretary of State is in danger of being treated as the only federal purveyor of support to the official languages communities, allowing other influential institutions in the economic, social or health sectors simply to provide their services in two languages without concerning themselves with the special needs of the minorities.

Finally, glossaries, reference works and information from the Department's Terminology Bank are made available to various organizations. These same services, as well as translation and interpretation facilities, are also provided to the federal apparatus. The Department's promotional role is discussed in more detail in Part II of this Report.

With regard to its own linguistic performance, we are happy to report that in 1984, the Department of the Secretary of State continued to forge new tools to help it perfect its official languages programme. Service to the public continued to be provided with equal ease in French and English. The language-of-work situation remained quite good, and there was some progress in attaining a more equitable balance of Anglophones and Francophones in several of the employment categories.

On the service side, the Department provided its offices with a brochure on telephone protocol to help unilingual employees provide brief answers to questions from callers. In addition, information sessions were held at headquarters and in Toronto and Winnipeg, to explain to managers their responsibilities regarding service to the public. The continuing high proportion of employees who meet the language requirements of their positions (91%), and the fact that 84% of the 1,186 bilingual positions call for intermediate or superior language skills, mean that service can be actively provided in both languages by staff in regional and local offices.

Two clouds darken this otherwise happy tableau. The first is the lack of adequate bilingual capacity on the part of Citizenship Court judges, despite the fact that approximately one-quarter of the 33 are fully bilingual and another 18 have taken a 90-hour French course. While we had hoped that the establishment of a "bank" of bilingual judges would correct the situation, comments received this year lead us to question whether the number of bilingual judges is really sufficient. In view of the symbolic importance of the citizenship ceremonies, the Department must quickly cover this gap in its bilingual service. The second area requiring improvement is that of controls of the linguistic services provided by voluntary organizations receiving grants or contributions from the Department. Unfortunately, no concrete solutions seem to have resulted from the continuing discussions, negotiations and policy papers on this matter.

As regards language of work, both English and French are used in the National Capital Region, Quebec, New Brunswick and Manitoba. Generally, employees in these areas receive supervision and performance appraisals in the official language of their choice. We were pleased to learn that the Department's internal auditors keep managers on their toes; in 1984, they conducted studies in three regional offices and three headquarters directorates to assess the achievement of official languages objectives, and recommended, for example, that specific language-of-work objectives be developed and that a unilingual English procedures manual be translated.

The overall proportion of Anglophones and Francophones in the Department, excluding the Translation Bureau, remains the same as last year. Changes are still required, Francophone participation still being 44%. There was, however, a significant improvement in the percentage of Angophones in the Management category, which grew by almost 6%, to 59%. Slight increases in Anglophone representation in the Scientific and Professional (63%) and Administrative and Foreign Service (64%) categories were balanced by a 2% decrease in the Administrative Support category (47%). There was a small improvement in Anglophone participation in Quebec, which now stands at 7.8% (5 of 64).

In the Translation Bureau, 82% of all translations are from English to French. Since translators generally translate into their mother tongue, we would expect to see a high proportion of Francophones at the Bureau. However, the current 87%, which includes the administrative staff as well as translators, seems excessively high.

In 1984, we received eight complaints against the Department on a variety of matters: telephone service, a delay in obtaining service in French at the Sudbury office

and lack of service in French in Moncton from a collection agency under contract to the Student Assistance Directorate. In the latter case, the Directorate conducted an audit of services and required that steps be taken to comply with the contract. This was an example of the top-notch co-operation we received in the resolution of complaints.

Senate

The Senate is in almost exactly the same condition as last year. The results of a study we conducted late in 1984 indicate that Senate employees are well-informed about official languages policy and generally able to meet requests for service in either language. However, the administration of the language programme is uncoordinated, the participation of Anglophones and Francophones is distinctly unbalanced, and French is little used as a language of work.

The Senate has not translated into concrete action the official languages policy it adopted in 1983. Individual administrative units have no clear objectives and management checks their progress only sporadically. Basic records, such as the number of bilingual positions and employees, are not kept up to date. Tests used to determine the language skills of job applicants are not standardized or uniformly applied. Administrative problems appear to flow mainly from the fact that no one has been assigned clear responsibility to monitor all aspects of the official languages programme.

The Senate administration provides service in both languages relatively easily to Senators and to the general public. Statistics provided by the administration show that 260 of the 393 employees (66.2%) are bilingual. Unilingual employees have little contact with the public. Among security guards, who have the most frequent contacts with the public, 46 of 52 (88%) have functional second-language skills. The Senate now requires that any candidate recruited from outside the organization to fill a bilingual position must meet the language requirements on entry. Senate employees may be promoted to bilingual positions without meeting the language requirements, but they are required to do so within two years.

French is not used as a language of work nearly as frequently as the number of Francophones on staff might suggest. Over one-third of Francophone employees (85 of 226) have indicated English as their preferred language for personnel records. The predominance of English as a language of work at the Senate is a well-established fact. Most managers are Anglophone, and supervision is generally offered in the supervisor's language. Central and personnel services are also deficient in French, particularly at more senior levels.

Anglophone and Francophone participation rates have changed little since last year — the senior ranks are largely Anglophone (8 of 11) while the lower echelons and service categories are overwhelmingly Francophone. For example, 75% of security guards, 81% of messengers, and 66% of cleaning staff are French-speaking. The Senate should give prompt attention to developing strategies to correct these imbalances.

Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council

The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council continued to serve the public well in both official languages in 1984 and made steady progress toward eliminating other problems. Two areas still require correction: Anglophones are underrepresented in the Administrative Support category (12 of 42), and certain working documents are circulated in English only. The four complaints lodged against the Council concerned a unilingual English memorandum and a training seminar that was not offered in French.

Solicitor General

The vigorous action needed to make headway on chronic language-of-work and participation problems at the Secretariat of the Department of the Solicitor General did not materialize in 1984. Our 1981 audit report recommendations on these matters have yet to be seriously addressed.

There were signs of movement on other fronts: additional bilingual positions were designated in five of six regional offices, and an official languages kit for new employees is in preparation. In addition, an internal audit of the official languages programme is planned for 1985.

The figures on bilingual capacity have changed little from last year: 69% of the Secretariat's 262 positions are bilingual, and 82% of employees occupying these positions meet their requirements. However, the level of second-language proficiency required remains low, and constitutes one of the Secretariat's biggest impediments to better linguistic health. While more than 60 positions require a superior level of proficiency in English, only 34 call for the same level in French, and none of the latter can be found in the Management or Scientific and Professional categories. As we have repeatedly noted in the past, the complexity of the Secretariat's operations clearly requires higher levels of bilingual proficiency than it now possesses.

Overall Francophone representation stands at 28%. Although 5 of the 12 appointments made by the Secretariat this year were Francophones, a combination of departures and the absorption of positions into the Management category led to net losses in the Administrative and Foreign Service and Management categories, where Francophone representation dropped from 25% to 21% and from 28% to 22% respectively.

The Secretariat's language-of-work objectives for 1984 were only partially achieved by year's end. Revisions were made to the performance appraisal form, which now provides for clear identification of the employee's choice of language for assessment and for measurement of supervisors' progress on official languages goals. However, plans to produce policy bulletins on the language of written communications and the use of both languages at meetings have not yet materialized. We expect that 1985 will bring concerted action in these areas.

The one complaint against the Secretariat in 1984 concerned inadequate telephone service in French at the Moncton office, and was satisfactorily resolved.

Standards Council of Canada

The Standards Council of Canada made its contribution to bilingualism this year by issuing an official languages policy and following up on the other recommendations of our 1982 audit. Thirty of its 71 employees are bilingual and it has achieved a balanced representation of the two language groups: 72% Anglophone and 28% Francophone. Unfortunately, with one exception, the Council staffed five positions in Mississauga and another two in Ottawa through advertisements appearing only in English-language newspapers.

Statistics Canada

Amid the fuss and dust of a major reorganization, Statistics Canada lived up to its reputation as a good linguistic performer in 1984. It continues to provide good service to the public in both official languages and is attempting to make improvements in the language-of-work situation. We applaud its success in correcting some of the imbalances in Anglophone-Francophone representation over the years, and encourage it to go even further.

We were pleased to learn that Statistics Canada will make bilingual all questionnaires to be used in the 1986 national census, thereby eliminating the problem of distributing forms in the proper language.

Almost half of its 4,634 positions are designated bilingual and 83% of the incumbents now meet the language requirements, as compared with 80% in 1983. All its regional offices, except the one in St. John's, Newfoundland, have a bilingual capability.

Special measures have been taken over the years to develop French as a language of work and this policy objective continues to receive priority. At head office in Ottawa, there are a number of operational units that work in French. French is also the main language of work in Montreal and Sturgeon Falls, Ontario.

Some progress was made in the past year toward a more equitable representation of the Anglophone and Francophone employees. Francophones now account for 25% of the Management category, and the number of Anglophones at the Sturgeon Falls office has risen by seven to reach 11 out of 34. However, serious anomalies remain: in the Operational category, only 53% of the employees are Anglophone.

We received six complaints against Statistics Canada in 1984. Three concerned telephone reception, one a unilingual commissionaire, another an English reference on a letter addressed in French and, finally, a letter sent in English only to a Francophone association. By year's end, five had been resolved.

Supply and Services

The Department of Supply and Services presents a paradox. It deserves high marks for respecting the language preferences of its clients, but French still does not enjoy equal status in its internal operations, even though over 4,000 of its 10,400 employees are Francophones. Traditional bureaucratic measures do not seem to be effective in resolving this problem. We suggest that the Department turn to its experts in management for new initiatives.

A number of administrative measures have been taken during the year, which affect both the Supply and the Services Administrations. Where the language skills required for bilingual senior manager positions were set too low, they have been corrected. Occupants of bilingual positions are being retested to ensure that they are maintaining their language skills. Arrangements have also been put in place to regulate the flow of material to the translators and cut out unwarranted translation. New policies were issued on communications with units in Quebec and on language of work, and the employee newspaper carried a series of articles on the official languages programme.

The Supply Administration has just over 4,800 employees; approximately 59% are Anglophones and 41% are Francophones. The great majority of the Supply Administration's contacts are English-speaking and English predominates in internal communications. The numbers of bilingual positions (2,028) and incumbents meeting the language requirements (1,771) are both marginally lower than last year. Contrary to what we stated in last year's Report, the former Export Supply Directorate had indeed determined the language requirements of its positions.

We received seven complaints citing the Supply Administration in 1984. One referred to a contract requiring a researcher at a Francophone university to submit his work in English; the Department explained how the error had occurred and made it clear that the reports could be submitted in either official language. The other complaints concerned advertisements not placed in the minority-language press, a unilingual form, and the absence of accents on computer messages. Four of these complaints were resolved.

The Services Administration has just over 5,600 employees. About 62% are Anglophones and 38% are Francophones, but at the senior levels the percentage of Francophones is barely 20%. The number of bilingual positions (1,886) and of incumbents who meet the language requirements (1,657) has increased by 72 and 94 respectively in the past 12 months.

We note with regret that the Canada Services Bureaus, which could be counted on for bilingual service, were closed at the end of the year for reasons of economy. We hope, however, that the telephone referral service will continue to provide a linguistic lifeline to the official-language minorities in years to come.

When we audited the Services Administration this year, we found its services to government organizations and the public at large were generally in the appropriate language.

As regards internal communications, however, we found that planning, policy development, systems design and the production of manuals were, as a rule, carried out in English, with the French texts seldom appearing until after all the major decisions had been taken. In several areas of the Services Administration, the lack of bilingual glossaries of technical terms and the infrequency of technical training courses in French were serious obstacles to greater use of French in the workplace. Although a survey of language use in the Services Administration in 1983 had revealed deficiencies in various internal services, action to remedy them was slow in getting under way.

On the bright side, we were particularly impressed by the efforts which the Government of Canada Banking and Accounting Branch had made to put English and French on the same footing. We would also like to record our satisfaction with the comprehensive review of the language requirements of positions at the Superannuation Division in Shediac in 1983, which has paved the way for a more equitable use of French in the workplace; it must be followed up vigorously, however, or the benefit will be lost.

We received five complaints against the Services Administration in 1984. Two dealt with the quality of the language used and three with difficulties in obtaining service in French on the telephone. Three of them have been resolved.

Supreme Court of Canada

Although the Administration of the Supreme Court of Canada did maintain and even consolidate its capacity to serve the public in 1984, its overall language performance was uneven, and it was slow to implement our audit recommendations on the management of its official languages programme and language of work.

The Court continues to serve the public well in both languages. It is now adhering rigorously to its policy of publishing its judgements and reasons for judgement simultaneously in English and French, and is also continuing to offer simultaneous interpretation at all hearings.

The Court has a satisfactory bilingual capacity, with 40 of its 63 positions requiring knowledge of both languages. Thirty-four of these positions are occupied by bilingual staff. It has also begun to develop an internal policy on official languages that we encourage it to complete as quickly as possible. When distributing the document, it should take advantage of the opportunity to provide its employees with more complete information about their language rights and responsibilities, particularly in terms of language of work. The unilingualism of managers, coupled with old work habits, means that communications between employees and supervisors are often in the language of the supervisor, particularly in Personnel, Administrative Services and the Library. Also, in most cases, Francophones are evaluated in English. On a more positive note, all central services are now available in both languages.

Francophones make up 57% of the staff and over 50% in every occupational category. In spite of this, no objectives have been set in hopes of achieving a more balanced representation.

The Court was cited in two complaints during 1984. The first, which concerned an insufficient number of earphones for simultaneous interpretation during the hearing of the Manitoba Language Reference, made the Court more conscious of the need to ensure that a larger number of these devices are available for such important cases. The second, which dealt with a unilingual section of the *Weekly Bulletin of Proceedings*, was quickly corrected.

Tariff Board

The Tariff Board began implementing the recommendations of our 1983 audit by creating an internal committee to examine language issues and by updating its information system on official languages. However, it has yet to review the language designation of some positions and take concrete steps to promote the use of French in the workplace. We trust it will make every effort to do so without further delay.

Tax Court of Canada

The Tax Court of Canada added several interesting items to its official languages file this year. For example, the time taken to translate decisions has been reduced to an average of three weeks. However, it took under consideration our 1983 recommendation concerning the wording of a section of its regulations dealing with the language rights of taxpayers. The complaints chapter of this Report (Part II, Chapter 2) provides an account of this single, yet serious, blot on the Court's otherwise good record. To the Court's credit, however, 25 of its 37 employees are bilingual and services are usually provided in the appropriate language.

Telefilm

The former Canadian Film Development Corporation, now known as Telefilm Canada, has taken on new responsibilities, almost doubled its staff (from 37 to 66), and yet has maintained its outstanding performance in the language field. Services are readily provided in both official languages by its 35 bilingual employees, and the language-of-work situation and the representation of the two linguistic communities are quite satisfactory.

Teleglobe

Teleglobe Canada maintained its high linguistic standards in 1984. A recent survey which our Office made of its specialized clientele showed that its services are almost invariably available in both official languages. The key to such success is

the equal status enjoyed by French and English within the organization, even though there is the usual tendency for English to dominate in scientific and technical work. Teleglobe managed to keep the proportion of Anglophones among its employees stable at 51%, despite the fact that three-quarters of its 1,304 employees are in Quebec.

Transport

In 1984, the Department of Transport took some steps in the right direction, such as extending bilingual instrument flight control to all of Quebec and completing the French-language manuals of the Pierre-Radisson ice-breaker. However, its efforts to improve Francophone participation met with little success.

The Airport Services component reached the half-way mark this year in its programme to improve bilingual services provided by airport concessionaires. However, the Department downgraded the linguistic requirements at three major airports (Vancouver, Saint John and Fredericton) and also announced a national survey to measure demand for airport services in both official languages; the results, due in 1985, will be a major factor in a review of the Department's present strategy.

We were encouraged by the Department's interest in the use of audio-visual equipment as a means of providing bilingual safety announcements on board aircraft. Transport still has to pursue the suggestion with representatives of the airline industry.

On the east coast, a survey of demand for marine services in French last year revealed that 15% of respondents in the Maritimes were unaware that French-language services could be available. The **Coast Guard** plans to provide the public with better information about its ability to provide services in both official languages. In the meantime, it is working on the delivery system by increasing the number of bilingual positions, establishing the level of service to be provided in the Halifax and Canso areas, and reminding managers of their obligation to see that reception services are offered in both languages.

Overall, Transport Canada employs a staff of 21,041, 21.5% of whom are in bilingual positions. Each year, more and more of those positions are filled by bilingual employees (85.6% in 1984). We have also witnessed a steady reduction in the number of supervisory and public-contact positions requiring only an elementary knowledge of the second language: down to 878 from 1,027 a year ago.

The raising of linguistic profiles of supervisory positions was good news for those wishing to use French at work. In addition, the Surface Transportation Administration and the Airport Services Division have been encouraging employees to produce short documents in both official languages and to use either language in meetings.

The completion of work on the Pierre-Radisson ice-breaker manuals means that the mainly Francophone crew can now use French-language work instruments. Several lexicons used in the air transportation industry were also translated and validated.

For years now, Transport has placed considerable emphasis on Francophone participation. The overall figure is now 22.8%, but this drops to 19% in the Management category. Anglophone participation in Quebec has stabilized at 7.5% after falling in 1983, and in the West, Francophone participation is less than one percent (48 of 5,064 employees). Clearly, the Department must take stock of its strategy and develop new tactics in this area.

The number of complaints against the Department jumped to 67 in 1984, primarily because more travellers were prepared to complain about service and signage problems in airports. At year's end, 37 complaints were outstanding and 47 had been settled.

Treasury Board

The Treasury Board Secretariat took its official-language leadership responsibilities seriously in 1984 by reinforcing a number of points in its internal administrative network and through improvements in its role as a central agency.

A revised official languages policy was distributed to all Board employees. The main strength of the policy is its provisions to ensure that communications with the government departments and agencies which constitute the Board's public are conducted in the latter's preferred language. Deputy ministers were formally notified of the policy and the Board's employees advised of their responsibilities.

The Secretariat's resources for meeting its own linguistic obligations remained stable: 72.1% of its 769 employees occupy bilingual positions and 87.8% of them are qualified to do so. These resources could, however, do with some bolstering, since only 9% of all bilingual positions require a superior knowledge of the second language. Meanwhile, some attention has been given to preventing errors in telephone reception, a recurring problem over the years; in-house language training is enabling unilingual receptionists to acquire basic language skills.

Francophone and Anglophone participation is holding steady for the third consecutive year at 34% and 66% respectively and the old sectoral imbalances remain unchanged. A target date of 1985-86 has been set to correct these problems, but at this late stage, Francophone representation is still at 1983 levels in at least two categories: it is excessive at 54% in Administrative Support and too low at 19% in Senior Management. Also in need of immediate attention are the financial officer group, where Francophones account for only 15% of employees, and the Scientific and Professional category, where they number 3 out of 32 (9.5%). Some concrete progress in these areas is long overdue, and would set a much-needed example for other dawdlers.

The Secretariat's language-of-work survey showed an encouraging increase in the use of French by Francophones in bilingual positions, from 29% in 1980 to 41% in 1984. The survey also revealed that sizeable proportions of Francophones (35%) and Anglophones (46%) would prefer to use French more often. French-speaking employees clearly indicated exactly how this goal could be achieved: 40% want to use their language more often at meetings, 34% to draft documents.

Ironically, the latter point was given timid expression in the revised policy: working papers for interdepartmental committees are to be available in both official languages only in their final stages.

Four complaints were lodged against Treasury Board in 1984. Two concerned inadequate use of French in telephone reception, and another dealt with a course on emergency procedures offered in English only. The fourth complaint is a reminder of a particularly nagging thorn in the Board's side: an interdepartmental briefing session was conducted virtually entirely in English.

Finally, one unresolved complaint from 1983 concerns unilingual service from a security guard. Although we have advised the Board that this problem is common to many departments, by year's end we were still awaiting the procedural changes we requested to ensure clarification and tighten control on language requirements for contracting and security services in all departments.

Veterans Affairs

Since completing its move to Charlottetown, the Department of Veterans Affairs has been trying to push its official languages programme back into shape and has in fact somewhat improved its ability to serve the public in both languages. However, as revealed in our 1984 audit of the Department and its four associated agencies, language of work and participation are still largely out of line with departmental objectives.

Although the overall staff complement shrank in 1984 and now stands at 3,557, the Department increased its percentage of bilingual positions to 33.5%. Almost 65% of these require intermediate or superior second-language proficiency and 996 of the 1,193 incumbents meet the requirements. In addition, the Department has initiated a language training programme for nurses at the Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue Hospital and appointed a bilingual counsellor to the one and only bilingual position west of Manitoba, located in the Edmonton office. However, in a number of areas, some Francophone veterans are still being served by unilingual Anglophone counsellors, and the situation is unlikely to change until a more precise picture of the level of demand for minority-language services is obtained.

Although the Department has a large complement of Francophone employees (41.2%), most work in the Montreal area: 1,046 of the Department's 1,464 Francophone staff are employed at the Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue Hospital. Many other regions have very few Francophone employees: one of 217 in British Columbia and six of 165 in Nova Scotia, for example. The relocation to Charlottetown is still having a negative effect on the Department's ability to attract Francophones. With the proportion of Francophone employees continually declining at headquarters and now standing at 15.8%, management will have to map out a new course of action. By employment category, Francophones are under-represented in two categories and Anglophones in three.

Manuals and other work instruments are generally bilingual and performance evaluations can usually be prepared in the employee's preferred language. Head

office now boasts a much-improved ratio of linguistically qualified supervisors, up from 42% last year to 65% in 1984, and the Department puts the amount of work carried out in French at headquarters at 25%, despite the dearth of Francophone employees. Opportunities to work in the minority language exist in some parts of New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario. However, many directives to district and regional offices serving both linguistic communities are in English only.

The four associated agencies — the **Canadian Pension Commission, Bureau of Pensions Advocates, War Veterans Allowance Board** and **Pension Review Board** — all moved their headquarters to Charlottetown fairly recently.

Neither the Toronto nor Winnipeg office of the **Pension Commission** is able to provide service in French and bilingual telephone reception is a hit-or-miss affair at many offices. Better monitoring of all services would improve the Commission's performance and to that end, it is carrying out informal compliance tests in most regional offices. In addition, client satisfaction surveys will be conducted in a total of six locations. Overall representation of Francophone employees is lower than last year, at 18.7% of 300 employees, and there is only one Anglophone among the 19 employees in Quebec.

The **Bureau of Pensions Advocates**, with 120 employees, continues to serve the public quite well in both languages and this year has added a bilingual advocate to its Winnipeg office staff. Thirty-four of the 37 employees in bilingual positions meet the language requirements and most offices serving both language communities have sufficient bilingual resources. To further improve the Bureau's overall performance, we have recommended that it assess more fully the demand for minority-language services, facilitate the use of French at general meetings and ensure that all employees are supervised and appraised in the language of their choice. The agency has begun to act on all these questions. Overall and at headquarters, Francophone participation remains at about 21%.

The **War Veterans Allowance Board**'s 24 employees continue to provide excellent bilingual service to the public. Fifteen of the 16 bilingual positions require intermediate or superior language skills and 12 of the 14 incumbents meet the requirements. To rectify the only apparent weak points in its language programme, we asked the Board to remind employees to greet callers in both languages and recommended that a few unilingual work documents be made available in the other language. The Board has agreed to both recommendations and has already taken action to rectify problems with telephone reception. Eight of its 24 employees are Francophone.

The **Pension Review Board** can provide excellent service to the public. All of its 14 employees occupy bilingual positions and 12 meet the language requirements. There are no concerns over the language-of-work situation, but we have suggested that the Board try to recruit more Anglophones to its staff, as there are currently only three. The Board is already reviewing its procedures with a view to achieving a better balance.

None of these agencies was the subject of a complaint in 1984, but we did receive three concerning the Department. Two complaints originated in Quebec; the first concerned certain aspects of signage at the Ste. Anne-de-Bellevue Hospital and

the second, a form with numerous errors in the French version. The Department promptly corrected these problems. A complaint received late in the year concerned the lack of service in French from the Windsor district office.

Via Rail

Via Rail continues its efforts to improve its official-languages proficiency. It has identified the language requirements of all non-unionized positions and has assessed the second-language proficiency of their incumbents at headquarters, Via Quebec and Via Atlantic; the same task is under way for Via Ontario and Via West. In 1983, Via evaluated the second-language knowledge of train crews in Via Atlantic; unfortunately, the Corporation did not extend this project to other regions. The Corporation has also begun to rectify anomalies in station signage. Nevertheless, French-speaking passengers who manage to obtain services in their own language consider themselves fortunate.

Although written communications are generally in both languages, the same cannot be said of oral communications, except in Quebec. And, once again, passengers from Montreal travelling to Ottawa are often unable to obtain service in French on Central Station's platforms or on trains. It is no consolation to them that Francophones from Ottawa find the situation only slightly better at the Ottawa ticket counter or on trains travelling to Montreal.

The shortage of bilingual staff is not the only problem: the fact that employees, irrespective of their language skills, are assigned to serve the public, particularly on trains, is completely unacceptable 15 years after adoption of the Official Languages Act.

We again place our hopes in Via Rail's discussions with its union this past year. This time there appears to have been better will to put aside old problems and make concrete improvements to service in French on trains. For instance, this year Via Rail altered its assignment areas and, as a result, the Montreal-Toronto run is now staffed entirely by Via Quebec, which has mostly bilingual employees.

In stations, the Corporation uses stop-gap measures such as Zenith numbers and access to central reservation services to make up for the language inadequacies of its staff. However, such initiatives offer little in the way of a permanent solution.

One division of Via stands out because of its excellence: *Reservia*, the reservations service. Clients are not only regularly served in the language of their choice, but are greeted in both languages, a practice that the Corporation should extend to all its services.

Data on the language proficiency of employees serving the public show why there are weaknesses in service outside Quebec. Seventy-two per cent of Via's train crews in Quebec are bilingual, compared to 15% in Ontario and 6% in the West. The respective percentages for station and reservations staff are 83%, 13% and 7%.

Via has 3,675 employees, 26.2% of whom are Francophone. But there are major geographical and hierarchical disparities: Francophones represent 58% of the executive, 24% of senior management, 34% of middle management and 43% of administrative support staff. They constitute 28.5% of unionized employees not assigned to trains, but only 15.5% of train crews (even within Via Quebec only 144 of the 312 train employees are Francophone). Overall, Francophones represent 2.4% of Via West employees and 2.9% of Via Ontario's. Anglophones represent 42.5% of employees in Quebec.

The preliminary findings of our fall audit of the Corporation's language-of-work situation at headquarters, Via Quebec and Via Atlantic, revealed that it is committed to providing its employees with bilingual work documents.

Fifteen of the 28 complaints lodged against Via Rail dealt with the lack of service in French on trains and in stations (Ottawa Station was cited in four of these complaints). Satisfactory solutions have yet to be found for problems relating to service provided by individual employees, but incidents concerning material matters (signage, advertising) are rapidly resolved.

Active Offer of Service in the National Capital

Federally occupied buildings dominate the Ottawa-Hull skyline. The institutions they house serve a variety of clients ranging from the local resident in need of a form to someone from out of town seeking to negotiate an agreement, or the tourist who is simply anxious to visit historic buildings and museums. To the uninitiated, each building is a maze of corridors and signs to be negotiated. The assistance of a guard or an employee responsible for reception is indispensable. This first contact between visitor and employee is all important; it is where the first impression of welcome or rejection is established, and language is an integral part of that impression.

That is why it is interesting to see how the official languages are used in that initial contact. Who speaks first? In English or French? Does the federal employee take the initiative by welcoming the visitor with a bilingual greeting? To find out, we visited some 85 points of contact in the National Capital Region, on both sides of the Ottawa River. Unfortunately, in only five locations was there an active offer of service in both official languages, either through a bilingual greeting or through some appropriate visual indication. Half the time, visitors were left in the dark about the linguistic capability of the employee on duty since the latter simply waited for the visitor to speak first. This would be fine if the visitor could count on the employee's being bilingual. But when the employee did initiate the conversation, the language used was his or her own (usually English) and usually consisted of a familiar greeting such as "Good Morning" or "Hi".

Greetings over, when the visitor then asked for some information, it was found to be available in English at all times, but in French only 72% of the time. In a few cases, recourse to another employee was necessary, but this was usually achieved without a prolonged delay.

Two areas deserve special attention: the centre of Ottawa, and Hull. Within a radius of six blocks from Parliament Hill, in the twenty federal institutions visited, there was no active offer of bilingual service at all. While service was always available in English, at ten sites service in French was not available. So much for the bilingual nature of the federal presence in the shadow of the Peace Tower. In Hull, members of our survey team were addressed most of the time in English only, but information was always available in either official language. Hull was the only area of the Capital thus blessed.

Employees who provide a first contact with the public should be instructed to make an active offer of service in both official languages at all times. Greater use should also be made of signs indicating that service is available in both languages.

The Federal Machine: Practice Makes Perfect

Federal management of our national official languages policy has two major dimensions: management of government policies to enable the public service to apply the Official Languages Act; and management of programmes of direct or indirect federal support to the official languages communities beyond the purview of that Act. We will discuss the latter in subsequent chapters. In passing now to the linguistic management of the federal administration *per se*, we stress again that these two dimensions are supposed to be interrelated and co-ordinated. In the bureaucratic universe there is no such thing as ideal co-ordination, but when official languages responsibilities are spread out as below, the need for centralized policy orchestration — and for a band-leader of some sort — is fundamental.

Official languages responsibilities

All federal institutions, and their ministers, have responsibilities under the Official Languages Act, but some central institutions have both special and broader duties for keeping national language and culture policies in tune.

Treasury Board establishes and monitors policy and procedure guidelines for implementing the Official Languages Act within institutions for whom Treasury Board is the government employer.

Public Service Commission is responsible for ensuring that language policies are administered in ways consistent with the Public Service Employment Act and its merit principle, and provides support services in the fields of language training and testing.

Secretary of State's Department establishes and monitors programmes of community support, educational aid and promotion of official languages goals in non-federal sectors; supervises the fit between bilingualism and multiculturalism policies; and provides translation services.

Department of Justice oversees the judicial consistency of the Official Languages Act, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and other legislation; advises government on its official languages positions before the courts; and provides technical assistance to the provinces where required.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation administers the linguistic provisions of the Broadcasting Act.

Department of Communications ensures linguistically equitable use of federal funds in the areas of arts and culture, and provides technical assistance in fields such as distance-education.

Individual Departments and Crown corporations have their basic responsibilities under the Act and, in varying degrees according to mandate, can provide relevant support to official-language communities; most institutions also have an official languages secretariat responsible for day-to-day monitoring and advice on that institution's linguistic performance.

Privy Council Office oversees the interrelation of all these policies and programmes, and acts as government's coordinator and advisor in responding to reports from participating agencies and from the Commissioner of Official Languages.

Even this quick sketch of the management framework in official languages highlights the complexity of the interactions. From our perspective, there is room for improvements in co-ordination and integration at both levels: in the application of the Act, and in the way it ties in with the larger policy issues and promotion of healthy English-French relations. Let us now consider how the Act is managed within the Public Service.

The Mechanics of Implementing the Act

When Parliament began to set out its language goals in the mid-sixties, it had in mind the linguistic results to be achieved rather than the detailed mechanics of reform. But content and process cannot be divorced, and the results we find in 1984 are the fruit of policies and systems that government has developed and adjusted over the years.

Developing institutional capacity

The need was to develop, in all aspects of the central government, an institutional capacity to do business in English and French, and to offer equitable work and career opportunities to people of both official language groups. Such bilingual capability as existed in 1969, — and it was not very much — was usually provided by bilingual Francophones. Since 1969 government has worked on the assumption that the much more comprehensive capability required by the Act can be built up in several ways: by recruiting people with suitable skills and aptitudes, by encouraging bilingual staff, and by training employees in their second official language.

Position identification and language standards

At the heart of the system is the classification of jobs as bilingual, English-essential, French-essential, or either/or (where either language will do). From a situation 15 years ago when there were fewer than 10,000 identifiably bilingual jobs, today over 63,000, or almost 28 per cent of all public service jobs, are bilingual, either because of their service-to-the-public requirements or for purposes of providing equal work opportunities to Anglophone and Francophone public servants. Along with this designation process goes specification of the necessary second-language skills for each position. The three most commonly-used proficiency levels are simply called A, B and C. The first represents a minimal knowledge of the second language, the second suggests a limited but, in principle, functional ability, and the

third a reasonable competence and some fluency. The current distribution of those proficiency levels is as follows: some 13 per cent of bilingual positions are classified at the 'A' level, 76 per cent at 'B', and 8 per cent at 'C'. In theory, the distribution of these positions covers every officially recognized need to deal with members of the public, or with civil servants, of either mother tongue. All that remains is to put a qualified person in the job, and presto! But it is not quite that simple.

Public servants' entitlements

Parliament's commitment to a fully responsive federal administration was complemented by its desire to keep job opportunities, both into and within the public service, as fair as possible in a period of organizational change. So three other procedures were approved.

- The exemption from second-language requirements of public servants with long service who were not willing or able to become bilingual, commonly referred to as "grandfathering." (About 10 per cent of present occupants of bilingual positions are exempt for long service, age or compassionate reasons.)

- The provision of intensive language training at government expense. (Excluding the Armed Forces, more than 30,000 employees have graduated from this programme, about 85 per cent of them English-speaking.)

- A special dispensation from the Public Service Employment Act that allows the appointment of unilingual employees to bilingual positions on a "conditional" basis, provided the appointee goes on language training and obtains the necessary language skills within a certain time. (Out of 17,600 permanent and term appointments to bilingual positions in 1984, 1,330 were "conditional" and about 500 involved exemption; the remaining 15,770 appointments (90 per cent) were of candidates who met the language requirements.)

- As an additional incentive to foster individual bilingualism, an arrangement was struck with public service unions in 1975, whereby qualified holders of bilingual jobs would receive an annual bonus of $800. (In 1984, about 53,000 public servants received the bonus, for a total of about $42 million.)

One other component of the machinery that must be mentioned is the government's translation and interpretation services. These provide a necessary bridge to ensure service in both official languages, inside as well as outside the public service. Laws, regulations, publications, proceedings of public hearings and the administrative literature of the bureaucrat, all must be accessible in both official languages. (In 1983-84, the total volume of translation was 256 million words, plus simultaneous interpretation services, at a combined cost of about $82 million.)

The total cost of these internal programmes and services runs around $250 million annually.[1] This is more than just petty cash, to be sure, and it is in everyone's interest to ensure we get maximum value for the money. Considering the breadth of the programme, however, and considering that, on a per-Canadian basis, this expense

[1] Table B.1 of the Appendices provides details.

is about $10 dollars a head, the total is by no means outrageous.[1] The questions of interest are how well does the machine work, and do the different pieces fit together in a co-ordinated, productive and cost-effective way.

Productivity

The machinery has accomplished much. The number of bilingual positions has grown steadily from a mere 18 per cent share of all positions in 1974 to a very respectable 28 per cent proportion in 1984: some 63,000 bilingual jobs in all, in which there are presently over 54,000 qualified occupants. Over the same period, second-language proficiency requirements have been upgraded to the point where three-quarters of bilingual jobs now call for the intermediate level of proficiency, as compared with just over half five years ago. Gradual introduction of imperative staffing[2] has meant that over 40 per cent of the current staffing of permanent bilingual jobs does not allow conditional appointment of unilinguals. When appointments to term positions are included, the proportion rises to over 60 per cent of all staffing actions. Language training, meanwhile, has increased many public servants' familiarity with their second official language and helped create a pool of bilingual employees. Translation has also boomed, and with it the widespread availability of bilingual documents.

Without taking anything away from these achievements, it is necessary to probe the system further to see whether it is entirely at the service of the three main policy goals — service to the public, language of work, and equitable participation — and, if not, why not.

Distribution of results

First and fundamentally, the overall results are less than balanced. We detail elsewhere the shortcomings in service to the public outside Ottawa and Quebec. These alone would be a compelling reason for a thoughtful reassessment of the system. On top of this, however, are questions of how the components fit with each other: why, for instance, there are as many bilingual positions as there are French-essential positions in Quebec; why the two language groups have had increasingly different access rates to bilingual jobs; why exclusions and exemptions preponderate at more senior levels; why so few Anglophone graduates of language training currently occupy bilingual positions; and so on. There may be satisfactory explanations for these and other quirks in the performance of the various systems and sub-systems. We certainly owe it to ourselves to bring them into the open and see what they may tell us about the general problem of meeting institutional needs while respecting the employees involved.

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[1] $200 million for spare parts for the F-18 fighter planes, or almost $100 million in interest lost annually due to government banking practices may help to put the price tag in perspective.

[2] Staffing a bilingual position "on an imperative basis" means that only someone who is already bilingual at the appropriate level can be appointed. In other words, appointments to these positions are no longer excluded from full application of the Public Service Employment Act.

People and Positions

The following tables plainly suggest that the overall distribution of people and positions does not mirror in any obviously logical way the institutional needs which the Act seeks to satisfy.

Table III.1

[redacted]

	Bilingual		English-essential		French-essential		Either/Or	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
West and North	1,223	1.9	51,374	38.1	23	0.1	31	0.3
Ontario	2,552	4.0	33,723	25.0	47	0.3	351	3.0
National Capital Region	40,050	63.5	24,412	18.1	914	5.5	10,051	86.0
Quebec	15,768	25.0	197	0.1	15,648	93.8	501	4.3
New Brunswick	2,474	3.9	4,715	3.5	40	0.2	469	4.0
Other Atlantic Provinces	1,054	1.7	20,444	15.2	16	0.1	288	2.4
TOTAL	**63,121**	**100.0**	**134,865**	**100.00**	**16,688**	**100.0**	**11,691**	**100.0**

Source: Official Languages Information System, December, 1984.

Sixty-four per cent of all bilingual positions are located in the National Capital Region and another twenty-five per cent are in Quebec. Outside Ottawa and Quebec, English-essential positions outnumber bilingual positions 15 to 1. In Quebec, bilingual positions and French-essential positions are at par, around 15,500 in each case. All the Francophone minorities outside Ottawa or Quebec have only about 7,000 bilingual employees, spread over nine provinces, to serve them in their language. Getting worthwhile bilingual capacity to the spots where the public needs it is obviously the first concern. But the above distribution of unilingual vis-à-vis bilingual positions also suggests that identical rules are being very differently applied in different regions. At the very least, government must find out why. We have made this point every year for the last three years at least, but either government does not see an anomaly or it does not know what to do about it.

Appointments to bilingual positions

Stepping back from the fray reveals other surprising vistas, and one that is particularly worth pondering. The trends of the last few years in Anglophone and Francophone occupancy rates of bilingual positions provide some food for thought. As we pointed out, the original plan was to balance the need for appropriate institutional capacity with considerations of fairness between groups. There was to be a gradual build up of realistic requirements, complemented by a generous programme of language training and other devices to smoothe the way for unilingual public servants. The vast majority of the latter were and are English-speaking. In

Table III.2

		Bilingual		English-essential		French-essential		Either/or	
	Year	Anglo-phone	Franco-phone	Anglo-phone	Franco-phone	Anglo-phone	Franco-phone	Anglo-phone	Franco-phone
West and North	1979	75	25	99	1	8	92	100	0
	1984	62	38	99	1	17	83	94	6
Ontario	1979	70	30	99	1	11	89	69	31
	1984	43	57	98	2	6	94	70	30
National Capital Region	1979	55	45	92	8	6	94	66	34
	1984	48	52	92	8	3	97	66	34
Quebec	1979	11	89	90	10	3	97	30	70
	1984	9	91	86	14	2	98	16	84
New Brunswick	1979	52	48	95	5	23	77	64	36
	1984	37	63	94	6	7	93	62	38
Other Atlantic Provinces	1979	75	25	99	1	35	65	77	23
	1984	60	40	99	1	13	87	70	30

Source: Official Languages Information System.

contrast to the past when a small number of Francophone bilinguals could handle what little federal business was then done in French, the plan assumed that *both* language groups would have their part to play in developing a broad-based institutional bilingualism. What appears to have been happening in recent years is that the double pressure — for real bilingual capacity and fuller participation by Francophones in the public service — has produced not just a steady growth in the use of bilingual positions and imperative staffing, but steadily increasing resort to French-speaking public servants to provide the bilingual capacity that federal institutions need. Both real capacity and Francophone participation have indeed increased, but perhaps not in the way the plan anticipated. A closer look at the numbers of positions of various kinds (Table III.1) shows that Francophones could not hope to attain a global participation rate around 26 per cent *unless* they had a greater than normal occupancy rate in bilingual positions: the French-essential positions plus, say, one-third of the either/or posts only account for about 9 per cent of all Public Service jobs. Since reasonably represented Francophone employees must go *somewhere*, they naturally gravitate to bilingual jobs.

Table III.3

	1979				1984			
	Anglophones		Francophones		Anglophones		Francophones	
A. ALL REGIONS	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Occupants	23,156	44	29,633	56	24,524	39	38,662	61
Appointees	7.048	40	10,703	60	5,915	34	11,624	66
B. NATIONAL CAPITAL REGION								
Occupants	18,530	55	15,110	45	19,379	48	20,810	52
Appointees	5,730	50	5,746	50	4,653	40	6,910	60

[1] Includes determinate and indeterminate positions.

Sources: Occupants: Official Languages Information System, 1979 and December 1984; appointments: Public Service Commission (1984 figures are preliminary).

The results (see Table III.3 above), leave some important questions in the air. How far and how long do we want these trends to continue? And what is the point of the heavy investment in language training for Anglophones (even if "conditional" appointments are diminishing) if their share of appointments to bilingual positions also continues to fall? The answer to both these questions really depends on the best estimate of the *reserves* of bilingual people needed to allow appropriate upward and lateral mobility in the Public Service. Basically, this means relating service-to-the-public and language-of-work needs to the different kinds of positions, to their hierarchical and regional distribution, and to the probable access patterns of both groups. This is a very complex calculation, beyond the scope of this Report, but it must be addressed in rigorous fashion if we wish to protect the Public Service from new forms of linguistic polarization.

Language Training

The theory of Anglophone trainability will certainly bear a second look in this connection. Opportunities to train have, by any reasonable standard, been generously provided, although in the last three or four years aptitude testing has prevented about 15 per cent of all Anglophone candidates from taking training when their chances of success were considered slim.[1] That the results, either in terms of

[1] The principle behind aptitude testing is one we support: the desire to avoid investing public money in candidates who lack appropriate potential. In practice, the system — like any other — has proved less than perfect, particularly in its treatment of candidates from the Operational and Administrative Support categories, who fail in the diagnostic process at rates well above average. The Public Service Commission has announced its intention to review the process, especially in this latter regard.

proven work skills or of access to bilingual jobs, have been less than anticipated is generally agreed. Who or what, if anyone or anything, is to blame? Were expectations overly optimistic? Has personal commitment left something to be desired? Has the training programme been appropriate? And are the real needs where the supposedly bilingual positions are? There is probably some truth in all of these possibilities. But the process seems to go rather blindly ahead, as witness the following table. Of the over 54,000 employees who now meet the requirements of their bilingual jobs, only about 9,000 have had 500 hours or more of government language training. When one looks at Anglophones who meet 'C' level — or advanced — requirements, the total is 111. The central agencies have been studying this situation for several years now, but no proposals for corrective action have emerged.

Table III.4

A. ALL PROFICIENCY LEVELS	Anglophones Number	%[1]	Francophones Number	%[1]	Total Number	%[1]
None	7,676	44.4	31,051	84.1	38,727	71.4
Under 500 hours	2,883	16.7	3,577	9.7	6,460	11.9
Subtotal	10,559	61.1	34,628	93.8	45,187	83.4
Over 500 hours	6,735	38.9	2,284	6.2	9,019	16.6
TOTAL	**17,294**	**100.0**	**36,912**	**100.0**	**54,206**	**100.0**
B. 'C' LEVEL POSITIONS ONLY						
None	650	74.8	3,368	91.7	4,018	88.5
Under 500 hours	108	12.4	241	6.6	349	7.7
Subtotal	758	87.2	3,609	98.3	4,367	96.2
Over 500 hours	111	12.8	62	1.7	173	3.8
TOTAL	**869**	**100.0**	**3,671**	**100.0**	**4,540**	**100.0**

[1] Percentage of Anglophones and Francophones with that amount of language training.

Source: Official Languages Information System, August 1984.

Reassessing the System

The present conjuncture more than lends itself, in our view, to a remodelling of the overall relationships between **Needs Identification**, **Position Requirements**, **Staffing Patterns**, **Language Training**, **Equitable Participation**, **the Bilingualism Bonus** and even **Translation**. Such a supply-and-demand model must reflect an updated assessment of real needs, results to date, the relative contribution of the various sources of capacity, anticipated impacts on both language groups, inside and outside the public service, and the phases and timeframes that will be involved. The following are some of the considerations we think should figure in the review process.

First, a realistic and practical estimate of the needs of the two official-language communities across the country, not just as members of the public, but as potential members of the federal public service and as employees with rights to work in either language. Second, a model of the configurations of people, positions and actual capacities that will be required in the next 10 to 15 years. This will mean making crucial judgements about the relative priority of various public service needs. Is it more important in the short-term to give a credible service to French-speaking clients in Northern Ontario, for instance, or to fill every bilingual management position in Ottawa with a completely qualified bilingual body? Both may be necessary to our concept of institutional bilingualism, but the realities of the situation suggest a different sense of priorities from those we see at present.

To reform the federal administration in an intelligent and progressive way, one must look at the human material available, its age structure, background, provenance and aptitudes, as well as its present second-language skills and ability to operate professionally in two languages. It happens: that Anglophone public servants outnumber Francophones about 4:1 in the over-45 age groups, but the ratio drops to 3:1 or less in the under-35 groups; that the probability of Anglophones being bilingual on entering the service is much less — as, with the best will in the world, are their chances, outside Quebec, of using their second language on the job; and that, all in all, relatively few of them seem able at present to reach and sustain the highest level of proficiency in French. These are facts, and it is extremely important that *all* the facts be taken into account in remodelling the system.

The audit process

Finally, the whole process of programme auditing and control deserves renewed scrutiny. There are naturally a number of different agencies involved in checking programme performance, from their own perspective: individual institutions, the Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission and this Office. Each plays an important role, although Parliament might be forgiven for occasionally feeling that its cup runneth over with information, particularly since the messages it receives will vary according to the sender. The central agencies set out policy guidelines and monitor departmental compliance with them; departments and agencies break them down into activities, try to keep track of what gets done at the local level, and put the best statistical face on results; the Commissioner's Office listens to the cries of the public and tries to figure out how so many 'slip-ups' keep happening when so much preventive machinery is in place. The entire system of official languages auditing and control could usefully be re-examined, starting with departments' ability to report reliably on what results they are producing. Treasury

Board's decision in 1982 to decentralize responsibility for programme implementation is fine as far as it goes, but the Board must not and cannot decentralize its own responsibility to check closely on real outputs, report them clearly, and co-ordinate the always necessary corrective action.

Playing the system

In 1977, the architects of the Revised Policies on the Official Languages hypothesized that by 1983, conditional appointments, basic language training and the bilingualism bonus would all be redundant, that the proportion of bilingual positions would fall, and even that translation might become less necessary for certain internal purposes. Since none of this has happened on cue, we must ask why. For the excellent ecological reason that Anglophone or Francophone public servants — like members of any bureaucracy — adapt to the system as they find it, and in the ways most advantageous to themselves. Unable to limit themselves to the few available French-essential positions, Francophones gravitate toward bilingual jobs. Anglophones, on the other hand, who may have counted on conditional appointments and language training to keep them in the hunt find that, in times of public service contraction, managers will avoid conditional appointments even where imperative staffing does not apply, aptitude testing further reduces their competitiveness and — unkindest cut of all — that, even when trained, they are not as a rule brilliantly bilingual. Result: Anglophones who have no exemption from language requirements gravitate toward the still numerous English-essential positions. But those positions are mostly outside the National Capital Region and Quebec, and this sort of potential repolarization is not in anybody's interest.

So long as significant numbers of senior public service positions are bilingual (as must be the case), there will have to be some form of language training incentive for those who have not had any chance to acquire the other official language along the way. And, until such time as our education system produces a goodly crop of authentically bilingual graduates — and it could be the end of the century before they are available to the public service in quantity[1] — we are going to have to live with some specimens of individual bilingualism that put a heavy strain upon our collective patience. At the same time, with 34,000 qualified bilingual people in the National Capital Region, it hardly seems heretical to believe that, even if a certain percentage of them (especially at the supervisory level) are more receptively than actively bilingual, it should still be possible to meet all the institutional needs that exist in Ottawa-Hull in 1985 if everyone is making an honest effort. If only one could say the same for service to the public in the regions.

Managing Reform

The extent of organizational and social engineering that is implied in federal language reform should make us modestly grateful that we have been able to manage it at all. The complexities, both methodological and psychological, are great.

[1] This factor, too, has to be built in to any future remodelling; it can no longer be taken on trust.

Our interest is not to criticize, but to point out the importance of better management by government if past gains are to be consolidated and surpassed. Our diagnosis, in this and other sections of this Report, leads us to argue that we need not less, but more, co-ordinated management of the programme. Eventually, the provisions of the Official Languages Act will become second nature to our national institutions, but it would be premature to put the ship on auto-pilot before that stage is reached.

Whether the system can also do more with less, as is being asked, is debatable. Not, in our opinion, if the issues and problems are tackled piecemeal. The temptation must be resisted to cut dollars from this or that "wasteful" sub-system without considering *why* it does less than is expected or what other arrangements will take its place. Radical surgery might appear to offer important savings, but we must not kill the patient in the process. Here, in conclusion, are some ways in which we think that co-ordination and cost-efficiency could be improved.

- In the first place, the principal agencies responsible, Treasury Board and the Public Service Commission, must conduct a comprehensive examination of medium-term public service needs and consider various organizational models and administrative options for meeting them.

- Given the still incomplete application of the Official Languages Act and the need to integrate it more effectively with federal support for bilingualism beyond the public service, this programme warrants regular policy co-ordination, under the auspices of the Privy Council Office, at the level of both senior officials and ministers.

- Steps are needed to bring the linguistic performance of Crown corporations under more active scrutiny by government. Although Parliament in 1969 took the trouble to spell out that these institutions are indeed subject to the Official Languages Act, the administrative autonomy of Crown corporations has left them largely independent when it comes to designing, executing and monitoring official languages policies.

- The balance of institutional and individual bilingualism in the National Capital Region should be examined to see what restructuring may be required, particularly with respect to the balance between service-to-the-public and language-of-work objectives.

- The official-language structure of operations in Quebec should also be remodelled, over time, to make better institutional use of unilingual positions and people.

- A more controlled use of bilingual positions and people in the National Capital Region and Quebec ought to be accompanied by carefully concentrated increases in their use to serve minority-language clients in those regions where improvements are urgently required.

- Until the education system produces a good flow of bilingual recruits, personal commitment to the learning and use of the second official language might be enhanced by giving public servants who need the other language a

fixed allowance, to help them to purchase the necessary language training on the open market. The responsibility for achieving, retaining, and improving appropriate skills on the job would thereafter rest with the individual.

- The bilingualism bonus should, after consultation with the unions, be phased down, using a formula which takes account of the salary-levels of recipients[1] and their demonstrated use of both official languages.

- The volume of unjustified translation, and associated costs, have apparently not responded much to administrative control;[2] we therefore endorse the Treasury Board proposal that volume limits be fixed, on an envelope basis, in the expectation that the use of translation will then show a better sense of priorities.

In all of this, it is important not to finger only the bureaucracy for the task. Ultimately accountable for the programme's success are, of course, the respective Ministers. Balancing different views of linguistic fair play is essentially a political task, and the relative smoothness of the bureaucratic machinery makes a lot of difference to the productivity and public acceptance of the programme. All good political reasons for giving it the attention it deserves; federal leaders can scarcely be expected to sell approaches that they cannot fully understand, let alone endorse.

[1] We estimate, for instance, that if qualified bilingual employees earning over $40,000 were completely excluded, between $15 and $20 million could be freed up.

[2] A Treasury Board update in 1983 of its original 1979 study on how appropriately translation is used concluded that administrative controls had had relatively little effect on the kinds of document being sent to translation.

PART IV

The Minority Challenge

Statement of the Problem: The Name of the Game

In Book I[1] of its Report, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism pointed out that the extent to which linguistic minorities feel free to use their own language depends a good deal on the attitudes of their governments. "When it becomes usual for the language of the minority to receive little or no recognition in a given region", the Commissioners observed, "the minority reluctantly falls into line." They then went on to discuss *how* different levels of government can affect the linguistic choices of minorities by offering them various kinds of formal recognition or practical support, everything from making their language institutionally official down to providing a municipal service. They were fully conscious that this meant "formulating recommendations for governments which did not request them," but they counted on the open-mindedness of provincial and municipal governments, on the leadership of the federal government, and perhaps most of all on the concept of bilingual districts, to promote patterns of recognition and treatment of English and French that would respect local law, history and demography but still be consistent with overall linguistic justice for English-speaking and French-speaking minorities. In this section of the Report we wish to consider the extent of governments' response to the Commissioners' challenging proposition that "Language reforms at the federal, provincial and local levels will all be necessary, since only co-ordinated and simultaneous action in all three fields can make measures in each fully effective."

The Federal Government's first response was prompt and positive; Prime Minister Pearson immediately accepted the principle of linguistic equality and set on foot joint studies and consultations to give effect to the central notion of a co-ordinated intergovernmental approach. The extent to which provincial and local governments have felt able to go along with the thrust of B and B proposals has varied considerably, and it would hardly be too harsh to say that co-ordination and co-operation have been at premium. What needs to be considered now is the total effect of government action and inaction on the condition of Canada's official-language communities.

Health and prospects

The progress of Canada's official languages programme is all too seldom systematically measured by the one scale that matters: that which shows the real and perceived balance among official-language communities. This is unfortunate in that their perceptions of their relative health and prospects, and of their treatment by

[1] Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, Chapter 5, Governments and Language Regimes.

governments, are what most affect their social and political behaviour one to the other. At the heart of Canada's language question are not the literary beauties of English or French, but the possibilities for the people who use these languages to enjoy a just measure of economic and cultural expression without running into obstacles that we judge unworthy of a "free and democratic society."

As the analysis of the B and B Commission made clear, such possibilities are very difficult to achieve in the Canadian context. Before we can think and act to much purpose in the field of language planning and language policy, we must take a good look at English-French relations in a variety of Canadian settings, and at the problems they present. Only then can we say what kinds of future relations would be consistent with our concept of Canada, and what kinds of interlinguistic recognition and respect Canadians are capable of achieving. As we review present English-French relations in the following pages, we ask the reader to keep in mind three things.

- Although our focus here is very largely on what we shall call the *provincial* minorities, French or English, their condition has to be related to the fact that our *national* official-language minority is French and its home is principally in Quebec.

- The survival of minority languages is far from being purely a matter of government interventions and it has never been suggested, under any scenario, that Canadians could enjoy an equal choice to use either English or French anywhere, anytime and in any circumstances. There are a number of powerful social and psychological forces at work, and they vary greatly in their susceptibility to institutional control; beyond the social structures of a given environment lie human attitudes and motivations, and, in the last resort, authentic individual choices.

- Certain provinces, specifically New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario and Manitoba, have for legal, historical or demographic reasons, generally been considered as having a special, more formal obligation to their respective minorities, while it is up to the other provinces, those that do *not* have that kind of obligation, to decide where their duty to their French-speaking minorities lies.

The Original Situation and the Plan for Reform

The situation as it presented itself to the B and B Commission some 20 years ago was one in which Canada's original linguistic duality was being overtaken by events. Not only had English become the language of communication for most Canadians of non-British or non-French origins, it had also begun to swamp the use of French outside Quebec. Even inside that province, where English-speakers were outnumbered by French-speakers about 6 to 1, the relative status and use of English bore little relation to those demographic facts.

The recommendations of the B and B Report amounted to a call for a new social and linguistic contract among Canadians, one which, while giving English and French equal status as Canada's official languages at the federal level, would go

as far as history, law and demography permit to equalize opportunities to use those languages at other levels of Canadian society. Such a call presupposed three things: that the federal government would not only exemplify linguistic equality, it would strive to promote it in other institutions; that those provinces with special obligations would fall into line; and that other provinces would interpret and apply the B and B proposals in a spirit of generosity and with due regard for national goals.

English-French partnership on this scale, and in contemporary conditions, was obviously a major undertaking. We should not be too surprised if all the components have not simply dropped into place. The question remains whether current manifestations of linguistic justice to our official-languages minorities are within striking distance of any kind of acceptable symmetry. What we do unto one of our official-language minorities, to paraphrase scripture, we do even unto the majority whose language it shares. Whatever Quebec's official or unofficial attitude to Francophone communities outside Quebec, or whatever 'English-speaking Canada' may believe to be its attitude to Anglo-Quebecers, in the long run and for an elementary reason, their linguistic fates are intertwined and the fate of our country with them. That reason is as simple as tit for tat. No Quebec government can afford to encourage French-Quebecers to be just and generous to their English-speaking neighbours in the full and clear knowledge that comparable French-speaking communities in other parts of Canada enjoy less than equivalent justice and generosity.

That is why it cannot logically be a matter of indifference to any thinking Canadian that the implementation of official languages policies, although it may have strengthened the bilingual bridge at the political centre, has been less effective as a safeguard for the official-language minorities. In light of the diagnosis that we started from some twenty years ago, there is more in that fact than an occasion for wringing our hands . It very much puts in question the rationale and achievement of even those aspects of official bilingualism where we count ourselves modestly successful. In the following chapters, we will present the essential demolinguistic data, the institutional and practical situation of the provincial minorities, and a synthesis of what has been and what remains to be done to afford those minorities other linguistic choices than assimilation or migration.

Demolinguistics: Numbering Off

The census

For the most part, information on the evolution and condition of Canada's official-language communities is based on census questions which have been developed to describe, quantify and track the country's demolinguistic make-up. While the census affords a useful, general overview of a number of social characteristics, our appreciation of what we *can* know and conclude from language-related data depends on an understanding of their nature, limitations and susceptibility to different analyses.

A basic description of Canada's language communities can be derived from census questions on ethnic origin, mother tongue, home language and knowledge of the official languages. When cross-tabulated with each other and with other social and economic characteristics, such as internal migration patterns, fertility and mortality rates, education, income levels and the like, a general demolinguistic picture emerges. Comparable data accumulated over several censuses provide some indication of change patterns upon which projections can be based. But indisputable conclusions can be elusive; interpretation of available information, particularly in following historical trends, is subject to a number of methodological constraints.

Census caveats

Slight changes in the questions from one census to another, as well as in reporting[1] and attribution techniques, have to some extent affected the comparability of results. More importantly, both the ethnic origin and language questions have certain definitional weaknesses which must be weighed in the interpretation. Finally, all variables are not equally useful in pinpointing and assessing linguistic developments. The language most often used at home has more linguistic actuality than mother tongue, which is simply the language "first learned and still understood", while mother tongue is obviously a more dependable measure of linguistic affiliation than ethnic origin. In short, there is scope for interpretation at several levels in terms of: what respondents are trying to convey; the attribution of ambiguous responses; how data may be combined to reflect shifts between languages;[2] and even how far such shifts are complete.

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[1] An important reporting change occurred in 1971, which was the first time the responses to the census were self-reported rather than gathered by interviewers.

[2] According to Statistics Canada, "Such 'shifts' do not in all cases, necessarily mean that the mother tongue has been abandoned. It is possible that the mother tongue is still spoken in the home but is not the language spoken most often, or that the language used for work or social activities is in fact the first language learned in childhood." (Language in Canada, 1985)

Trends

Given these caveats, several general observations on the distribution and condition of Canada's official-language communities are nevertheless justified.

- Overall, we have been witnessing a progressive territorial polarization of the Canadian population into a more French-speaking Quebec and a more English-speaking Rest-of-Canada.
- Virtually all French-speaking communities outside Quebec, including, to some extent, those in New Brunswick and Ontario, have been retreating in terms of their proportion of the general population.
- Quebec's English mother-tongue-population, suffering the effects of recent heavy out-migration, has also been losing ground.

Increasing polarization is evident from the following historical table on mother-tongue data.

Table IV.1

	Canada			Quebec			Canada, excluding Quebec		
	English	French	Other	English	French	Other	English	French	Other
1961	58.5	28.1	13.5	13.3	81.2	5.5	76.8	6.6	16.7
1971	60.2	26.9	12.9	13.1	80.7	6.2	78.3	6.0	15.7
1976[1]	61.8	25.9	12.3	12.8	81.1	6.1	79.9	5.5	14.6
1981	61.3	25.7	13.0	11.0	82.4	6.6	79.3	5.3	15.4

[1] Technical changes in processing of 1976 data somewhat affect their comparability with other years.

Sources: Statistics Canada, 1961 Census;
Kralt and Demers, *Language and Society*, No. 9, 1983;
Robert Bourbeau, *Language and Society*, No. 11, 1983.

Although Canada's French-mother-tongue population has grown in absolute numbers, it has, over the years, suffered a decline in relation to the population as a whole, slipping from 28.1 per cent in 1961 to 25.7 per cent in 1981. According to a recent publication by Statistics Canada entitled *Language in Canada*, the French-speaking population of Canada grew by eight per cent between 1971 and 1981 compared to a 15 per cent growth by the English-speaking population over the same period. While it is arguable that the relative status and vitality of French

in Canada has actually made some gains in the last ten years, the Statistics Canada report also makes it clear that much of the loss encountered by the Francophone community is the result of language shifts or transfers toward English, which is by far North America's most "attractive" language.

Until 1971, the transfer from one linguistic group to another was most often assessed on the basis of the relationship between ethnic-origin and mother-tongue data. The correlation between these two variables was not a particularly accurate way of grasping language transfer since ethnic origin was and still is often a historical characteristic rather than a reflection of current linguistic affiliations. With this reservation in mind, the B and B Commission reported that in 1931, 4.7 per cent of the ethnically French group had adopted English as a mother tongue and that this proportion grew to 5.8 per cent by 1941, 7.9 per cent by 1951, and 10.0 by 1961. Since 1971, in part owing to reporting changes, demographers no longer use this measure. However, by this admittedly crude criterion, there is no reason to doubt that the overall balance since the thirties has been strongly favourable to English.

In 1971 and 1981 a question on language most often spoken in the home was introduced to demonstrate more accurately the relative presence and currency of the two official languages in Canada. Those data show the following trends.

Table IV.2

	Canada		Quebec		Canada excluding Quebec	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
English	67.0	68.2	14.7	12.7	87.2	88.1
French	25.7	24.6	80.8	82.5	4.4	3.8
Other	7.3	7.2	4.5	4.8	8.4	8.1

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Census.

When combined with mother-tongue responses the home-language data provide an indication of individual shifts from one language to another which more accurately reflects the linguistic state of play. The results show that the use of French by people of French mother tongue is in general retreating, notably in the easternmost and westernmost parts of the country. The following table indicates the proportion of all those in each setting who reported French as their mother tongue but who also said they used English most often at home.

Table IV.3

	1971	1981
British Columbia	73.0	71.8
Alberta	53.7	57.0
Saskatchewan	51.9	63.4
Manitoba	36.9	44.0
Ontario	29.9	33.9
Quebec	1.5	2.0
New Brunswick	8.7	9.7
Nova Scotia	34.1	37.1
Prince Edward Island	43.2	42.1
Newfoundland	43.4	57.2
Yukon	74.4	70.2
Northwest Territories	51.3	54.5
Canada as a whole	**6.0**	**6.7**
Canada minus Quebec	**29.6**	**32.8**

[1] This table shows transfers from French to English, but not from English and other languages to French, a phenomenon which modifies the overall situation of French in several provinces, but in no case outside Quebec comes close to offsetting the general shift from French to English.

Source: Statistics Canada, 1971 and 1981 Census.

In short, by any reasonable measure of language transfer or assimilation, to use the more popular and emotive term, Canada's French-speaking population outside the province of Quebec is consistently losing way, whatever one may choose to believe about the linguistic vitality of the remainder.

Quebec's English-mother-tongue population, largely as a result of heavy out-migration, has also dropped significantly: from 13.3 per cent of the province's population in 1961 to 13.1 per cent in 1971 and 11 per cent in 1981. In addition, at the latest census some 82,100 Anglophones, or over 11 per cent of the English-mother-tongue population, reported using French most often in the home. However, the English language is still attractive to people from other linguistic groups — the proportion of *all* Quebecers speaking English as a home language was 14.7 per cent in 1971 and 12.7 per cent in 1981. In other words, to use Statistics Canada's measure, although the English-mother-tongue group lost over 10 per cent of its numbers between 1971 and 1981, the language itself showed a con-

tinuity factor of 116.4[1] per cent as compared to 100.2 per cent for French. But the English-mother-tongue and home-language figures have declined, and the impact has been manifest in all the Anglophone communities on and off the Island of Montreal:

Table IV.4

	Mother Tongue		Home Language	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Montreal	22.6	20.8	26.2	24.4
Surrounding areas	14.6	10.8	16.1	12.1
Eastern Townships	15.1	13.0	15.7	13.2
Gaspé	4.4	4.0	4.5	4.2
Outaouais	18.8	17.3	21.0	19.1
Quebec City	4.3	2.8	3.5	2.7

Sources: Jacques Henripin, *The English-Speaking Population of Quebec, a Demolinguistic Projection, 1971-2001*, 1984;
Lachapelle and Henripin, *The Demolinguistic Situation in Canada, 1980*, pp. 326, 327, 338;
Statistics Canada, 1981 Census.

Although Quebec's Francophone population increased globally from 80.8 per cent in 1971 to 82.5 per cent in 1981, at the same time, the province's total population has declined as a proportion of the Canadian population from 28.8 per cent in 1961 to 26.4 per cent in 1981, and recent reports on low birth rates among Francophone women have again turned attention to the demolinguistic prospects for *French* as well as English within the provincial heartland of Quebec. Raw out-migration data show that some 89,000 Francophones left Quebec between 1971 and 1981. Although the net loss to the province's Francophone population over that period was only 22,000, the out-migration figure is an indication of reasons for leaving Quebec other than reasons of language.

Individual bilingualism

One apparent effect of Canada's linguistic policies since 1969 has been to persuade more Canadians of the usefulness of acquiring the other official language. The percentage of official bilingualism has grown from 12.2 per cent of the population in 1961 to 15.3 per cent in 1981. In 1981, 30 per cent of the 3.7 million individual bilinguals reported English as their mother tongue compared to 24.5 per cent of 2.9 million bilinguals in 1971. Moreover, according to Statistics Canada,[1] "Bilingualism is growing fastest among the English outside Quebec." However, the raw figure for bilingual Anglophones in the other nine provinces is still quite small, numbering 743,000, or about five per cent of the English-mother-tongue population.

[1] *Language in Canada*, 1985.

Conclusion

The largely negative trends in linguistic balance cannot pretend to be a complete measure of the vitality and prospects of particular minority-language communities. Communities which before 1969 had all but given up hope of linguistic survival have been induced to think again. But this renewed interest in survival might, in fact, be no more than a swan song. The overall effect of languages policies, in helping to strengthen French in Quebec, has indirectly as well as directly raised expectations for the possible use of French elsewhere, but the pressures toward linguistic polarization are far from having been brought to heel.

Whether this trend can be slowed or halted, let alone reversed, depends in part on personal choices, but also on how much governments and others are prepared to act in concert to make the continued existence of official-language groups in a minority situation an attractive proposition for the people concerned.

Because of a host of social, political and economic unknowns, demographers are generally leary of speculating on the country's linguistic future. But even the most cautious and conservative forecasts, such as those put forth by Réjean Lachapelle and Jacques Henripin in 1980,[1] conclude that, given the most favorable circumstances, the Francophone population outside Quebec will continue to decline. The great imponderables in such calculations are fertility and mobility, but institutional conditions and the general social context are bound to play a role. The choices, therefore, are no less critical now than they were during the time of the B and B Commission or when the Official Languages Act was passed.

[1] *The Demolinguistic Situation in Canada*, 1980.

The Minorities: Province by Province

Official bilingualism in the Canadian federation can be broken down into three historical periods: 100 years from the Act of Confederation of 1867 to 1967, when the findings of the B and B Commission began to appear and take effect; the first phase of modern language reform from 1967 to 1982, at which point the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms established new constitutional rights for English and French; and the post-Charter period, now beginning, in which the institutional framework of reform must be completed and worked out in practice.

This historical and institutional perspective leads us to present the following province-by-province review in a particular order. We begin with Quebec for several reasons. In the first place, it is the only province in which a majority of the people are French-speaking, and where by far the largest part of our *national* Francophone minority lives. But it also happens to be home to Canada's largest *provincial*, official-language minority, and the only provincial minority that is English-speaking. Although it is from this latter angle that it is approached here, it is vital to remember the other circumstances which make Quebec linguistically exceptional.

New Brunswick comes next as having been the first and still the only province of the 'modern era' to have adopted its own Official Languages Act and to subscribe in all particulars to the official languages provisions of the Canadian Charter of Rights. Ontario has adopted a gradualist approach to official bilingualism since the late 60's and contains the largest French-speaking population outside Quebec. Manitoba also stands somewhat apart from the remaining 'English-speaking' provinces by virtue of the Manitoba Act of 1870 which, intervening provincial legislation notwithstanding, makes it Canada's second oldest institutionally bilingual province. A sweep to the west and a review of the three other provinces of Atlantic Canada completes the roundup.

Quebec

Language groups in a majority situation normally have little cause for unease. If the French-speaking majority in Quebec is the exception that proves that rule, it is because of its need to define itself in relation to a much larger English-speaking majority, in North America and in Canada. A sentiment of linguistic insecurity has haunted French Quebecers for generations and has led them to try to come to grips with the sources of their anxiety. Changing perceptions of their society and culture and the will to become 'masters in their own house', as well as the desire to preserve and enhance the status of French, all fuelled and were fuelled by social

and political aspirations that came into focus during the 1960's. "Institutional changes", as the Gendron Commission pointed out in 1972, "are simply the results of deep-seated rapid changes in the ideology of French Quebecers who, since about the middle of the 1960's have considered themselves not the Canadian minority but the Quebec majority. This definition of themselves has led to modification of their relationships with minorities, both of British and other origins."[1]

The Quiet Revolution which, among other things, sought to reinforce the French language and culture in a rapidly changing socio-political situation, had also to face various structural and demographic challenges. A steadily declining birth rate among Francophones, the attraction of English, particularly for Quebecers of language groups other than French, the tendency at the time for some Francophones to enrol in English schools, all help to explain why successive Quebec governments adopted major pieces of legislation to protect and improve the use of French in Quebec. The coercive nature of some of those measures may be some indication of the growing urgency which "the Quebec majority" has felt to put its language on a solid footing. Even in 1984, a Quebec government study on the probable evolution of the provincial population warned of the long-term vulnerability of French and the need to remain vigilant in its defence.

Anglo-Quebec

This necessary and natural focus on French was bound to have widespread repercussions on other language interests and institutions, and on none more sharply than those of the Anglophone communities throughout Quebec. Whereas one prevalent perception of English-speaking Quebec is of a community which benefits from a full range of social and cultural institutions and services established over generations, another perception that makes regular newspaper appearances is that English in Quebec is no better than 'a forbidden language.' In reality, even if Anglo-Quebecers can more properly be characterized as the 'haves' of the official-language minority communities, it is no less clear that political, legislative, social and demographic changes have in recent years profoundly affected the nature of the community and its institutions, and its role in Quebec society, as well as the perceptions of English speakers outside Quebec. If there was once only one official-language minority in Canada, a second has made its appearance since the seventies: the English-speaking minority in Quebec.

By and large, the Anglophone community has responded energetically and thoughtfully to the challenge of change. On a community level, the umbrella group Alliance-Quebec and regional associations such as the Townshippers Association (Eastern Townships), the Voice of English Quebec (Quebec City), the Outaouais Alliance (Western Quebec), and the Committee for Anglophone Social Action (Gaspé), among others, have been effective in lobbying governments to ensure that their needs are met with as much linguistic fairness as possible. In the nature of things, traditionally 'Anglophone' institutions (such as hospitals and social service centres) must and do provide services in both French and English, and about

[1] Report of the Royal Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Québec, Volume 3, p. 14. This Commission, under the presidency of Jean-Denis Gendron, was in some respects a provincial parallel to the B and B Commission.

53 per cent of the English-speaking community report that they are bilingual, a proportion which increases to 65 per cent for those in the 15 to 24 year old age group. In short, the present picture is one of communities that increasingly acknowledge and adhere to the conditions appropriate to a predominantly French-speaking society. So much so, in fact, that one Quebec sociologist cited by *The Gazette* goes so far as to predict that "Should francophone Quebec succeed... in its policy of making French the effective language of social communication in Quebec, assimilation of Anglophones to Francophone society will be inevitable and substantial."[1]

What is in question, therefore, is not so much the community's vitality and adaptability. Nor for the moment has English lost much of its attraction for other non-French-speaking Quebecers. But there is an increasingly serious question how far its shrinking population base will enable it to sustain the services and institutions which it has traditionally relied upon.

Demographics

If one were to paint a demographic picture of Anglo-Quebec in broad strokes, its decline as a proportion of the total provincial population has been evident for a number of years. Between 1966 and 1981, however, English lost ground in Quebec primarily as a result of migration patterns. Large numbers of English speakers left the province, and these departures were not nearly compensated by Anglophones moving into Quebec. According to a study by the Conseil de la langue française, the net migration figures show that, on balance, the English mother tongue population lost 6.8 per cent of its numbers between 1966-71; 6.6 per cent between 1971-76; and 14.2 per cent betwen 1976-81. Statistics Canada puts the total extent of the loss since 1971 at over 10 per cent. This manifestly constitutes a serious drain of the human resources of Anglo-Quebec, particularly as between 1976 and 1981, 75,000 or 53 per cent of the Anglophones who left the province were between the ages of 5 and 29.

As Alliance-Quebec stated in its submission to the province's Standing Committee on Culture last November "Demographic change is not just about numbers and percentages ... projections of 'negative growth', 'age shifts' and 'falling birth rates' mean more people moving out of the neighbourhood, fewer children in already marginal schools ... In the longer run it means disintegration of a community."

From the standpoint of the basic institutional supports that make language maintenance possible, the challenge for Anglo-Quebecers is not to construct but to *retain and remodel* the infrastructure of schools, cultural, health and social service institutions that were in place. To do so involves: developing an understanding of Anglophone needs within the Francophone community; collaborating with the Francophone majority in achieving common goals; building a consensus among the Anglophones with respect to the direction the community should take; and finding creative solutions to the problems confronting English-speakers on a regional as well as a provincial level.

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[1] *The Gazette*, December 29, 1984.

Consensus

Happily, there does appear to be a growing consensus on the role and status of the Anglophone community in Quebec. Recent studies show significant improvements in the availability of services in French, in the use of French in the work place, and in the relative income levels of Francophones to those of Anglophones. As its linguistic self-assurance has grown, the Francophone community has generally responded with greater openness toward English-speaking fellow-citizens: as regards the acceptance of bilingual signs; broader access to English-language schooling; English-language municipal and provincial services; as well as in political and public acceptance of Anglophone aspirations. There seems, moreover, to be a renewed emphasis on the importance of learning English as a second language as an indispensable adjunct to competition in North American markets. A study titled *L'évolution de la population du Québec et ses conséquences* released last year by the Secrétariat au developpement social, Ministère du Conseil exécutif put it this way:

> The Anglophone group ... has deep roots here ... has made a great contribution, along with the Francophone majority, to the development of modern Quebec ... In the past, Anglophones, perceived themselves, above all, as part of the anglophone majority in Canada. It is clear, however, that the affirmation of the French nature of Quebec society has obliged them to redefine themselves and establish new relations with the majority. No doubt this could lead, in the long term, to an effort of understanding and interaction between the "two solitudes."[1]

The provincial government has also been willing to modify its stand on the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101). Last year's reforms to Bill 101 were significant. This year, the Quebec government increased access to English schools by allowing children of temporary residents who are not Canadian citizens five rather than three years eligibility with the possibility of a one-year extension. An Anglophone section at the Ministry of Education is also being considered to help develop English-language education.

Public reaction to these changes has been mixed, in both major language communities, with moderation prevailing overall. Anglophone moderates have treated them as moves in the right direction, albeit incomplete; others are less satisfied. Francophone hard-liners, on the other hand, see these and other changes as emasculating the French Language Charter; however, most Francophones regard them as fair and reasonable. With provincial elections coming up and some hardening of the more extreme positions, it becomes more important than ever to foster the new spirit of accommodation that exists.

Adapting the Structures

If growing inter-community consensus and improved recognition by government are encouraging, the Anglophone community still faces substantial challenges in handling those issues which put it in an adversarial position vis-à-vis the provincial government, as well as in obtaining clearer recognition of the mandates of English language institutions, particularly in the area of social services.

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[1] Our translation.

Nowhere are these challenges more visible than in the area of education. In 1984, the education scene was dominated by the Supreme Court decision on the "Canada clause" and the ongoing debate on reforms to the educational system. The Supreme Court, in upholding the "Canada Clause", opened the door to English-language schooling for the children of Canadians who move into the province.

As to the debate on restructuring the educational system along linguistic rather then denominational lines, proponents of the change from 32 Protestant and 215 Catholic boards to 12 English- and 120 French-language boards point out that linguistic boards are more in keeping with the sociological realities of Quebec. However, Anglophone opponents of linguistic boards argue that, until there are constitutional guarantees for English-language education in Quebec, it would be unwise to dismantle the denominational system. Although the Anglophone community does not speak with one voice on this question, the lobbying efforts to obtain greater support for the acceptance of linguistic boards has led to the founding of the English-Speaking Parents Network, a province-wide organization which for the first time links Protestant and Catholic Anglophone parents.

Recourse to the Courts

We have dealt earlier in more detail with major court cases involving the official languages in Quebec. There have been others. In the area of business and employment, a recent court ruling upheld the right of merchants to have bilingual catalogues and brochures on their premises. The issue of French-only commercial and publicity signs, which has received a great deal of attention, was also declared by the Quebec Superior Court to be in direct conflict with guarantees of freedom of expression under the provincial Charter of Human Rights. The ruling is under appeal by the Quebec government.

On the lobbying side, Alliance-Quebec continues to press for increased Anglophone participation in the municipal, provincial and federal governments. Improved job prospects and economic development have been priority items for the Townshippers Association and the Outaouais Alliance.

Social Services

The greatest challenges faced by Anglo-Quebecers this year was how to maintain the health of its social service institutions. Proposed structural changes to the social service sector threaten the extent of English-language services. As a result, Anglophone organizations are lobbying for a legislative confirmation of the permanent status of predominantly English-language health and social service institutions.

Municipal Services

Towns with over 50 per cent Anglophone population may now decide to have services and signs in both French and English. Few towns meet that proportion, but a number of towns with significant proportions of English-speaking residents decided this year to ask for bilingual status. While bilingual status was not granted to any of these towns officially, their campaign indicates the importance attached to this issue.

The English-speaking community in Quebec is principally concerned to sustain its relative institutional richness — however unevenly shared among different regions — at a time when it is still losing human resources. In juxtaposing the experiences of Anglo-Quebecers and their Francophone counterparts in other provinces, we will see that the institutional base of English-speaking Quebec is generally beyond the wildest dreams of practically all the French-speaking minorities. If this is what a relatively healthy minority needs to hold its own, what would much weaker French-speaking minorities need to give them a fighting chance? There are some signs among Francophone Quebecers of a renewal of their traditional generosity toward other language groups. It is high time it was echoed by other Canadien 'majorities'. This office recognizes that French in Quebec can never be totally free of anxiety, but we also welcome, as should all Canadians, Quebec's recognition that that anxiety is not a legitimate pretext for putting English down.

New Brunswick

One of the oldest Francophone communities in Canada, the Acadian community of New Brunswick, has had a troubled linguistic history. In the eighteenth century, the deportation — euphemistically called "le Grand Dérangement" — scattered French settlers to Quebec, the American colonies, Louisiana, and even as far afield as France and England.[1] However, the Acadians gradually re-established themselves on New Brunswick soil, which is something of a historical marvel in itself.

An early census, taken in 1803, gave the number of Acadians at 3,729. By 1871, this small group had mushroomed to a community of 45,000. According to the 1981 census, 234,030 New Brunswickers reported French as their mother tongue.

The greater part of the Acadian population, about 83 per cent, has, over the years, tended to concentrate in the five census divisions of Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, Restigouche and Westmorland. It is this very concentration which has to a large extent limited the effects of assimilation. Even in terms of the "language most often spoken at home", the Acadian population grew from 195,900 in 1971 to 209,325 in 1981, or about 30 per cent of the total population. Although the percentage of language transfers increased slightly, from 8.7 to 9.7 per cent, over the decade, assimilation is more marked among smaller groups living in predominantly English-speaking communities. This territorial polarization has brought about a variation on the "two solitudes" theme by encouraging Anglophones to keep to themselves and not concern themselves too much with the aspirations of French-speaking compatriots.

Official Bilingualism

The social and political events of the sixties and seventies — the demands of Quebec, the proceedings and recommendations of the B and B Commission, the federal reaction, assertion of the political, economic and cultural will of Francophones,

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[1] See Muriel K. Roy: "Peuplement et croissance démographique en Acadie" in Jean-Daigle : Les Acadiens des Maritimes: études thématiques, Centre d'études Acadiennes, Moncton, 1980, p. 166.

particularly strong in Quebec but no less active elsewhere in the country, all made their mark in New Brunswick. In 1969, the provincial legislature passed its own Official Languages Act, which was to be implemented in stages. With a good deal of sensitivity and generosity, the government further attempted to put an end to persistent tensions by adopting in 1981 an Act which affirmed:

- the equality of the two linguistic communities before the law;
- their right to distinct cultural, social and educational institutions; and
- the government's obligation to promote, equally, the cultural, educational and social development of the two communities.

But there is always a considerable gap between the adoption and implementation of a law. Nothwithstanding the fact that New Brunswick, to its credit, was the only province to follow up on the B and B Commission's recommendation regarding "complementary legislation", Acadians are still considerably less equal than Anglophone New Brunswickers when it comes to obtaining government services in their own language, or for that matter, in equality of access to employment in the provincial public service.

A survey carried out by the CROP organization in 1983 indicated that one-third of the Francophone population was unable to receive satisfactory health and social services in its own language. In response to increasingly noisy protests by Acadians, a number of studies and surveys have been conducted to find ways of correcting this situation. The most notable and comprehensive report so far emanated from a government task force on official languages made up of Bernard Poirier, Michel Bastarache, Robert Kerr and Martin Thériault. Their report, completed three years ago, concludes that Acadian grievances are by and large well-founded, "given that a good number of positive measures implied by the official languages legislation have not been taken because this legislation was not, and still is not, accompanied by coercive provisions that would make it possible to implement it as a whole."

The analysis of the situation in the Bastarache-Poirier report lists many shortcomings. It recommends that the provincial Official Languages Act be reinforced by making municipalities, public and parapublic services, as well as professional associations subject to its provisions. It also advises regionalization of the provincial administration and services and the creation of administrative structures to reflect more closely the linguistic demography of the province. The report takes the view that this is the only way to give real meaning to the principle of linguistic equality which underlies the provincial legislation, and to give effect to the Charter of Rights provisions to which the province so promptly subscribed. This version of linguistic equilibrium has not always gone down well with the English-speaking majority, as we noted in an earlier chapter.

French-Language Education

Happily, education is one area where the notion of equality has been realized more or less harmoniously. Since 1981, New Brunswick has had two parallel school systems for its English-speaking and French-speaking populations. On the whole, the separation works well, except for some rather unusual crossover problems.

Last year's Annual Report highlighted a judicial ruling prohibiting students from enrolling in French immersion programmes if they already had a functional knowledge of that language. It was feared that this decision might lead to a flurry of protests, since there are parents in bilingual families who would prefer to send their children to French immersion classes than to French schools. Although some Francophone school boards are disputing the placement of certain students in French immersion, the fall-out from the ruling has not been as serious as anticipated. The prevailing feeling is that problems of this kind can be dealt with on a case-by-case basis and that further references to the courts on the issue could only result in a more widespread and divisive resort to tests to determine who is entitled to what kind of schooling, a solution which would not go uncontested.

Shared facilities also lead to conflict. Friction arose in Nackawic, for instance, when two portable classrooms were set up behind the local English junior high school to provide facilities for 30 Francophone students who would otherwise have had to be bused to the *École Ste-Anne* in Fredericton. Many Anglophones felt that the money spent on mobile classrooms should have gone to fixing up the English Nackawic elementary school. Conflicts aside, the enrolment in French-language elementary and secondary schools was 47,100 in 1984-85, compared to 53,101 in 1977-78. Meanwhile, enrolment in immersion has almost quadrupled over the last six years to reach 12,906 in 1984-85.

At the post-secondary level, the *Centre universitaire de Shippagan de l'Université de Moncton*, has signed an agreement with the New Brunswick Department of Health to provide English and French second-language immersion courses to about 285 employees of a new regional hospital in Campbellton. The Bathurst Community College has also shown an encouraging increase in its own enrolments — from about 500 in 1976 to approximately 1,100 full-time and 4,000 part-time students in 1984, an indication that more and more Francophones are taking their professional training in French.

By virtue of two agreements signed between the federal Commission of Employment and Immigration and the provincial Department of Labour and Manpower, a total of about $1.8 million will be invested in the expansion and modernization of several of New Brunswick's community colleges. About $1.4 million will go to the community college campuses at Moncton and Dieppe, to buy equipment for aeronautical maintenance programmes to be given in English and French, and the rest will provide additional equipment for the Bathurst Campus. The New Brunswick government, for its part, has approved $4 million in start-up funds for a new French language community college in Dieppe, to be completed in 1987.

Living in French

New Brunswick has two French-language television stations, six radio stations, as well as one daily and five weekly newspapers. The French-language television broadcasts are watched regularly by about a quarter of the Acadian population and radio broadcasts by about a third. About 55 per cent of Acadians read mainly French-language newspapers.

Despite their history and their present difficulties, New Brunswick's Acadians form a dynamic community. Thanks to its cultural riches and the vigour of its institutions, it is, of all the French-language minorities, the one with the best chances for a flourishing future.

Ontario

There are few places in Ontario without a French presence. Fed by successive waves of arrivals from Quebec, Francophone settlement was built up mainly during the latter half of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth. French-Canadians coming to settle in Ontario had "a sense of moving within their own country ... they quickly transplanted their social, cultural, and even economic institutions and environment ... parishes, schools, cooperatives, community banks."[1] Franco-Ontarians well understood the value of their institutions and have often been called upon to defend them. This was especially difficult between 1912 and 1968, when French had little or no status, even as a language of instruction. The education question continues to be a prime issue for Franco-Ontarians, as witness the school struggles of recent years, notably in Sturgeon Falls, Windsor, Penetanguishene, Iroquois Falls and Mattawa.

The number of Franco-Ontarians has grown from the 425,302 reported in the 1961 census to a total of 475,605, but their proportion of the provincial population has declined. Francophones today make up no more than 5.5 per cent of the whole population of Ontario, compared to 6.8 per cent in 1961. There are nonetheless fully 20 of 54 census divisions where the French mother-tongue population represents over 15 per cent of the local total. On the other hand, there are only two sub-divisions which are predominantly Francophone — Prescott and Russell, both in eastern Ontario — and it is naturally in these districts that the incidence of language transfer is lowest, at five per cent. In all other districts, with the exception of Glengarry, also in the east, and Cochrane in the north, the rate of language transfer is more than 20 per cent. Even in the heart of the National Capital, in Ottawa-Carleton, language transfers affect one-quarter of the Francophone community, a statistic to give pause to any language planner. As of 1981, the overall incidence of language transfer was 33.9 per cent, an increase of four percentage points since 1971. But the impact of assimilation does not show up simply as statistical data. It is the very identity of Franco-Ontarians that is being progressively weakened, in both adults and children. The social infrastructure established by the first Franco-Ontarians has not been enough to counteract the pull of an Anglophone milieu, especially in areas where Francophones are few in number.

Making Bilingualism Official

Ontario has yet to heed the B and B Commission's recommendation that the province, like Quebec and New Brunswick, adopt institutional bilingualism in its laws, legislature and courts. The province has opted instead for a gradualist approach that has produced slow but significant progress in the development of government services in French. At the same time, it has to be said that Ontario still does not provide its French-language citizens with either guarantees or services equal to those enjoyed by Anglo-Quebecers.

Government Services

The Office of the Provincial Co-ordinator of French-language Services is responsible for developing and implementing government policy. The Co-ordinator is supported in this task by advisors in a number of departments whose job it is to define

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[1] Ontario Ministry of Education, *Explorations et enracinements français en Ontario, 1610-1978*, 1981, p. 149. (our translation)

the needs of the French-speaking public and see that the required institutional capacity is developed. The toll-free *Renseignements-Ontario* telephone network also supplies information in French about government services and programmes. The province's judicial system has made significant gains, especially since 1976, in terms of opportunities to be tried in French, bilingual forms, translation of statutes, development of lexicons, and the training of lawyers. It is certainly not unheard of for provincial services in French to be at least as available in certain regions as their federal equivalents, if not more so. The fact remains that constitutional recognition of the language rights of Franco-Ontarians would serve to dispel the community's impression that the services which government provides are essentially privileges and, as such, subject to the fortunes of politics. In this connection, Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos, in *Voices from French Ontario*, quotes a Sudbury lawyer:

> [Francophone clients] already feel vulnerable because they have been charged with something. They think they are asking a favour when they ask for a trial in French. So although many cannot speak adequate English, they will still agree to be heard in English.

A 1983 study by the CROP organization confirms Franco-Ontarians' hesitation to seek services in their own language. Even while pronouncing themselves satisfied with the availability of services in French, most Francophones will frequently resort to English when it comes to using social and health services.

Federal Services

It is from the Ontario region — more precisely from the National Capital area — that we receive, year in, year out, the largest number of complaints. This does not mean that the availability of services is worse there than elsewhere; it more probably means that Franco-Ontarians have been learning to expect nothing less than good service. Federal services in the northern and eastern regions barely make the grade, while elsewhere they are very poor. If a customer expects to find active offer of services in French in these areas, he or she risks frequent disappointment.

French-Language Education

Education is one area which offers a more promising prospect for the Franco-Ontarian community. One expects no less in a province with more than 93,000 students in French-language programmes and 63,000 others in French immersion. Last June's Court of Appeal ruling in favour of the French-Canadian Association of Ontario was the event of the year where minority language education was concerned. This landmark confirmation that the provisions of the Education Act concerning the number of students necessary to form a French-language class were inconsistent with section 23 of the Charter of Rights is one that other provincial education authorities and minority associations have been looking at very carefully. Another important aspect of the judgement was the finding that Francophone parents should have a major say in the management of minority-language schools.

A long-delayed bill to amend the Education Act, to guarantee French-language education to *every* Franco-Ontarian child, was passed in December. The Government had also promised to enact, in time for the municipal elections in November 1985, legislation which would ensure the election of Francophones to school

boards which have a significant number of minority students. However, the government tabled its bill on minority school management the day before the legislature adjourned in December, and the proposal simply died on the order paper. Choosing a new government leader, and the possibility of spring elections, render the prospects of imminent reform doubtful. This question has been discussed for years now, and we can only hope that a resolution will not be much longer in coming.

Another significant development was the Premier's announcement that, starting in 1985, public funding would be available for grades 11 to 13 in Roman Catholic high schools. Many Franco-Ontarians are worried about the implications for French-language secondary schooling. For years, they have fought for homogeneous French-language high schools, as opposed to mixed English-French schools, and have obtained a number of them under public school boards. The concern is that some French-speaking secondary students may return to the separate school system, which could weaken French public schools and might even bring about the revival of mixed schools. The Province's position may thus confront some parents with a choice between language and religion. There will be more need than ever for sensitivity and flexibility in working out suitable solutions on a local basis.

On the post-secondary front, advances were modest. York University's Glendon College established a new bilingual department of mathematics, and added to the number of other courses it offers in French. On the whole, however, Ontario's post-secondary opportunities in French remain patchy. What is more, of the approximately 9,000 students enrolled in full-time French-language university programmes, 90 per cent are at Ottawa University. And in spite of that, Francophones are in a minority at that school. Its French-language offerings are mainly in the faculty of arts and social sciences, within which 60 per cent of the programmes are available in French. Engineering and the sciences are taught largely in English, and only two programmes out of 21 are offered entirely in French: urban planning and physical education.

The fact that the Francophone enrolment rate in post-secondary studies is half that for non-Francophones, and that a good number of Franco-Ontarians pursue their university studies either in Quebec or in English-language schools, is cause for reflection. The task force on French university schooling in Ontario asked itself some interesting questions in this regard, noting in its interim report of June 1983 that:

> ... growth in university courses in science and engineering, in French, could become a key factor in encouraging a change of attitude among high-school students, not just towards the sciences and engineering, but also towards health sciences (including medicine, for which the sciences are currently the normal entry).

One thing is certain: more courses in French will be needed if we expect to offer a future for Franco-Ontarians in key professional sectors such as these.

Living in French

Compared to other provincial minorities, Franco-Ontarians have considerable access to written and electronic media in French: one French-language daily and

ten weeklies, the *Radio-Canada* and TV Ontario networks, which reach virtually all Francophone residents, plus *Radio-Québec* and TVA programming in certain areas. In addition, TVFQ, a network transmitting programming from France, should be available in Ontario soon. Despite this relative abundance, French-language media still cannot stand up against their English counterparts. A majority of Franco-Ontarians read English newspapers and tune in to English radio and television, and this inclination shows no sign of lessening.

But the Franco-Ontarian community now has some cultural and institutional means to further its development. The wealth of writers, theatre companies, cultural centres, voluntary and professional associations and festivals, all speak for its vitality. This being said, official recognition of this collective survival instinct and the enshrinement of linguistic equality between English and French would be a major psychological boost.

No overview of the Franco-Ontarian situation would be complete without mentioning the position of French in metropolitan Toronto. The vitality of the French fact in the Queen City is quite a bit greater than one might think from looking at 1981 census data, which record not much more than 20,000 people who speak mostly French at home, or not even one per cent of the population. It is, however, worth adding that about 30,000 Anglophone students are enrolled in French immersion programmes in the metropolitan Toronto area, and the 1981 census shows 233,460 Torontonians who can speak both English and French. Preliminary surveys by the *Conseil des organismes francophones du Toronto métropolitain* (COFTM) also seem to have identified decidedly more French-speakers than did Statistics Canada. Needless to say, numbers like these can significantly alter one's outlook on the future and dynamism of the Francophone community in Ontario's capital. While clearly no cornucopia, the institutional infrastructure for living in French in Toronto is taking shape: schools, government services, community centres, theatre, newspapers, cinema, radio and television. While it is too soon to speak of a linguistic transformation, Toronto will certainly be a place to watch in coming years.

Manitoba

When Manitoba joined the Confederation in 1870, English and French were given equal status in the courts, legislature and statutes of the province by virtue of section 23 of the Manitoba Act. In 1890, however, the provincial legislature declared English to be the sole official language of Manitoba, the confessional school system was dismantled, and French schools abolished. The Laurier-Greenway pact of 1896 re-established the right to French language education wherever a minimum of 10 students could be assembled, only to be followed by the Thornton Act of 1916 which, once again, prohibited the teaching of French in public schools. This right was slowly reintroduced only after 1947. In 1967 French was recognized as a language of instruction, and in 1970 it regained its equality with English for that purpose. Finally, the Manitoba law abolishing institutional bilingualism was declared to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1979.

If, in 1870, the province's small population was composed about equally of Anglophones and Francophones, by 1951 the 54,199 French-speaking Manitobans represented only 7 per cent of the total population. Although their numbers crept up to 60,899 in 1961, since 1971 the Francophone population has been shrinking. In 1981 it was only 51,990 (5.1 per cent). Furthermore, the rate of linguistic transfer had risen from 36.9 per cent in 1971 to 44 per cent in 1981. In St. Boniface, the census division which contains the largest number of Franco-Manitobans, the proportion of language transfers is now over 50 per cent.

Still unresolved is the question of granting practical and legal recognition to French as an official language of the province. The Government's proposal to amend section 23 of the Manitoba Act, reached in consultation with the Franco-Manitoban Society, was set aside following the unhappy results of several referenda held in 1983. As a result, the Supreme Court of Canada is faced with the difficult task of defining the nature of the constitutionally guaranteed rights which were granted to the Francophones of this province and of saying how these rights are to be enforced.

Government Services

In 1980, the provincial government created a secretariat to co-ordinate French language services within provincial institutions. Although health and social services are sometimes offered in French to the minority community, their quality often leaves much to be desired. We are still a long way from the linguistic equality implicit in the Manitoba Act.

French Language Education

The School Act of 1980 provides that French-language classes must be set up where there are at least 23 pupils and establishes the French Education Bureau with responsibility for the teaching of that language. This year, some 5,200 students are enrolled in French classes in elementary and secondary school, compared with 10,500 students in immersion programmes.

No visible progress was made on the question of minority control of French-language schools in the past year. The events of the last two years and the expectation of a decision in the Supreme Court Reference on institutional bilingualism for Manitoba have not made this the best of times for a fresh look at minority-language education rights in the province. Credit is due to the *Fédération provinciale des comités des parents* for continuing to work quietly within the community on the issue of minority education structures, but for the moment the authorities are waiting for the other judicial shoe to drop.

In spite of these problems, Manitoba is becoming a leader in finding ways to make technological advances serve the interests of minority-language education. Funds are being invested in micro-computer software that is custom-made for Franco-Manitoban schools, in videotapes, self-teaching courses and an accelerated introduction of computers into French-language classrooms. These might help solve some of the problems of small or isolated schools and of providing an appropriate variety of courses in the minority language.

Living in French

Use of French is not particularly widespread in the daily life of Franco-Manitobans. The language of the media, sports and recreation, as well as of provincial, federal or social services, is overwhelmingly English. But, in spite of having to fight a number of battles at the same time, the Franco-Manitoban community is doing its best to develop ways of working in French and to have more frequent access to French language services. The Joseph-Dubuc Institute, which comprises about thirty lawyers after just one year of existence, is trying to promote French-language legal services and to provide its members with documents and work instruments in that language. The St. Boniface Community College, for its part, has developed French software for a computerized course in accountancy, specifically designed to meet to the needs of small businessmen and farmers.

These signs of life are cause for optimism. But, in the final analysis, the future of the Franco-Manitoban community must depend to a large extent on the federal and provincial authorities agreeing on concrete actions to meet its legitimate aspirations.

Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia

The situation of the Francophones communities in these three provinces gives cause for concern. The 133,000 or so inhabitants who have French as their mother tongue make up less than two per cent of the population. Half of them no longer use French as their principal language in daily life. Scattered over a vast area, and almost without any support, these communities can exert little political weight. Of the 63 federal ridings in the three provinces, only four have a French-speaking minority of more than five per cent (Peace River and Athabasca in Alberta, and Prince Albert and Assiniboia in Saskatchewan). Given Canada's history, the fragmentation of Francophone communities to this point is hardly surprising. A brief look back in time helps make the point.

In 1877, the North-West Territories Act was amended to permit the use of French and English before the courts and in the debates of the Territorial Council. In 1892 the Legislative Assembly adopted a resolution to make English the sole official language of the Assembly. However, that amendment seems never to have been proclaimed and some legal experts maintain that Saskatchewan and Alberta, created out of the territories in 1905, are therefore bound to recognize French as an official language within their legislative assemblies and courts. The *Mercure* and *Lefebvre* cases, in Saskatchewan and Alberta respectively, are based on the argument that the language guarantees of the original territories are still in force in those two provinces. The two cases are now before the appeal courts.

Saskatchewan

In Saskatchewan, there were 36,815 French speakers at the beginning of the 1960's. In 1971 there were 31,605, but by 1981 only 25,320, or 2.6 per cent of the total population, remained. Of these, no more than 10,090 use mostly French

at home, some 33 per cent less than in 1971. In other words, the rate of language transfer has gone from 51.9 per cent to 63.4 per cent over the last debate. Without outside help, only the energy of its leaders prevents the gradual extinction of this community.

Alberta

After a period of gradual losses, Alberta's French mother-tongue population appears to have taken a turn for the better. It grew almost 25 per cent between 1971 and 1981, from 46,500 to 60,900. However, these numbers are deceptive. About 10,000 Francophone Quebecers were attracted to Alberta by the economic boom, but the migration is now reversing itself. This temporary influx makes the language transfer data misleading. Though the 1981 transfer rate is only 3.1 per cent higher than that of 1971 (57.0 per cent compared to 53.9), there is every reason to fear that the rate is considerably higher for native-born Franco-Albertans. There are now only two census divisions where Francophones exceed five per cent of the population. Twenty years ago, 10 per cent of the population of those two divisions gave French as their mother tongue.

British Columbia

Although Francophones occupy an important place in the history of this province, French has never enjoyed official status in British Columbia. However, one should remember that:

> ... up to the end of the nineteenth century, it was in part thanks to French-Canadians that all the forts, towns and villages of British Columbia were founded. The first to plough the Fraser Delta and to plant the first orchard in the rich fruit-growing Okanagan Valley, these pioneers were at that time a numerous and homogeneous group representing, around the 1850's, about 60 per cent of British Columbia's population[1].

Between 1941 and 1981, the French mother-tongue population in the province more than quadrupled, from 11,058 to 46,615. On the other hand, its size relative to the total population remained more or less stable during the same period, fluctuating between 1.3 and 1.7 per cent. More than half of British Columbia's Francophones (23,320 people) live in the census divisions of Greater Vancouver, Capital, and Thompson Nicola; however, even in these divisions, they make up only two per cent of the population. In no census division do more than five per cent of residents have French as their mother tongue. At 72 per cent, the level of language transfer is very high.

In fact, if one believes the gloomy predictions of the demographers, Francophones in these three provinces are destined to an irreversible decline unless there are

[1] Catherine Lengyel, Dominic Watson: *La situation de la langue française en Colombie-Britannique*, Conseil de la langue française, Quebec 1983, p. 17.

major changes in the way language reform is pursued. A recent study strikingly underscores the size of the problem:

> To make up for losses due to language transfer (in these regions), the average number of children born to each woman would have to be just over 5.5. Even then, this number would only just suffice for population replacement. While a fertility rate of that magnitude is not a biological impossibility, in present conditions it is socially unrealizable.[1]

Government Services

At the federal level, reports from our regional offices indicate that, with few exceptions, services are poor throughout Saskatchewan. In Alberta, Air Canada and Canada Post, to mention no others, continue to behave like impenitent sinners. In British Columbia, things are no rosier, though some institutions, such as the RCMP and Employment and Immigration, have made efforts to ensure the availability of service in French.

On the provincial front, none of the three provinces legally guarantees services in the language of the minority; the provision of such services is thus a matter of accident or whim. The CROP poll made public in 1983 revealed that scarcely three per cent of Francophones who contacted provincial departments or agencies were able to obtain service in French. At the federal level, the proportion was only 18 per cent. In sum, in these three provinces, the only sector in which Francophones have a right to services in their language is education.

French Language Education

Recognition of the right to be taught in French is quite recent. In Saskatchewan, it was only in 1968 that the School Act permitted the establishment of designated schools. In Alberta, teaching in French was not permitted by law until 1970, while in British Columbia, the *programme cadre de français* has been in existence only since 1979.

In Saskatchewan, the law provides that French shall be the language of instruction in all schools designated for that purpose, according to terms and conditions laid down by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. In practice, two types of designated schools are recognized: type A, where all instruction is in French; and type B, where French is the language of instruction for 50 to 80 per cent of class time. In 1984-85, there are 759 pupils enrolled in type A schools at the elementary and secondary levels and 5,044 pupils in type B schools.

There is heated debate over the issue of administrative control of minority-language education in Saskatchewan. Early in the year, the *Commission des écoles fransaskoises* presented to the Minister of Education a detailed proposal for a province-wide French-language school board. This one board would administer all the minority-language schools scattered across the province. The proposal provides for a considerable measure of control by parent committees. After studying the issue at length, the Minister decided not to accept the proposal, giving as her reason that it would lead to too much loss of local autonomy in the school dis-

[1] Réjean Lachapelle, Jacques Henripin, *La situation démolinguistique au Canada, évolution passée et perspective*, l'Institut de recherches politiques, Montreal 1980, p. 170.

tricts. Meanwhile, the provincial Minister of Justice expressed the opinion that Saskatchewan's school legislation was consistent with the Charter of Rights and that no legislative changes were necessary. The only good news to emerge in this case was that a committee composed of Francophone representatives and Education Ministry officials will continue to study the school board question to come up with compromise solutions.

Hopes for French-language education at the post-secondary level in Saskatchewan are focused on *Collège Mathieu* in Gravelbourg. This independent residential secondary school has long symbolized the survival of French-language education on the Prairies. An expansion project has been developed which merits the serious attention of the federal and provincial governments; it involves the establishment of secretarial and other community college programmes, offering some university-level courses in French and opening a cultural and pedagogical resource centre.

The Alberta government has at last agreed to distinguish between minority-language education and French immersion for Anglophone children. The new protocol of agreement for federal funding of official languages in education stipulates that per-pupil contributions must be calculated separately for minority and immersion pupils. For these purposes, Alberta has identified 1,200 Francophone pupils in 10 schools for the 1984-85 school year.

In Calgary and Edmonton, the Roman Catholic separate school boards responded to the requests of Francophone parents for the establishment of Francophone schools. Last September, the *École Maurice Lavallée* in Edmonton opened its doors to some 250 pupils from kindergarten to grade 6. In Calgary, 130 Francophone pupils began their new school year at *École Saint Antoine*. Despite these signs of progress, the question of a right to education in French is far from being settled. Franco-Albertans hope that their constant representations will be listened to and that forthcoming amendments to the School Act will contain something by way of guarantees. Negotiations to date, however, have given them more cause for frustration than for hope.

Despite the most severe educational budget restraints in the country, British Columbia's *programme cadre* for Francophones, created five years ago, enjoyed a modest increase in enrolments in 1984-85. A notable event of the year was the official opening of the province's first all-French school, *École Anne Hébert* in Vancouver, with 160 pupils.

The Ministry of Education also appointed a co-ordinator with specific responsibility for minority-language education. Not all developments were positive, however. *Programme cadre* parent committees in several communities are unhappy about the unavailability of transportation. They feel that a constitutionally-guaranteed right to education is of little use to the child who cannot get to school. A further problem for the programme cadre is the difficulty of concentrating sufficient numbers of students to set up secondary school classes.

Living in French

With the exception of education and some cultural activities, Francophones in the three provinces we have been examining live their daily lives almost exclusively in

English. Only a tiny minority of Francophones, for example, watch French television. It goes without saying that the great majority of Francophones use English at work. Clearly, only a major restructuring of the reform effort could hope to give these Francophone communities the means to survive, to hold together and to develop.

The Northwest Territories

1,230 people, or 2.7 per cent of the population of the Northwest Territories, have French as their mother tongue. Almost 70 per cent of Francophones live in the Fort Smith census division. Here, as elsewhere, language transfers from French to English occur at a high rate — over 54 per cent, on the basis of the 1981 census.

1984 was an important year for Francophones in the Northwest Territories. As of June, French and English have enjoyed equality of legal status. To date this development has had no educational repercussions. Although French immersion is available in Yellowknife, there are as yet no French-language school programmes intended for the Francophone minority of the Northwest Territories.

Yukon

According to the 1981 census, 525 people, or 2.3 per cent of the Yukon population, had French as their mother tongue. Nearly two-thirds of the territory's Francophones are concentrated in Whitehorse. The very high rate of language transfer, 69.5 per cent, testifies to the great difficulties faced by the Francophone community in preserving its linguistic and cultural heritage.

After a year of persistent lobbying, Francophone parents won the first French-language school in the North. It opened in September with 34 pupils in a wing of a Whitehorse school which also houses French immersion, native language, and regular English programmes — a microcosm of Canadian language education in one building!

Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland

The roughly 45,000 Francophones in these three provinces no longer make up more than three per cent of the total population; their communities are dwindling. In Prince Edward Island, for example, the Francophone community is only half the size it was in 1941. It is also on the decline in Nova Scotia, where the 35,695 Francophones in that province now represent 4.2 per cent of the population, compared to 6.1 per cent 30 years ago. In Newfoundland, only 2,690 or 0.47 per cent of the population claim French as their mother tongue, and only 1,100 of them use French most often at home.

Government Services

There is no doubt that the decline of these communities is attributable, at least in part, to the reluctance of various governments to give the least legitimacy to the use of French. In none of the three provinces does French enjoy official status, and delivery of services in that language is more often than not unreliable. If the situation has improved at the federal level, it is far from having achieved the results one would expect after 15 years of official bilingualism. Little wonder that only 23 per cent of the Francophones in these three provinces ask for federal services in their first language or that the proportion falls to eight per cent when it comes to asking for provincial services.

Minority-Language Instruction

Education is the only area in which French appears to have made some progress.

Newfoundland

In Newfoundland, there are 450 French-speaking children of school age, most of them in Labrador City and the Port-au-Port peninsula. Up to now, there has been no provision in the Education Act for minority-language education. In negotiating the recent bilateral federal-provincial agreement for minority-language education funding, however, the Newfoundland government has come up with a curious definition of "Francophone student." Considerably more limited than the mother-tongue provision in section 23 of the Charter, it distinguishes between two types of students. The first has a Francophone parent or guardian, speaks French in the home, and understands French when registering for a French-language programme. The second is of French origin and resides on the Port-au-Port peninsula.

Such distinctions do not change the fact that, apart from one school in Labrador City, there are no French schools in Newfoundland. French-speaking youngsters do, however, have priority for entry into immersion programmes. Although a French programme was to have been set up in Mainland (Grand'Terre) in September 1984, a partial immersion programme for kindergarten, with one-third French instruction, was provided instead. The good news is that the school board plans to extend immersion to grades one and two next fall and will investigate the possibility of setting up a French school for pupils from kindergarten to grade six. In the meantime, enrolments in the French school in Labrador City continue to decline. The Secretary of State and the provincial government have dug deep into their pockets to supply additional teachers and to maintain the quality of French instruction, but the fate of the school is by no means certain. Both federal and provincial governments have a special duty to guarantee, at the very least, essential educational services.

At the post-secondary level, the opening of a Bilingual Resource Centre at Memorial University is scheduled for September 1986. The Centre will offer supplementary classes in French, research facilities, a library and some translation services. Its board will include representatives from the Secretary of State, the Francophone Association of St. John's, Canadian Parents for French, the Francophone Federation of Newfoundland and Labrador, the French Department of Memorial

University, and the Newfoundland Teachers Association. We would like to think that such a group might also contribute to putting the minority community on its feet. Without some such initiative, it looks highly vulnerable.

Nova Scotia

Last October, in what we understand to be the first of several rounds, the Minister of Education officially designated 10 Acadian schools, all of them under the jurisdiction of the Clare-Argyle School Board. The announcement followed an amendment to the Education Act, passed earlier in the year, which allows Cabinet to designate and fund Acadian schools. This amendment caps the 1981 legislation establishing French as a language of instruction in Acadian schools and the regulations of 1983 that laid out the nuts and bolts of the programme.

Already in place at the elementary level, the Acadian programme will be gradually extended to the secondary level over a six-year period, by incorporating one year at a time. Negotiations are also under way to set up Acadian schools under the jurisdiction of the Inverness and Richmond school boards. Cape Breton Francophones have also requested an Acadian school.

Laudable though these initiatives are, the Acadian Federation of Nova Scotia is still concerned about the control and use of funds destined for Acadian schools. It wants Acadians to have effective management control within the school boards where they are a majority. This seems to us, too, to go with the territory.

Prince Edward Island

Among the 94 recommendations submitted to the Education Minister by the School System Review Committee last October, were several directed to the development of French-language education. The key proposals were: that all French-language schools be placed under the administration of the Evangeline School Board in Unit Five; that a distinct section be established within the Curriculum Division of the Department of Education to provide assistance to French-language schools; that the Department help to establish a professional development plan for upgrading and retraining teachers to work in a Francophone environment; and that the minimum number of students needed to justify French-language facilities be reassessed. For the moment, the Minister has accepted the recommendation that a Steering Committee be set up to develop a detailed implementation plan by early 1985.

The question of "where numbers warrant" may have to be settled in the courts. A number of parents in the Summerside-Miscouche area are contesting the School Act provision which stipulates that a minimum of 25 children over three consecutive grades are needed to set up French classes. Parents feel this requirement is too rigid to reflect their needs and wish to reduce the quota to eight students per grade, without the consecutive qualification. There is some hope that the basic

logic demonstrated in the Ontario Reference case will hold good here: one cannot make a constitutional commitment of a reformist kind and not be prepared to provide the kind of facilities that are needed to make it stick.

Living in French

The cultural life of these communities attests to their vitality. Among notable local events are the Winter Carnival in Newfoundland, the Acadian Festival in the Evangeline region of Prince Edward Island, and Francophone festivals in Halifax and Chéticamp in Nova Scotia. The place of French in daily life, however, is limited. Few Francophones in these provinces are used to French-language media, whether it be television, radio or newspapers. Opportunities to use French in the workplace are few and far between. Even if the situation of French in these three provinces is somewhat less in question than it is in Saskatchewan, Alberta or British Columbia, only the most concerted federal-provincial action can offer new hope to these communities.

The Challenge: Getting It Together

There is more to language retention — or what the sociolinguists call language loyalty — than population numbers, legal rights, institutional opportunities and majority attitudes. Canada is full of examples to show that the real linguistic vitality of a group, its will to retain a command and use of its own language, even in the most adverse circumstances, is linked to its sense of belonging to a larger community and its hope for eventual majority acceptance. The preceding pages show that there have been few occasions in the history of Canada's Francophone minorities to justify such a hope.

The human geography of Canada's official-language minorities is not, as we have seen, a single homogeneous space. Regional circumstances make it difficult to map out appropriate measures of support, and impossible to even think of symmetrical treatment without infinitely more provincial goodwill. But we have reached a point in massaging Canada's English-French neuralgia when we either have to put up or shut up. The way things have been going, *all* our official-language minorities are now — in varying degrees and for various reasons — under pressure to abandon the unequal struggle and conform to majority linguistic mores. In this chapter, we will consider what means we have used and could use to prevent the sort of English-French split that could still occur, and what forms of bilingualism are still possible for Canada.

What the Minorities Say

Governments clearly need to do a good deal more; the official-language minority communities and their representative associations will settle for nothing less. For many Francophone communities outside Quebec, the outlook is decidedly grim, and yet, from the smallest to the largest, they continue to demonstrate a remarkable will to live. In every province, as well as at the national level, they are working out strategies, developing initiatives, organizing meetings, and lobbying the different levels of government about their needs. These communities are not at all interested in becoming a museum piece, to be displayed in the "cultural curiosities" corner. They ask simply that French become current beyond the confines of home and neighbourhood, that it be legitimized in various sectors of daily life: in education, communications, constitution, and public and para-public services, as well as in business, sports and recreation.

There are, of course, priorities. In the area of education, Francophone communities ask not only that education in their language be available, but that it be provided in homogeneous French schools which are as far as possible under Francophone management. In the communications field, they are calling for a broader choice of French-language programming, but they also seek more local and regional programming, which will reflect community circumstances and needs. The importance which the communities attach to this area is borne out by their many and frequent representations on the subject to the CBC and the CRTC.

Having subscribed to the hopes offered by language reform, Francophones outside Quebec expect that theory to be translated into reality. Which means that the availability of federal services in French needs to be less of a toss-up than it is in many provinces at present; and that the federal government work out ways of co-operating with the provinces to ensure that services in French be available in health and social areas, in the administration of justice, in sports and recreation, indeed across the basic gamut of government services.

The Federation of Francophones outside Quebec

It is impossible to talk about the official-language minority communities without emphasizing the absolutely vital work done by their associations and federations. The Federation of Francophones outside Quebec co-ordinates the activities and interventions of the various provincial associations and is their recognized representative in dealings with the Federal Government. This last year, the Federation began establishing systematic ties with organizations such as Alliance Quebec, Canadian Parents for French and a number of ethnocultural groups, to explore with them the possibilities for making common cause in certain areas.

Every province outside Quebec has at least one association whose task is to defend and promote Francophone minority rights vis-à-vis its local governments. But there are numerous other organizations which represent the regional and sectoral interests of French-speaking minorities. The efforts of these groups lend cohesion to the Francophone presence, sensitize public and government opinion to community needs, and co-ordinate initiatives. In large part, these groups are financed, by the Department of the Secretary of State. In addition to receiving federal help, however, the French-speaking minorities are assisted by the Quebec government, which provides professional services, technical aid and grants for specific projects undertaken by the minority organizations. These expenditures last year amounted to some $500,000. The French Government, for its part, has particularly close ties with the Acadian communities. Thanks to efforts by the National Acadian Society, scholarships are now available to Acadians who wish to pursue their studies or further their professional development in France.

Obviously, censuses, surveys and statistics do not tell the whole story. They fail to reflect the determination of Francophone communities to preserve their linguistic and cultural heritage. It can be pointed out, and rightly, that these communities are at different stages of development and that, in certain provinces and regions, their future is uncertain, to say the least. The question remains whether anyone can assume the right to draw the line and decree that one community or another no longer has a viable future and that there is therefore no point in providing the institutional support it is entitled to.

Anglo-Quebecers are in quite a different situation. Historically, their vitality has scarcely ever been in doubt, and they early established the social institutions essential to living in English. Numerically strong in a number of communities, they made up 50 per cent or more of the populations of Montreal, the Eastern Townships and the Outaouais region in the late nineteenth century. In short, they had a prominent role in the development of their province.

The story of the post-war period, and particularly of the last 20 years, has been that of the transformation of a powerful English-speaking community into a provincial minority. Notwithstanding a degree of protection, under the Constitution Act of 1867, which Francophone provincial minorities generally do not have, the condition of the community has suffered considerably, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This is at the heart of the concerns expressed by English-speaking community associations, be it Alliance Quebec, Townshippers, the Voice of English Quebec, the Outaouais Alliance, C.A.S.A., or others.

The associations have tried to counter provincial moves towards official unilingualism by seeking increased recognition of the community's existence, of its right to English-language services, and of the appropriateness of using more than one language in at least some sectors of daily life. The community has been particularly active in lobbying for constitutionally guaranteed access to schools and in trying to maintain the network of social institutions which was built up over the years.

But critically important work has also been done in an area which is less tangible, but no less essential: the realm of attitudes. Anglo-Quebecers have increasingly closed ranks to declare more clearly than ever their recognition of—and support for—the French fact in Quebec, and in other provinces, as well as their increased commitment to individual bilingualism. These attitudes have led to new links being forged with the Francophone community, premised on active support for its concern about its own cultural survival, and on the proposition that the protection of French need not be at the expense of the long-standing Anglophone presence in Quebec.

Federal Initiatives

It would be wrong to suppose that, amid all the pressures toward linguistic conformity, the regional minorities have been left entirely to their own devices. The federal government has, since 1969, accepted a special responsibility for providing these communities with various forms of financial, technical and moral support in the effort to retain their linguistic identity.

The Official Languages Act, and particularly its bilingual districts provisions, held out the hope to the minorities that federal services — and perhaps even those of other governments as well — would be obtainable in their own language, if not immediately, then relatively soon. This slender straw was promptly backed by other programmes. Less than two months after the promulgation of the Official Languages Act, the Secretary of State tabled in the House the federal response to

the recommendations in Volume II of the B and B Report, dealing with Education. While observing that much of this field was under provincial jurisdiction, the Minister accepted the Commission's opinion that the federal government had an important role to play. "From our standpoint", he said:

> . . .this entails the development and encouragement of programs to reinforce and advance the use of the two official languages across the country. More specifically, it relates to twelve of the Royal Commissioners' recommendations which are addressed directly to the federal government. We also believe that it involves a concerted effort in co-operation with the provinces to ensure that full advantage is taken of the widespread desire, not only to ensure equal rights to the official minority language communities, but also to encourage second-language learning.

In the event, those programmes covered aid to minority-language education, teacher training, expenses for out-of-province post-secondary education, scholarships, exchanges and a formula for transfer funding in aid of second-language education. Over the last 15 years, these programmes have cost the federal treasury over $2 billion to promote the official languages in education.

But federal assistance has not stopped there. Over the same period, the Secretary of State's department has provided $137 million in contributions to minority-language associations, $15 million in aid to the public and private sectors, and perhaps another $10 million for other initiatives, such as translation of provincial statutes, court challenges, and the like. The 1983-84 and 1984-85 federal costs of these programmes are enumerated in Table B.1 in the Appendices to this Report.

The federal government also turned to other cultural agencies, like the CBC and the National Film Board, to express its sense of duty toward the regional minorities, as well as to the national majorities. Since 1968, the Broadcasting Act, for instance, requires that the national broadcasting service:

> (iii) be in English and French, serving the special needs of geographic regions, and actively contributing to the flow and exchange of cultural and regional information and entertainment, and
>
> (iv) contribute to the development of national unity and provide for a continuing expression of Canadian identity.

In practice, the Corporation has, in the course of the last 10 years, used its Accelerated Coverage Plan to bring radio and television broadcasts in their own language to virtually all the official-language communities of 500 people or more across the country. The phasing in of satellite technology could make these services an incomparable instrument of minority-language support between now and the year 2000.

Besides giving the provincial minorities an opportunity to hear and watch programmes in their language, CBC/Radio Canada has been making efforts over the last five to ten years to introduce regional programming in that language. In 1984, there was a substantial nucleus of regional production in Moncton, Quebec City, Toronto, Winnipeg and Regina and smaller satellites elsewhere. In spite of recent

major cuts in the Corporation's budget, government would seem to have accepted the importance of maintaining as much of this network of regional production as possible, however shoe-string it may be. Indeed, the new Minister of Communications has indicated government's intention to introduce as quickly as possible fresh and imaginative ways of responding to the needs of the official-language communities in this area, in collaboration with the provinces. This is a very hopeful sign. Until recently, the National Film Board was also encouraging regional production, albeit on a much smaller scale. However, with the advent of a new film policy, the future of that form of federal support to regional minorities is, unfortunately, very much in question.

At a very rough estimate, the Federal Government may be spending in the order of $300 million a year in all forms of institutional support to the million and a half English-speaking and French-speaking Canadians who are, regionally, in a minority situation. Provincial contributions, outside New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, are almost exclusively in the form of minority- and second-language education programmes. Whether we are talking about judicial or government services, or about first- or second-language education, there is probably no clear-cut way to determine what part of provincial expenditures is specific to the *supplementary* support that linguistic minorities need and how much is service that would have to be provided to provincial taxpayers in any event. What needs to be emphasized is that, in seven out of nine predominantly English-speaking provinces, neither the complementary provincial legislation nor the supplementary aid to the minorities which was supposed to parallel federal efforts has gone significantly beyond the formal recognition of minority-language education rights contained in Section 23 of the Charter of Rights. As the preceding chapters have shown, it would not be unfair to say that these seven provinces have put their official languages eggs entirely in the educational basket, and many of those eggs in the second-language half of it.

Characteristically, then, what can a French-language community outside the Sault-Moncton bilingual belt really depend on to keep its language alive? A smattering of French radio and television, in most cases not locally produced; an occasional service in French from federal institutions, but not on any consistent or reliable basis; schooling in French that ranges from 70 or 80 percent down to 50 per cent or less, and which is more likely to be in a bilingual or immersion setting than in anything describable as a "minority language education facility" as this term has recently been defined in Ontario. Provincial services are in the overwhelming majority of cases not available in French, or purely as a favour from an employee who can use that language. Except in Manitoba and the Territories, Francophones do not have the *right* to be heard in criminal or civil proceedings in their own language. In short, outside Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, what might be called serious operational incentives for French retention are virtually confined to broadcasts and schooling of some sort.

Evaluating Community Response

The demographic data for 1971 and 1981 confirm the commonsense hypothesis that indications of assimilation or language transfer are strongest where the population is thinnest and institutional and practical support is weakest. Even within a

bilingual province like New Brunswick, the French retention rate is highest in those parts of the province where Francophones are most concentrated and their language rights most completely operational. Manifestly, official-language choices vary according to the social context as a whole and not simply according to the relative availability of this or that institutional support. The retention of English or French in a minority situation — and even the apparent will to retain it — varies in accordance with three factors:

- the relative density of the minority population;
- the range and relevance of the institutional supports available to it;
- the historical or traditional status and use that language has in that specific environment.

Analysis of CROP study

It was in that light that the Secretary of State's Department commissioned studies by the CROP organization in 1982 to look more closely at how the official-language minorities react to the relative availability of government services and other institutional opportunities to use their preferred official language. The results, published in 1983, make curious reading and require very careful interpretation.

Tabulated responses to questions concerning the language used when dealing with the two levels of government, and how satisfied the client was with these transactions, would seem to show that Francophones outside Quebec are *more* satisfied with *less* use of their own language than Anglophones in Quebec. However, all our own studies show that, on the whole, federal service in English in Quebec is more readily available than an equivalent service in French outside Quebec. The CROP study also shows that only 42 per cent of Francophones outside Quebec use French when dealing with federal institutions. The figure for Anglo-Quebecers using English is 89 per cent. Yet both groups were about equally "satisfied." When dealing with provincial institutions the use of the minority language was 28 per cent outside Quebec and 40 per cent in Quebec. In this case, however, 81 per cent of Anglophones were dissatisfied, while only 50 per cent of Francophones felt that way.

Before anyone jumps to the conclusion that Francophones outside Quebec are temperamentally much readier to forego their "language rights" than Anglo-Quebecers, it is crucial to put these findings in the wider sociological context. The expectations and "satisfaction" rates that we see here are themselves the results of environmental conditioning. Where service and institutional support in the minority language has traditionally been in the poor to nonexistent range, the linguistic vitality of that language is already depleted and the norms of linguistic behaviour are heavily tilted toward the majority language. It is no accident that many Anlgo-Quebecers were and are unilingual, while to be Francophone and unilingual outside Quebec or Northern New Brunswick is almost freakish.

What we are looking at is a manifestation of what amounts to a sociolinguistic law that **language expectations are directly proportional to the availability of language rights and language services: the more you have, the more you want to hang on to what you have.** The problem raised by this law is, however, a political one: whether to go with the tide and to take from them that have not even

that little they have, or to recognize once and for all that the linguistically deprived have *more* call upon our institutional ingenuity, not less. It is not the role of governments to save people against their will, but it must be clear from the preceding chapters of this Report that governments working together, outside the arena of legalistic recrimination, could do much much more to encourage and respond to the minorities' will to save themselves. This would also enable those Canadians who wish to, to move from province to province without giving up the use of their own language.

Co-ordination of Federal Support

For simplicity's sake, one can separate out a number of strands in the reformist role that the B and B Commission assigned to the Federal Government and which the government, for the most part quite explicitly, accepted.

- Development of a federal administration that would both redress the balance between Canada's English-speaking and French-speaking majorities and provide comparable or equivalent services to official-language minorities, according to their regional concentration and legal situation.

- Direct federal support through development of a national broadcasting system that would reach virtually any significant concentration of English-speaking or French-speaking Canadians in their own language.

- The use of federal seed-money and promotional activities to induce other levels of government and private-sector institutions to join in a collective programme of constitutional, legal and practical reforms that would equalize the linguistic choices available to both official-language communities, according to their "regional circumstances".

As we look at the portraits of the minorities and at the indications of actual choices, expectations and wishes that are provided by their own stated goals and by the CROP study, we cannot help asking why the total federal effort seems to have been so uneven. Even the national broadcasting system, which at least has the advantage of being able to mobilize modern technologies to meet urgent cultural needs, has just begun to show its potential as a plausible linguistic support. The immediate outcry by minority groups — fully supported by this Office — when it was feared that budget cuts at CBC would slice into the tender shoots of regional production spoke volumes for both the value of the service and its precarious position among national broadcasting priorities.

Without pretending the federal house is now in wonderful order, there is some cause to think the dust of generations is coming under control within the bilingual regions of Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick. Even so, the official-language minorities remain seriously under-represented in federal institutions in those three provinces, and federal services are not always up to scratch. Outside those provinces the federal performance, with rare exceptions, does not make the task of inducing other governments or private-sector players to adopt "appropriate measures" of minority-language support any easier.

In practice, it has to be said that the whole federal approach to that *promotional* dimension of language reform has lacked something in coherence, in completeness, and, some might add, in conviction. The bulk of the federal effort has been devoted to three sectors: education, the judicial framework, and radio and television. All three are undoubtedly important, and Canadians have much to be grateful for as regards the federal role in building into our Constitution the equality of our official languages and the right to minority-language education. We would simply observe that — thankful as we are to have these provisions in the Charter of Rights — they tend to draw attention to other gaps in the federal ledger.

To persuade the provinces to apply federal financial aid to more adequate minority- and second-language education or, in two or three provinces, bilingualism in the courts, is no easy feat. We do not wish to minimize these achievements. The fact remains that the even more difficult tasks of getting all federal parties speaking with a single and persuasive voice and selling to the provinces the advantages of practical recognition of French or English "rights" have scarcely been attempted in any co-ordinated way. So long as the Secretary of State's Department was seen to be shelling out federal millions for linguistic causes, other co-ordinating agencies — not to mention individual departments — have for the most part simply shied away from the central question of whether the various kinds of federal intervention actually made up an adequate and integrated approach to equalizing the chances for both official-language minorities.

The experience of the last 15 years is conclusive on one point: you cannot legislate linguistic fair play, you can only cultivate it where it grows and try to get it to spread. The challenge that faced the federal powers fifteen years ago was to persuade the English-speaking majority not just that fairer treatment of French was a political *sine qua non* for a united Canada, nor even that it might correct historic injustices, but that linguistic tit-for-tat in a large and pluralistic country is the least painful strategy that any of us can adopt. There can be no lasting, linguistic justice for Canadians without the active collaboration of consenting majorities — both English and French.

Although there are a few hopeful signs that government is ready — at the highest level — to listen more carefully in future to representations from the minority communities, the trouble at present is that too little has been done to get a majority of ordinary Canadians to overcome their feeling that official bilingualism is imposed by some over-zealous 'them' and is not an honest expression of the democratic 'us.' How much of this is bad press, bad management or bad conscience, let the reader decide. The point is that this is the heart of the problem to be tackled, and why we enthusiastically support government's intent to involve "the two levels of government ... in supporting official languages minorities."

We either know or can fairly readily find out what conditions are *most* favourable — or least unfavourable — to the linguistic vitality of minorities, and they are not necessarily the same for both groups. Governments that are serious about offering official-language minorities real linguistic options have to agree to work together to make the best use of their joint resources. An unco-ordinated approach is likely to be wasteful *as well as* ineffective. Based on the situations described above, we urge both levels of government to waste no time in

developing the most co-ordinated and cost-efficient plans possible, given "regional circumstances", for promoting the retention of French and English in minority situations.

We therefore recommend that government develop its Throne Speech commitment in the following ways:

- by reviewing the components of the federal strategy for supporting those minorities to make it more complete and to ensure a more integrated approach to its management;
- by having the Privy Council Office much more substantively and consistently involved in co-ordinating federal policies in this area, so that it plays essentially the same role as it plays in other fields of federal-provincial concern;
- by consulting and working with willing provinces and other influential parties, especially in the private sector, to develop practical inducements for minority language retention that go beyond education, the national broadcasting network and the judicial framework;
- by continuing government efforts to persuade Ontario to establish constitutionally the institutional parity of English and French in Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick that was recommended by the B and B Commission;
- by ensuring that federal budget cuts are not made directly or indirectly at the expense of the official-language minorities;
- by putting federal expertise, whether in technology, administration or public information, at the disposal of interested governments, both for minority support projects and to get the majorities involved in a positive way; and eventually
- by working out formal plans for ongoing federal-provincial collaboration in support of minority-language maintenance, either bilaterally, multilaterally or in groups.

PART V

An Integrated Approach

Proposals: The Means of Renewal

What does our fifteenth anniversary message boil down to? Basically, the analysis in this Report can be reduced to five points.

- Notwithstanding significant progress on several major fronts, implementation of federal official languages policy is still incomplete within the public service.

- It is necessary to revitalize the programme of reform launched 15 years ago with the Official Languages Act, to renew its commitment to effective linguistic equality at the federal level, and to involve willing partners in appropriate support to the official-language minorities.

- Renewal requires a more integrated approach that respects specific competencies but does not let jurisdictional, sectoral or organizational divisions get in the way of complementary action; it also implies better co-ordination, both of policy and application, among federal agencies and between them and other authorities.

- The basic reference point in an integrated approach must be the needs and aspirations of the Canadian public; those needs should be addressed directly, by working with the various communities and their local authorities and institutions.

- A more sustained dialogue between Canadians of all backgrounds and regions, through formal and informal encounters, would help to clarify relations between language groups and dispel fears about the relationship of language programmes with other social concerns; greater government support should be given to institutions and associations which promote grassroots dialogue of this kind.

We now wish to bring together the principal suggestions and recommendations arising from this Report. This list does not cover all detailed recommendations on specific issues, but chiefly those which are central to our call for renewal of the programme. As far as possible, they therefore follow the two major dimensions of reform. First, that which directly concerns the federal government itself, as having overall political responsibility, as a major supplier of services to the public, and as Canada's largest employer. Second, as it concerns the federal duty — in conjunction with other levels of government and the private sector — to provide institutional support to the official-language minority communities across the country.

In the Speech from the Throne last fall, the Federal Government signalled its determination to achieve progress on both these fronts. It affirmed its commitment to ensuring that the equality of status guaranteed by the Official Languages Act and the Constitution is respected in fact, not just in law, and undertook to co-operate with provincial governments in support of official-language minorities. We believe that the recommendations which follow would be helpful in fulfilling those commitments.

I. FEDERAL ROLE

Strategy and Co-ordination

- **Active political leadership is the *sine qua non* for ongoing reform. Clear and sustained political direction is essential to success, at the level of both the general public and the bureaucracy; ministers should seek opportunities to promote linguistic duality both in principle and in practice.**

- **Given Parliament's role in adopting the Official Languages Act and its symbolic importance in all aspects of national life, it is regrettable that French and English have not achieved equality of status as languages of work in the administration of Parliament. We therefore urge the Senate and the House to improve the opportunities for the use of French in their internal administration, and to correct imbalances in the participation of the two language groups among their employees.**

- **Given the still incomplete application of the Official Languages Act within the federal administration and the need to match these efforts more effectively with support for bilingualism beyond the public service, we believe the entire official languages programme warrants regular policy co-ordination at the level of both senior officials and ministers. Government should consider bringing co-ordination of federal policies and programmes in the field of official languages more substantively within the purview of the Privy Council Office.**

- **Deputy Ministers and other heads of institutions can, by virtue of their position, exert considerable influence over the institution's performance in official languages. Although the achievements of these officials in promoting language reform is in principle an element in the annual appraisal of their performance, we believe greater and more specific accountability is needed. We therefore recommend that Deputy-heads be directly accountable to the Prime Minister for the institution's progress in official languages.**

- **Also vital to translating the theory of reform into practice are the official languages secretariats within most institutions, which are responsible for day-to-day monitoring and advice. These front-line experts**

are a sometimes underexploited source of ideas and experience, and there is a danger that, in the move to decentralize and integrate the official languages programme, their role may not be given the prominence it deserves. We therefore urge that the mandate of these secretariats be reinforced and that government take full advantage of the contribution they can make to continued progress.

Programme Management within the Federal Administration

- Treasury Board, the Public Service Commission and other federal actors should review the medium-term institutional capacity needed by the public service to meet its official languages goals, and experiment with and evaluate various administrative options for meeting them.

- Although Parliament spelled out that Crown corporations are subject to the Official Languages Act, the more autonomous administrative status of these institutions has left some of them to carry out and monitor official languages programmes as they see fit. Steps are needed to bring the linguistic performance of Crown corporations under more active scrutiny by government and to ensure that they report their progress to Parliament in ways that are standardized with regular departmental reporting.

- The regional distribution of bilingual and other positions is often inconsistent with declared programme goals or rules. The process should be reviewed in relation to public needs and official-language priorities.

- Until such time as our education system produces a good flow of bilingual candidates, there will continue to be a need to provide second-language training to some public servants at public expense. We recommend that government develop language training options and incentives that would place more emphasis on the individual trainee's motivation and responsibility for acquiring and retaining appropriate skills, and that would improve the cost-effectiveness of the public investment.

- Our perspective on the bilingualism bonus is based, first and foremost, on our concern that Canadians should be properly served in both official languages. The principle of rewarding employees for special skills is not in itself anomalous. The question is whether a bonus is the most appropriate way of rewarding language skills and whether all its recipients are equally deserving. Since it is not realistic, in present circumstances, to do away with the bonus and still maintain the level of service, we recommend that the bonus be phased down, after consultation with the unions, using a formula which takes into account the salary-levels of recipients and their demonstrated use of both official languages.

- **The volume of unjustified translation, and associated costs, have not responded much to administrative control. We therefore endorse the Treasury Board proposal that volume limits be fixed, on an envelope basis, in the expectation that departmental use of translation will then show a better sense of priorities.**

- **In view of government's difficulty in always providing adequate service to Canadians in the appropriate official language, we recommend that it establish, in consultation with relevant specialists, a research programme on the social psychology of language use, from the client's perspective, in the language-of-work context, and with respect to language transfers. We believe the results of such studies would contribute considerably to the implementation of national language policy.**

Serving the Public

- **Non-active and invisible linguistic service is tantamount to service denied. Central agencies should re-examine the real bilingual capacity of federal offices, and more effectively monitor the visibility, audibility and availability of the services they provide in various regions. It should be mandatory for all federal offices required to serve Canadians in both official languages to offer those services actively and specifically, i.e. to indicate clearly that they are readily available, and precisely where.**

- **Any federal enforcement agency which, by its nature, might intimidate members of the public, has a special responsibility to ensure that it is unfailingly active in offering service in both languages. We recommend that this duty be expressly reinforced under government official languages policy. At the federal level it would apply particularly to courts, policing, correctional and regulatory agencies, customs and tax officers, and so on. Other levels of government may also wish, according to local circumstances, to apply the same principle to their own enforcement agencies.**

- **To achieve a regime of active offer, local managers should be given practical service targets and the means and encouragement to meet them through community consultation and locally-tailored solutions. Central agencies and departmental management should set clear targets, provide the wherewithal, and closely monitor actual results from the client's perspective.**

- **The present system of distributing both English and French short Census forms in only those communities where there are official-language minorities of more than 10 per cent prevents a number of Canadians from automatically receiving Census forms in their first official language. They must then specially request forms in their own language or, more likely, resign themselves to participating in the Census in their second language. We therefore recommend** confirmation of the

decision to adopt a single, bilingual short Census form to ensure that Canadians can, in their own language, fulfill their obligation to answer the questionnaire and at the same time enjoy their right to communicate with government in that language.

- **Anyone who has exhausted other means of obtaining satisfactory service in either English or French, according to the terms of the Official Languages Act and the Charter of Rights, should consider seeking financial assistance under the Court Challenges Programme of the Department of the Secretary of State when asking a court to have his or her rights respected.**

Equitable Participation in the Federal Administration

- **The government should not be lulled by aggregate, system-wide data that indicate global equitability in the participation of the two language groups. Francophones should be better represented in Senior Management, in scientific positions, as well as in New Brunswick and the bilingual regions of Ontario; government measures to ensure that Anglophones are better represented in Quebec should be reinforced, and steps taken to improve their participation in Administrative Support groups.**

Language of Work in the Federal Administration

The movement towards a more equitable use of French in bilingual regions has levelled off. We recommend the following measures.

- **A clearer and more pragmatic statement on expectations, or models, for equitable language use, particularly with regard to communications between employees in bilingual positions, and in terms of hierarchical and group interactions.**

- **Specific and circumstantial directives should be issued within each department and agency detailing how, subject to serving the public in the appropriate language, public servants are expected to communicate among themselves in various organizational circumstances.**

- **Employees of both language groups should regularly be encouraged to discuss practical language-of-work difficulties among themselves and with their supervisors on a cooperative, problem-solving basis.**

- **Senior management must provide active leadership and encouragement by setting the example, individually and collectively, for the uninhibited use of either official language in meetings, correspondence and the general work environment.**

- Departments and agencies should take specific measures to ensure that employees of both language groups have an opportunity to produce, in their mother tongue, a fair proportion of the creative drafting required by the institution.

- A series of micro-level studies, as opposed to analyses of aggregate trends, should be carried out to establish how English and French are actually used among public servants on a day-to-day basis, and what factors in these internal transactions best lend themselves to achieving a better balance of official-language use.

- The possibilities of making more effective use of receptive bilingualism should be further examined, particularly in the context of supervision, where, for one reason or another, some public servants are quite unable to achieve a more active command of their second official language.

- Central agencies should more actively evaluate, co-ordinate and promote those proven initiatives that have been worked out by departments to help balance opportunities to use English and French.

National Capital Region

- Much greater co-ordination and co-operation among the various governments, as well as with the private sector, are needed in order that the National Capital Region effectively reflect the bilingual nature of the country. The federal government should invite representatives from all interested parties to take part in a working group to review the present relationships between English and French and draw up a plan of action to complete the development of a truly bilingual federal capital.

Private Sector

- Citizens deal much more frequently with the private sector than with government. Government should consult systematically with the private sector on public needs and be open to exchanging experience and expertise. As well, government should make available suitable incentives to accelerate progress.

- It is only logical that, when government contributes to private-sector activity via subsidies, or exercises regulatory control, the official-language needs of the public should be taken into account. We recommend that government study the question of how federal authorities could encourage greater linguistic responsiveness in those private-sector activities, and take appropriate action.

- In the event that some Crown Corporations are transferred to the private sector, they should retain the language-related responsibilities they now have.

Official Languages Act

- **The Official Languages Act is more than 15 years old. We recommend that the question of its amendment be reviewed in the light of various proposals made in recent years, including those of the previous Joint Committee and our Office, to determine how it might be updated to take account of the changing situation.**

- **As part of that review, Parliament and government are invited to give particular consideration to:**

  - **replacing the present provisions for bilingual districts with new provisions embodying the same underlying principle of intergovernmental consultation and co-operation;**

  - **embodying in law the principle, contained in the 1973 Parliamentary Resolution on Official Languages, that public servants should, as a general proposition and subject to the requirement to serve the public, be able to carry out their duties in the official language of their choice;**

  - **affirming that mixed enterprises, created by Parliament in the public interest, are subject to the Act's provisions;**

  - **including a more positive reference to languages other than English and French;**

  - **clarifying the nature of the mandate and operations of the Commissioner of Official Languages.**

Joint Committee on Official Languages

The Joint Committee is invited, on the basis of the present Report, to:

- **take a measured look at the overall state of play in language reform, starting from the perspective of the Canadian public, and proceed to an examination of how well government and non-government activities are responding to the needs of the official-language communities;**

- **promote greater compliance with the Official Languages Act by examining, with the heads of the federal agencies responsible, specific impediments or deficiencies raised by the Commissioner in his reports;**

- **develop proposals for achieving the greater federal-provincial co-operation in support of the official-language minorities that was envisaged in the Speech from the Throne; consultations with the private sector and at the local level could usefully be included in this process;**

- **consider a cyclical work plan which would enable it to give concentrated attention to each major aspect of the total programme at least once within a multi-year cycle;**

- **stimulate interest in both Houses on major Committee reports, in order to ensure that Parliament gives language reform the consistent attention it requires.**

II. OFFICIAL-LANGUAGE MINORITY COMMUNITIES

Institutional Recognition of English and French by the Provinces

In considering the kinds of institutional support that were needed by the official-language minorities, the B and B Commission recommended, in essence: that bilingualism of the laws, legislature and courts should apply equally to New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec...; that bilingual districts be defined and established throughout Canada in consultation with the provinces; and that provinces other than New Brunswick, Ontario and Quebec should "provide appropriate services in French for their French-speaking minorities." In adopting the Official Languages Act, Parliament incorporated the concept of bilingual districts; the recommendation covering "appropriate services" was not otherwise acted upon. Keeping in mind the constitutional and other changes that have either taken place or been proposed in the interim, we recommend that the Federal Government use its persuasive powers to achieve the following.

- **Constitutional enshrinement of bilingualism of the laws, legislature and courts of Ontario, as it now exists for New Brunswick and Quebec.**
- **Development in the other provinces of "appropriate services in French for their French-speaking minorities", consistent with the various regional circumstances.**
- **Permanent recognition of the communities and institutions of English-speaking Quebec.**

Given that the judicial impact of institutional bilingualism in Manitoba is under consideration by the Supreme Court at the time of writing, we confine ourselves to the hope that the province's constitutional bilingualism will eventually be translated into practical, contemporary terms through appropriate political and community consultations.

Federal Strategy

- **The Federal Government should review its overall strategy vis-à-vis the various official-language communities to make it more consistent, complete and convincing.**
- **Government should consult with willing provincial partners and private-sector institutions to develop practical, local inducements for minority-language retention that go beyond educational provisions, the national broadcasting network and the judicial framework.**

- **Federal expertise and assistance should be placed at the disposal of interested authorities and institutions, both to support minority-language projects and involve the majorities in a positive way.**

- **Eventually, formal plans should be developed for ongoing federal-provincial co-operation in support of minority-language maintenance, either bilaterally, multilaterally or in regional groups.**

Media and Cultural Support

Electronic and printed media can be the key to maintaining a community's cultural integrity. Many official-language minorities are in some sort of no-man's land in this respect: they have a few media resources in their own language — enough to whet their appetite — but not enough to stem the majority-language tide. Government has indicated its intention to encourage the free flow and exchange of media and other cultural resources. We fully endorse that plan. We also urge it to:

- **evaluate very closely the impact on the English CBC services in Quebec, and on Radio-Canada services elsewhere, of the cuts in the Corporation's budget; and review the possibility of reallocating funds in support of these areas at the earliest opportunity;**

- **ensure that its programme of support for arts and cultural enterprises fully takes into account the special needs of official-language minority communities.**

Demolinguistic Analyses

- **All relevant dimensions of the demographic and sociological data should be carefully examined to see what kinds of institutional intervention in support of the minorities would be most useful and cost-effective within a framework of federal-provincial collaboration.**

Minority-Language Education

- **With appropriate support from the Federal Government, we urge provinces to accelerate and substantiate their efforts to apply both the letter and the spirit of Section 23 of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms committing them to provide minority-language educational facilities that are appropriate to minority needs.**

Education

- **We suggest that the provinces be encouraged to collaborate more extensively and intensively on both minority-language and second-language teaching initiatives and that they mount joint projects on a**

regional basis. The federal government should also step up its incentives and provide technical assistance to promote interprovincial cooperation and a clearer sense of national goals. Specifically, we urge both levels of government to act as positively as possible on the proposal to establish a Canadian Language Information Network for pedagogical purposes.

- Universities are again encouraged to reinstate second-language entrance requirements and develop course offerings to be taught in a second language.

- Activities, such as interprovincial exchanges, which reinforce second-language learning outside the classroom, should receive the sustained attention and support which their contribution to interlinguistic understanding warrants.

Heritage Languages

- We suggest that it may be time to reinforce intercultural relations, clarify the practical implications of the policy of multiculturalism in a bilingual framework, and assist organizations concerned with strengthening the bonds between heritage and official-language groups. We urge the federal government to indicate as clearly as possible the importance it attaches to Canadians' maintaining and acquiring languages other than English and French.

APPENDICES

The Office of the Commissioner: Role, Structure and Activity

The Commissioner of Official Languages is appointed by commission under the Great Seal, after approval of the appointment by resolution of the Senate and House of Commons, for a seven-year term. He and his Office are independent of the Government of the day, and report directly to Parliament through the Speakers of both Houses (see Organization Chart 1). For the purposes of the Financial Administration Act, the Office of the Commissioner is designated a department and the responsible Minister is the Prime Minister under Order in Council 1970-702 of April 21, 1970.

Under section 25 of the Official Languages Act,

> It is the duty of the Commissioner to take all actions and measures within his authority with a view to ensuring recognition of the status of each of the official languages and compliance with the spirit and intent of the Act in the administration of the affairs of the institutions of the Parliament and Government of Canada and, for that purpose, to conduct and carry out investigations either on his own initiative or pursuant to any complaint made to him and to report and make recommendations with respect thereto as provided in (the) Act.

Thus, in addition to investigating over 15,000 complaints, the three Commissioners have, over the years, conducted special studies and audits of all major federal departments, agencies and Crown corporations, as well as of particular aspects of the federal language programme such as language of work.

Under section 34, the Commissioner is also instructed to:

> . . . each year prepare and submit to Parliament a statement relating to the conduct of his office and the discharge of his duties [. . .] during the preceding year, including his recommendations, if any, for any proposed changes in this Act that he deems necessary or desirable in order that effect may be given to (the) Act according to its spirit and intent.

Essentially, the Commissioner has three principal roles. As public protector of language rights, he acts as a linguistic ombudsman, directly intervening with federal authorities for all complaints relating to federal institutions, and referring matters that fall within provincial, municipal or private-sector jurisdiction to the appropriate bodies. As a linguistic auditor, he examines the measures taken by federal institu-

tions to meet the requirements of the Official Languages Act and recommends ways in which weaknesses may be rectified. As an advocate of language reform he does everything in his power to promote and encourage linguistic equity and harmony throughout Canada. Among his interventions last year, for example, was one to urge that CBC budget cuts not be at the expense of services to official-language minority communities. In another case, he opposed abandonment of the quinquennial census slated for 1986, since that would have postponed the next collection of linguistic statistics to 1991. He also worked on reconciling the right of ministers of the new government to be served in their own language with the right of public servants to work in their own language. In fulfilment of the advocacy role, Commissioners have enjoyed the good will of all concerned in establishing a tradition of consulting not only with the federal government, but with the governments of the provinces as well.

Organization

The Commissioner is assisted in his multiple role by a Deputy Commissioner and a staff of some 135 permanent employees, the majority of whom work at head office in Ottawa-Hull and the remainder (20) in five regional offices (Moncton, Montreal, Sudbury, Winnipeg and Edmonton). Head office comprises four components: Policy and Liaison, Complaints and Audits, Information, and Resource Management (see Organization Chart 2).

Functions and Activities (1984)

The Commissioner

The past year was marked by the departure of the second Commissioner, Max Yalden, and the arrival on September 10 of D'Iberville Fortier. Throughout the year, both Commissioners maintained a heavy schedule of meetings with federal and provincial ministers and senior officials, Members of Parliament and Senators, representatives of minority associations, fellow ombudsmen and members of the judiciary. The purpose of such regular contacts is two-fold: to enable the Commissioner to remain abreast of developments touching his mandate; and to provide him with an opportunity to convey his views and press for language reform by decision-makers and those most directly involved in policy implementation.

For similar reasons, the Commissioners met this past year with senior university officials across Canada and with the editorial boards of ten leading English-language and French-language newspapers. As noted elsewhere in this Report, it has long been the position of this Office that the universities have a special role to play in shaping future generations and that the importance they attach to languages bears on the life of the country and Canadians. And we all know what influence the newspapers exert on matters of concern to the public, language included.

Contacts of this scope and variety call for extensive domestic and occasional international travel on the Commissioner's part. In order to derive maximum benefit

from the time spent away from head office, the Commissioner typically combines a visit to, say, a provincial premier and minister of education with meetings with the local minority-language association, a university, and with television or radio interviews.

In 1984, the two Commissioners between them gave major speeches in forums that included the Canadian Institute of International Affairs (New York), the 69th World Congress of the Universal Esperanto Association (Vancouver), the National Symposium on Linguistic Services (held in Ottawa to mark the 50th anniversary of the creation of the federal Translation Bureau), a national conference on minority language rights at McGill University, and a public service celebration of the 15th anniversary of the Official Languages Act. They also attended the Canadian Human Rights Conference, the International Ombudsman Conference and, either in person or by proxy, the annual conferences of Canadian Parents for French, the Fédération des Francophones Hors Québec, Alliance Québec and all the provincial French-language associations. The Commissioner or the Deputy Commissioner also appeared as the principal witness or intervenor at five meetings of the Standing Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons on Official Languages Policy and Programs.

The Commissioner's activities in 1984 included a colloquium in Edmonton in May, the theme of which was "Official Languages: A western Perspective." Organized by the Office and presided over by Louis Desrochers, an Edmonton lawyer and former chancellor of the University of Alberta, and Bruce Howe, President of B.C. Resources Investment Corporation, the colloquium brought together some 85 business people, academics, journalists, politicians, public servants, and minority group representatives in a lively two-day meeting that examined the complexity of a country which calls upon two official languages and many cultures to co-exist in harmony. The proceedings of the colloquium were published in Issue No. 14 of *Language and Society*, the magazine of information and opinion published by the Commissioner.

Policy and Liaison

The Policy and Liaison Branch acts as the interpretive, co-ordinating, and outreach arm of the Office. It provides the Commissioner with analyses of public policies, judicial rulings and local events bearing on the Office or language matters. Five regional offices link federal institutions and their clientele across Canada; they also provide the Commissioner with up-to-date information on provincial and regional language issues and federal language performance in the regions.

Policy analysis in 1984 included a sampling of the capacity of federal offices across Canada to serve the minority official-language population, further analysis of measures for improving language-of-work opportunities, and an examination of how language requirements affect the two linguistic communities in the public service. The policy group also monitored the increasing number of court cases testing the provisions of provincial language legislation and the Constitution, helped prepare the Commissioner's presentations to parliamentary committees and other public forums, and prepared material for parts of this Report.

The presence of regional offices in Moncton, Montreal, Sudbury, Winnipeg and Edmonton means that close contacts can be maintained with official-language minority groups as well as with federal and provincial authorities in all parts of Canada. Regional offices help resolve complaints within their area. Head office staff can call upon the regional officers to provide assistance in organizing national or regional audits of federal institutions. Last year, regional staff helped process and resolve numerous complaints. They participated in 10 national audits and hundreds of mini-audits and follow-ups of federal services. They met a broad cross-section of the public and public servants to present information and advice.

Complaints and Audits

The Office's principal operational arm is the Complaints and Audits Branch, which deals with complaints brought under theAct and conducts language audits of federal departments, agencies, and Crown corporations. The 1,000 to 1,500 complaints received annually fall within the Commissioner's ombudsman function. Part II, chapter 2, reports on complaints received in 1984 and how they were processed. The audits, on the other hand, are conducted on the Commissioner's initiative in fulfilment of his linguistic-auditor role. In addition, the Branch performs regular follow-ups to past audits and major complaints. It prepares annual evaluations of each institution's capacity to meet the requirements of the Official Languages Act.

The Branch comprises five divisions, each responsible for a cross-section of thematically-grouped federal institutions: those serving the traveling public, those with economic portfolios, those with a scientific or technical mandate, and so on. Each officer is responsible for a certain number of institutions, building expertise to deal knowledgeably with complaints and, as required, to co-ordinate audits and studies of the organization to assess its linguistic performance. A secretariat plays a co-ordination role.

In 1984, the Branch received 1,421 complaints (see Appendices, Table A.1), of which 137 were not receivable under the Act. Of the complaints received during the year, or in earlier years, 1,307 were settled with corrective measures taken by the institution in question. The Branch also responded to 134 requests for information on a variety of topics relating to the implementation of the Act. It conducted 28 special studies and audits (see Appendices, Table A.2).

Information

The Information Branch helps the Commissioner to keep the public informed of the provisions and spirit of the Official Languages Act and what is being done to fulfil its purposes. It advises and assists him in encouraging respect and practical support for Canada's linguistic duality. Successive Commissioners have considered information programmes essential tools in fulfilling their duties to Parliament.

The Branch has developed distinct programmes for the general public, young people, federal public servants, and members of the two official-language minority communities. In addition, it publishes a magazine called *Language and Society*, is responsible for the Commissioner's contacts with the news media in all parts of the

country, co-ordinates the preparation of the Commissioner's Annual Report, and provides a library and reference service.

The youth programme seeks to inform young people about the status of English and French in Canada, increase their awareness of the widespread use of both languages throughout the world, and provide them with an appreciation of language rights. The programme has an Advisory Committee whose members are proposed by the Council of Ministers of Education. We are grateful to these provincial representatives for their advice and support. The programme is aimed primarily at young people 9 to 18 years old, but also offers materials for others below and above this age group.

Demand for the Branch's materials for youth remained high in 1984. It was particularly gratifying to note the sustained interest in the *Explorations* and *Oh! Canada 2* kits. In the space of two months, 31,000 copies of a recently-issued record to complement *Oh! Canada 2* were distributed. During the year, the Branch distributed 83,000 *Explorations* kits, 110,000 *Oh! Canada 2* kits and 100,000 posters. This was in response to about 38,000 requests coming from young Canadians and their parents, and from schools and other organizations (see Appendices, Tables A.3 and A.4).

The programme designed for federal public servants informs government employees of their rights and obligations under the Act. A special effort was made in 1984 to encourage public servants to announce the availability of services to their clientele. A counter card stating "English or French, it's your choice" and "A votre service en français et en anglais", and a lapel button carrying an identical message were made available to public servants all over the country. Some 50,000 such cards and 14,000 lapel buttons were distributed . A special poster marking the 15th anniversary of the Act was also made available.

A third programme, directed at Francophone communities outside Quebec and the Anglophone minority in that province, is designed to inform these groups of their right, under both the Official Languages Act and the Constitution, to federal services in their preferred official language, and of the ways in which the Commissioner's Office can assist them. During the past year, the Branch produced a series of public-interest messages at the invitation of French minority groups. They were designed to encourage members of the public to exercise their right to service in their language. The messages were disseminated throughout the country by the groups concerned, using their own publications.

The Branch also produced a number of items for the general public during the year. A special issue of *Language and Society*, the Office's quarterly magazine, appeared in March and was devoted entirely to articles on French immersion. The demand for this issue was unprecedented: to date, requests for 24,000 copies have been received. Another special issue, published in the fall, contained the proceedings of the Office's Edmonton colloquium on language issues in Western Canada. Two half-hour television programmes were produced to commemorate the 20th anniversary of the B and B Commission; they were aired by all TVA stations as well as many CTV stations. The English version won a Silver Award in New York at the International Television Film Competition.

Another important function of the Branch is answering public enquiries about language matters. In 1984, some 4,500 general enquiries and requests for information were handled directly by the Information Branch. In all, the Branch processed some 54,000 requests for information and materials. These include requests for youth materials.

Resource Management

The Resource Management Branch oversees all aspects of the Office's personnel management, assists and advises managers on personnel policies and practices, administers the budget, controls spending, and ensures that material resources are used efficiently and effectively. In light of the Commissioner's independence from the Government and the public service, the Office has been delegated authority for most matters relating to personnel, financial, and resource management.

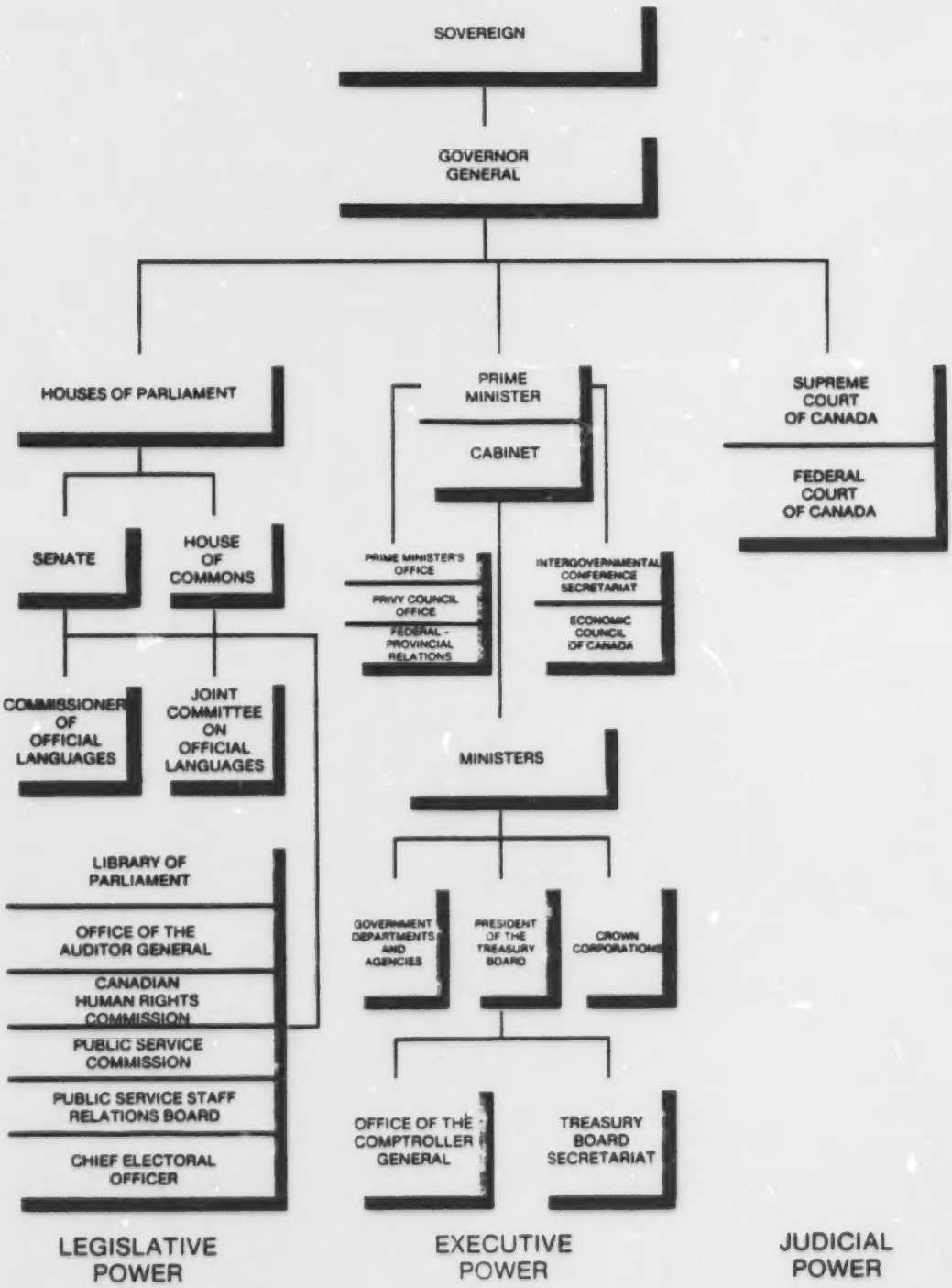
The Branch is responsible for matters pertaining to the Office's budget of $9,994,000 (1984-85), and some 135 permanent employees. Of these 73 per cent are Francophone and 27 per cent are Anglophone; all are bilingual. Fifty-two per cent are women, 48 per cent men. Approximately 60 per cent of the Office's budget is spent on salaries and contributions to employee benefit plans, 26 per cent is allocated to information programmes, and the remaining 14 per cent is used to meet operational and general administrative needs.

In addition to observing Government curbs on spending that were ordered in November, the Commissioner launched a review, at the end of 1984, of certain of the Office's structures, programmes, and activities with a view to ensuring their relevance and efficiency. At the same time, the Commissioner, taking into account the evaluation of the official languages programme as a whole and the Government's apparent intention to take a different approach regarding linguistic issues, has taken new initiatives in order to meet objectives set in this Report.

Conclusion

In the months to come, the Commissioner plans to develop policies to breath a spirit of renewal into language reform, enhancing thereby the equal status of Canada's two official languages promised in the Act. In next year's Report, we shall describe the outcome of this review, the purpose of which, quite simply, is to ensure that the Commissioner and his Office are fulfilling their mandate to protect and promote the language rights of Canadians in the fullest and most effective manner possible.

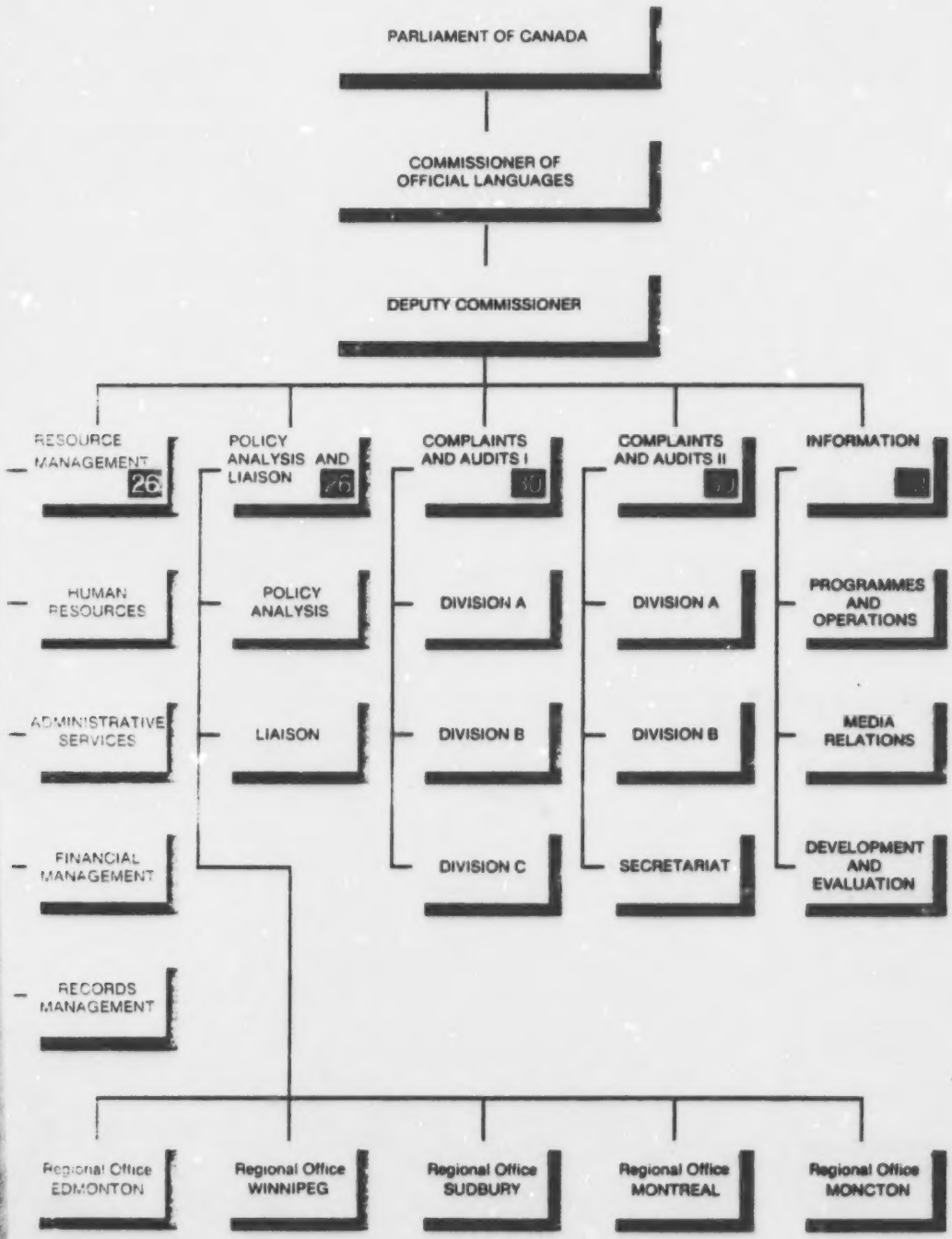
GOVERNMENT OF CANADA
Abridged Organization Chart



OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

2

Organization Chart



COMPLAINTS

A.1

Number of Complaints Received from Each Province, 1970-83 and 1984: Institutions Cited in Complaints and Nature of Complaint For Each Province, 1984.

	1970-1983	1984						
	Total complaints received	Complaints received	Institutions cited		Nature of complaints			
					French		English	
	Number	Number	Federal	Non-federal	Language of service	Language of work	Language of service	Language of work
Newfoundland	47	25	23	2	25	—	—	—
Prince Edward Island	90	67	67	—	66	1	—	—
Nova Scotia	267	97	95	2	96	—	1	—
New Brunswick	1,156	153	116	37	144	1	6	2
Quebec[a]	3,531	245	217	28	72	11	154	3
Ontario[b]	7,157	524	468	56	429	59	25	11
Manitoba	863	151	144	7	146	2	3	—
Saskatchewan	512	58	57	1	57	—	1	—
Alberta	658	52	48	4	50	—	2	—
British Columbia	374	37	37	—	37	—	—	—
Northwest and Yukon Territories	18	4	4	—	4	—	—	—
Foreign countries	91	8	8	—	7	—	1	—
TOTAL	14,764	1,421	1,284	137	1,133	74	193	21

[a] Includes the Quebec portion of the National Capital Region.

[b] Includes the Ontario portion of the National Capital Region.

SPECIAL STUDIES AND AUDITS

A.2

Special Studies and Audits Conducted in Federal Departments and Agencies, 1982, 1983 and 1984.

1982

Atlantic Pilotage Authority
Atomic Energy Control Board
Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
Canadian Centre for Occupational Health and Safety
Canadian Human Rights Commission
Canadian Transport Commission
CN - CP Telecommunications
Defence Construction (1951) Limited
Eldorado Nuclear Limited
Employment and Immigration (Northern Ontario)
Export Development Corporation
External Affairs (posts abroad and passport offices)
Federal-Provincial Relations Office
Finance
Language of Work in the Federal Public Service
National Defence (structure and controls and official languages programmes co-ordinators)
National Revenue (Customs)
National Revenue (Taxation)
Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council
Prime Minister's Office
Science Council of Canada
Standards Council of Canada
Tax Review Board

1983

Aircraft Accident Review Board
Canada Council
Canada Lands Company (Le Vieux-Port de Montreal Ltd)
Canada Lands Company (Mirabel) Limited
Canada Lands Company (Vieux-Port de Quebec) Inc
Canada Post Corporation
Canadian Commercial Corporation
Canadian Cultural Property Export Review Board
Canadian Deposit Insurance Corporation
Canadian Intergovernmental Conference Secretariat
Canadian Patents and Development Ltd
Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographical Names
Cape Breton Development Corporation
Correctional Service
Employment and Immigration Anglophone Participation in Quebec
Federal Court (Administration)
Foreign Investment Review Agency
National Battlefields Commission
Petro-Canada
Public Works
RCMP in New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island
Restrictive Trade Practices Commission of Canada
Seaway International Bridge Corporation Ltd
Secretary of State (Translation Bureau)
Supreme Court (Administration)
Tariff Board
Use of Translation Services

1984

Agriculture (internal services and research and development)
Air Canada (Toronto international airport: language of service)
Air Canada (Ottawa district: language of work)
Anti-dumping tribunal
Auditor general of Canada
Bureau of Pension Advocates
Canada Museums Construction Corp Inc
Canadian Industrial Renewal Board
CN (tower and hotels)
CN (language of work at headquarters)
External Affairs (Headquarters)
Harbourfront
Inspector general of Banks
Justice
Labour
Laurentian Pilotage Authority
Linguistic dealings between five Crown Corporations and their Quebec based suppliers
National Energy Board
National Film Board
Parks Canada
Pension Commission
Pension Review Board
Regional Industrial Expansion (Tourism Office)
Royal Canadian Mounted Police (central administration)
Senate
Social Science & Humanities Research Council
Veterans Affairs
War Veterans Allowance Board

YOUTH PROGRAMMES: DISTRIBUTION

A.3

Number and Percentage of *Oh! Canada 2* and *Explorations* Kits Distributed Upon Request in Each Province, and Size of the 7 to 12 and the 13 to 17 Age Groups in Each Province Expressed as a Percentage of the National Total, 1980 to 1984.

	OH! CANADA 2			EXPLORATIONS		
	Kits distributed[a]		7 to 12 age group[c]	Kits distributed[b]		13 to 17 age group[c]
	Number	%	%	Number	%	%
Newfoundland	17,505	2.5	3.3	9,468	1.5	1.8
Prince Edward Island	4,187	.06	0.6	2,856	0.7	0.6
Nova Scotia	26,960	4.0	3.8	11,457	2.7	4.0
New Brunswick	65,338	9.7	3.4	12,094	2.8	3.4
Quebec	115,316	17.2	23.8	142,545	33.7	22.0
Ontario	283,448	42.2	35.6	158,170	37.4	37.7
Manitoba	29,579	4.4	4.3	13,557	3.2	4.2
Saskatchewan	20,518	3.1	4.3	10,971	2.6	3.3
Alberta	39,890	5.9	9.9	18,494	4.4	9.4
British Columbia	55,573	8.3	10.6	35,903	8.5	11.1
Yukon Territory	778	0.1	0.1	313	0.1	0.1
Northwest Territories	2,686	0.4	0.3	494	0.1	0.2
Others[d]	9,884	1.5	—	9,924	2.3	—
TOTAL	**671,862**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**423,244**	**100.0**	**100.0**

[a] Kits distributed between November 1 [illegible]

[b] Kits distributed between September 22 [illegible]

[c] Derived from figures given in Statistics Canada [illegible]

[d] Kits distributed to federal government departments [illegible] organizations and other countries.

YOUTH PROGRAMMES: COSTS

A.4

Development, Printing and Distribution of the *Oh! Canada 2* and *Explorations* Kits, Number of Copies and Costs, 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82, 1982-83, 1983-84 and 1984-85.

	Development and Printing		Distribution[a]	
OH! CANADA 2	**Number of copies**	**Costs ($)**	**Number of copies**	**Costs ($)**
1979-80	301,508[b]	165,027	—	
1980-81	—		126,944	
1981-82	457,088		174,259	
1982-83	—		196,799	
1983-84	300,000[b,c]		92,014[c]	
1984-85	—		108,000[d]	
TOTAL	1,058,570		698,016	

EXPLORATIONS				
1979-80	201,722[b]		—	
1980-81	—		148,173	
1981-82	130,946		53,517	
1982-83	—		85,142	
1983-84	162,213		78,333[c]	
1984-85	—		79,000[d]	
TOTAL	514,881		444,165	

[a] Includes administration, advertising, evaluation and shipping costs.

[b] Development and printing costs cover two fiscal years.

[c] Figures revised since the publication of the *1983 Annual Report*.

[d] Estimate.

[e] Includes the printing costs for 200,000 additional poster-maps, *Languages of the World* and 100,000 additional brochures, *The Language File*.

[f] Includes the development and production of audio components.

[g] Includes the development and printing of the second edition of the *Languages of the World* poster-map.

[h] Includes the computerization of certain functions related to distribution.

[i] Includes the distribution of audio components.

INTERESTED IN LANGUAGE MATTERS?

A.5 Publications, Audio-visual Materials and Kits for Young People, Produced by the Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages*

PRINTED MATERIALS

Annual Report. A bilingual publication tabled in Parliament each spring. Provides Senators and Members of Parliament as well as the general public with a yearly assessment of progress achieved in the language reform programme begun in Canada 15 years ago. About 200 pages in each language.

Language and Society. A bilingual quarterly magazine for those interested in language issues in Canada and in other countries. Provides a wide range of information and opinion by Canadian and foreign contributors. About 24 pages in each language.

The Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages. A bilingual brochure describing the workings of the Commissioner's office, its mandate and its organization. Four pages in each language.

The Official Languages Act: What Does It Really Say? A bilingual leaflet explaining the Act and the Commissioner's role.

Your Language Rights: How They Are Protected. A bilingual leaflet outlining the rights safeguarded by the Official Languages Act, the Commissioner's ombudsman role and procedures for lodging complaints.

Service in English. Services en français. A bilingual flyer giving examples of federal services available in both languages and the addresses and telephone numbers of the Commissioner's offices. In pads of 50 flyers, each measuring 9 × 22 cm.

English or French it's your choice. A bilingual counter card for departments and public servants announcing the availability of services in both languages. Available in two sizes: 18 × 23 cm or 13 × 16 cm, with a calendar on the back. Decals and pins bearing the same message are also available.

Language Over Time. A bilingual poster giving thumbnail sketches of language developments in Canada from Confederation to 1979. 60 × 84 cm. Will be updated in 1985.

Languages of the World. Languages in Canada. A poster-map which, on one side, illustrates the official languages of more than 160 countries, and on the other, gives data on English and French in Canada as well as on indigenous and heritage languages. 91 × 61 cm.

Indigenous Languages in Canada. A bilingual poster-map giving information on the geographic distribution and number of speakers of some 54 Indian and Inuit languages. 30 × 65 cm.

Two Languages: The Best of Both Worlds. A bilingual poster the theme of which is dramatized in bold colour and design. 53 × 70 cm.

English and French ... in almost half the countries of the world. A bilingual poster showing, on colourful air ballons, the flags of countries where English and French are spoken. A legend on the back identifies the country to which each flag belongs. 48 × 69 cm.

English and French give Canada a special place. Bilingual poster published to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the Official Languages Act. 16 × 25 cm.

FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

Explorations. A [illegible] with three [illegible] components inviting 13 to 17 year olds [illegible] to discover our world's rich linguistic diversity, and to learn about the role of English and French as international languages. In the **Explorations** game, each roll of the [illegible] takes players to another part of the world. Included in the kit is the poster-map **Languages of the World**, **Languages in Canada** (see below) and **The Language File**, a booklet (see below).

The Language File. A booklet which offers a stimulating mix of articles, illustrations and activities about the history and role of languages in our lives. Sixteen pages in full colour.

Oh! Canada 2. A bilingual kit for children from 8 to 12. It includes the **Oh! Canada 2** booklet, 16 pages that begins with a comic strip describing the amazing adventures of Marie-Jeanne, Michel and Geneviève, the mischievous turtle. The following pages contain a fun-filled combination of activities — games, puzzles, mottos and projects. The kit also includes a **Save Geneviève** game in which players travel across Canada to join the cheerful heroine, and a 33 1/3 RPM record called *Telephone*.

Lend an ear. An activity kit for parents and teachers. It includes a 30 minute audio cassette and a user's guide, both of which are designed to encourage 9 to 12 year olds to reflect on the role of language and to get acquainted with the sounds of the second official language.

Save Geneviève. A multicoloured, iron-on transfer of Geneviève, the mischievous turtle in the **Oh! Canada 2** comic strip, ideal for T-shirts. 15 cm in diameter.

Owls Hoot. This colourful bilingual poster illustrates birds and animals and describes the sound each makes in French and in English. 45 × 59 cm. (Illustrated on the other side of this pamphlet.)

Bird Poster. An attractive poster giving the English and French names of a variety of [illegible].

AUDIO-VISUAL MATERIALS[a]

More than Words ... The Official Languages Act. Short film describing the Official Languages Act and what it means in practical terms for Canada and Canadians. Also outlines the Commissioner's role. Useful in seminars and information meetings involving the general public or civil servants. Also available in a French version. 16 mm film or ¾-inch video cassette. Colour. 15 minutes.

Two Languages Together. Describes, with a light touch, the Official Languages Act and the role of the Commissioner. Recommended for training sessions, information meetings and seminars. Also available in a bilingual version, **Deux langues officielles, Why not?** and a French version. Slide show with taped narrative (60 slides and audio cassette) or ¾-inch video cassette. Colour. 7 minutes.

Twice Upon a Time ... Il était deux fois. A humourous look at bilingualism Canadian style. Designed to stimulate discussion and especially useful in seminars. Bilingual. 16 mm film or ¾-inch video cassette. 10 minutes. Colour.

Talking About Languages. Briefly describes information materials available at no cost from the Commissioner's Office. Recommended for information sessions on official languages. Also available in a bilingual version, **Keeping in Touch en deux langues**, and a French version. Slide show with taped narrative (50 slides and audio cassette) or ¾-inch video cassette. Colour. 7 minutes.

Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Twenty Years Later. Commemorates the 20th anniversary of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. Consists of interviews with a number of opinion leaders who evaluate the effectiveness of language reform in Canada. Also available in a French version, *B. B. vingt ans après*. ¾-inch video cassette. Colour. 30 minutes.

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[a] To obtain any of the above publications, please write to the Information Branch, Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, Ottawa, K1A 0T8.

[b] Audio-visual materials can be borrowed from the National Film Board film libraries across Canada, as well as from the Office of the Commissioner.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGES PROGRAMMES

B.1

Spending Estimates and Person-Years Allocated to Official Languages Programmes Outside and Inside the Federal Public Service, 1983-84 and 1984-85.

	1983-84		1984-85	
	Revised estimates ($ 000)	Person-years	Revised Estimates ($ 000)	Person-years
EXTERNAL: PROVINCES, TERRITORIES AND ORGANIZATIONS				
Secretary of State				
• Transfer payments to provinces and territories for language programmes	182,161[a]		204,377	
• Grants to official-language minority groups	21,000		20,658	
• Grants for bilingualism development programmes	1,899		2,377	
• Operating expenditures	2,966		3,946	
National Capital Commission				
• Contributions to external bilingualism programmes	300		300	
Commissioner of Official Languages	9,515		9,994	
Sub-total	217,741		241,652	
INTERNAL: PUBLIC SERVICE AND ARMED FORCES PROGRAMMES				
Treasury Board				
• Official Languages Branch	4,735		4,930	
Public Service Commission				
• Language training	33,901		36,522	
• Administration and other programmes	6,338		3,308	
Secretary of State				
• Official Languages Services[b]	81,869		86,740	
Other departments and agencies	72,311		80,619	
Armed Forces	37,891		42,511	
Sub-total	236,845		254,619	
TOTAL	454,586		496,471	

[a] The 1983 Annual Report broke this amount under two headings: Formula payments to provinces for minority- and second-language education ($ 140,000,000) and Grants for youth-oriented language education programmes ($42,161,000).

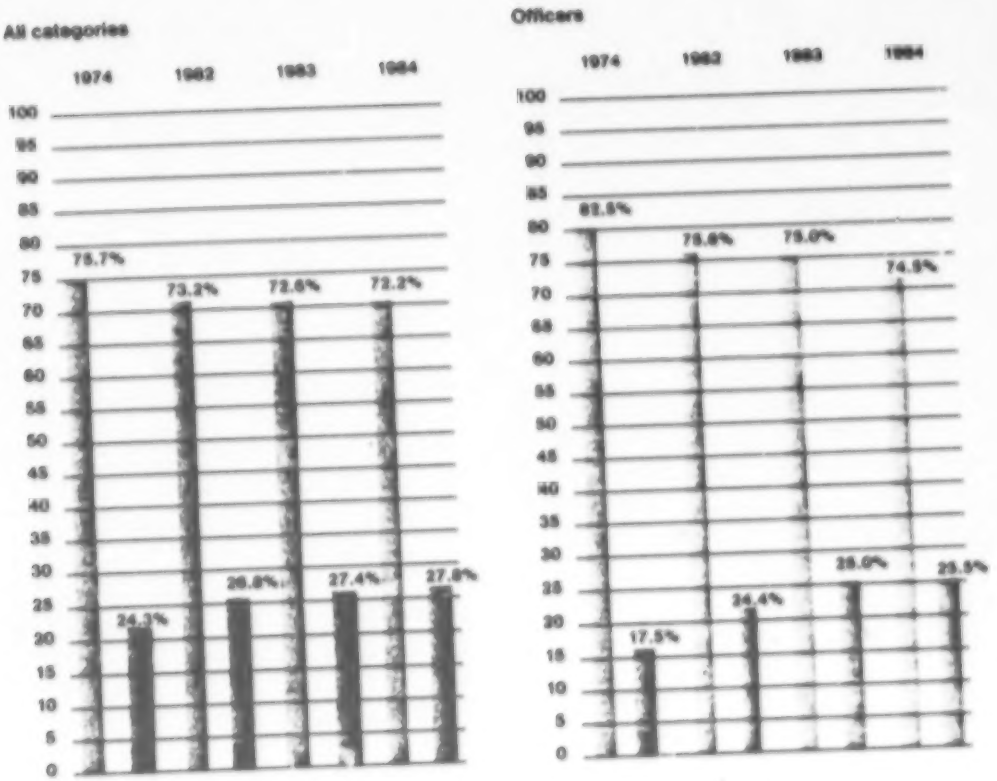
[b] The Translation Bureau is now identified as Official Languages Services.

Sources: Main Estimates and Supplementary Estimates, 1983-84 and 1984-85, as well as reports from relevant departments and agencies.

THE TWO OFFICIAL LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES IN THE PUBLIC SERVICE OF CANADA

B.2

Percentage Distribution of Public Servants by First Official Language[a], All Employment Categories and Officer Categories[b], 1974, 1982, 1983 and 1984



Note: It is interesting to compare the figures in this table with 1965 statistics published by the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, even though they refer to public servants' mother tongue rather than their first official language. The representation of Anglophones and Francophones reported by the Commission in all categories at that time was 78.5% and 21.5% respectively.

[redacted]

[a] The Public Service Commission and the Treasury Board define first official language as the official language (English or French) with which an employee feels a primary identification.

[b] Includes the following categories: Management, Scientific and Professional, Administrative and Foreign Service and Technical.

Sources: Public Service Commission (officer categories) and Treasury Board's Official Languages Information System (all categories).

SECOND-LANGUAGE ENROLMENT, BY PROVINCE

B.3

Proportion of the School Population[a] Studying French as a Second Language in Each of the Nine Preponderantly Anglophone Provinces, and English as a Second Language in Quebec, and Percentage of Time Devoted to Second-Language Instruction, 1970-71, 1983-84 and 1984-85.

ELEMENTARY LEVEL[b]		School population	Second-language enrolment Number	%	Institutions time devoted to second language %
Newfoundland	1970-71	101,877	21,835	21.4	5.0
	1983-84[r]	79,086	36,989	46.7	6.8
	1984-85[c]	75,983	37,538	49.4	7.2
Prince Edward Island	1970-71	16,816	3,561	21.2	8.0
	1983-84[r]	10,792	6,404	59.3	6.3
	1984-85[c]	10,861	6,435	60.4	6.5[d]
Nova Scotia	1970-71	121,884	12,642	10.4	7.0
	1983-84[r]	89,239	41,940	47.0	7.4
	1984-85[d]	90,000	42,500	48.0	7.5
New Brunswick	1970-71	81,988	37,305	60.2	8.0
	1983-84[r]	41,669	29,592	71.0	9.7
	1984-85[c]	39,269	28,837	73.4	9.5
Quebec	1970-71	824,026	339,484	41.2	9.0
	1983-84[r]	595,023	226,670	40.1	10.0
	1984-85[c]	561,800	225,000	40.1	10.0
Ontario	1970-71	1,368,795	514,173	37.9	7.0
	1983-84[r]	1,054,744	661,160	62.7	10.4
	1984-85[c]	1,047,000	661,500	63.2	10.5
Manitoba	1970-71	134,485	39,739	29.6	5.0
	1983-84[r]	95,998	45,832	47.8	8.2
	1984-85[c]	94,400	45,500	48.2	8.0
Saskatchewan	1970-71	133,518	6,950	5.2	7.1
	1983-84[r]	107,877	10,273	9.6	6.5
	1984-85[c]	107,910	12,787	11.8	6.5
Alberta	1970-71	230,420	58,235	25.3	6.0
	1983-84[r]	227,350	48,497	21.3	7.6
	1984-85[d]	225,000	47,500	21.1	7.5
British Columbia	1970-71	333,350	18,558	5.6	5.0
	1983-84[r]	286,410	84,136	29.4	5.3
	1984-85[d]	280,000	84,500	30.0	5.5

Continued

		School population	Second-language enrolment Number	%	Institutions time devoted to second language %
ELEMENTARY LEVEL[b]					
Yukon	1970-71	[illegible]	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1983-84	2,768	1,086	39.2	7.2
	1984-85[d]	2,775	1,078	38.8	7.2
Northwest Territories	1970-71	[illegible]	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1983-84	[illegible]	2,159	23.5	5.5
	1984-85	[illegible]	2,200	23.7	5.5
TOTAL	**1970-71**[r]	[illegible]	**1,052,482**	**31.8**[r]	**7.5**[d]
	1983-84[r]	[illegible]	**1,194,718**	**46.5**	**9.5**
	1984-85[d]	[illegible]	**1,195,375**	**47.0**	**9.5**
SECONDARY LEVEL[c]					
Newfoundland	1970-71	[illegible]	37,895	64.4	10.0
	1983-84[r]	[illegible]	37,117	55.0	11.0
	1984-85[c]	[illegible]	37,317	55.2	10.9
Prince Edward Island	1970-71	[illegible]	10,794	83.0	10.0
	1983-84[r]	[illegible]	7,674	62.2	11.0
	1984-85[c]	[illegible]	7,357	62.6	11.0[d]
Nova Scotia	1970-71	[illegible]	59,955	70.0	13.0
	1983-84[r]	[illegible]	52,367	63.4	12.2
	1984-85[d]	[illegible]	53,800	64.0	12.0
New Brunswick	1970-71	[illegible]	42,708	80.1	12.0
	1983-84[r]	[illegible]	29,688	65.1	14.8
	1984-85[c]	[illegible]	29,051	66.0	14.8
Quebec	1970-71	[illegible]	515,846	100.0	14.0
	1983-84[r]	372,702	365,248	98.0	16.0
	1984-85[d]	[illegible]	362,000	98.0	16.0
Ontario	1970-71	[illegible]	269,079	48.9	13.0
	1983-84[r]	[illegible]	182,820	32.5	13.8
	1984-85[d]	[illegible]	188,400	33.0	14.0
Manitoba	1970-71	[illegible]	55,640	54.5	10.0
	1983-84[r]	[illegible]	36,136	40.5	11.4
	1984-85[d]	92,200	37,800	41.0	11.5
Saskatchewan	1970-71	113,053	77,928	68.9	10.0
	1983-84[r]	88,967	38,033	42.7	9.7
	1984-85[c]	88,151	39,578	44.9	9.8

Continued

SECONDARY LEVEL[a]		School population	Second-language enrolment Number	%	Instructional time devoted to second language %
Alberta	1970-71		80,607		
	1983-84[r]		57,848		11.2
	1984-85[d]		60,400		11.0
British Columbia	1970-71		127,293		
	1983-84[r]		83,396		11.2
	1984-85[d]		90,000		11.0
Yukon	1970-71		N/A		
	1983-84		673		
	1984-85[c]		667		
Northwest Territories	1970-71		N/A		
	1983-84		1,190		
	1984-85[d]		1,200		
TOTAL	**1970-71**		1,277,745		
	1983-84[r]		892,299		
	1984-85[d]		907,850		

[a] Does not include students for whom the regular language of instruction is English in Quebec and French in the other provinces.

[b] Includes grades K to 6, except Ontario K-8; British Columbia and Yukon, K-7.

[c] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[d] Statistics Canada estimate.

[e] Includes grades 7-12, except Ontario 9-13, Quebec 7-11; British Columbia and Yukon, 8-12.

[r] Figures revised since publication of the *1983 Annual Report*.

Source: Statistics Canada, Elementary and Secondary Education Section.

FRENCH IMMERSION PROGRAMMES

B.4

French Immersion Enrolment, Grades in Which Offered and Number of Schools Where Offered, by Each Province, 1977-78, 1983-84, and 1984-85.

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of schools
Newfoundland	1977-78		k to 2; 6 to 8	3
	1983-84		k to 11	11
	1984-85[e]		k to 12	15
Prince Edward Island	1977-78		1 to 4; 7, 8	7
	1983-84[r]	1,[illegible]	1 to 9	16
	1984-85[e]	2,238	1 to 10	19
Nova Scotia	1977-78		p; 1; 6 to 8	3
	1983-84[r]		p to 7, 9	13
	1984-85[d]		p to 9	15
New Brunswick	1977-78		k to 9	34
	1983-84[r]		k to 12	91
	1984-85[d]		k to 12	92
Quebec[a]	1977-78		k to 11	N/A
	1983-84[r]		k to 11	N/A
	1984-85[d]		k to 11	N/A
Ontario	1977-78[f]		k to 8	160
	1983-84[r]		k to 13	552
	1984-85[d]		k to 13	560
Manitoba	1977-78		k to 9	13
	1983-84[r]		k to 12	57
	1984-85[d]		k to 12	60
Saskatchewan	1977-78		k to 8	2
	1983-84[r]	4,[illegible]	k to 12	38
	1984-85[e]	5,[illegible]	k to 12	41

[e] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[d] Statistics Canada estimate.

[a] As in other provinces, French immersion programmes are designed for students whose mother tongue is not French.

[f] Includes only programmes in which French is the language of instruction at least 75% of the time.

[r] Figures revised since publication of the *1983 Annual Report*.

N/A No figures available.

Source: Statistics Canada.

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of schools
Alberta	1977-78	[redacted]	N/A	N/A
	1983-84		K to 12	89
	1984-85[d]		K to 12	80
British Columbia	1977-78		K to 9	105
	1983-84[r]		10 to 12	87
	1984-85[d]		10 to 12	80
Yukon	1977-78			—
	1983-84			1
	1984-85[e]			1
Northwest Territories	1977-78			—
	1983-84			3
	1984-85[d]			5
TOTAL	1977-78			227
	1983-84[r]			203
	1984-85[d]			208

[e] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[d] Statistics Canada estimate.

[r] Figures revised since publication of the *1983 Annual Report*.

N/A No figures available.

Source: Statistics Canada.

MINORITY-LANGUAGE EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

B.5

Enrolment in Programmes Designed to Provide Education in Their Mother Tongue (English in Quebec and French in the Other Provinces), to Members of the Official-Language Minority Groups, Grades in Which Offered and Number of Schools Where Offered, for Each Province, 1970-71, 1983-84 and 1984-85.

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of schools
Newfoundland	1970-71	[illegible]	k to 10[e]	1
	1983-84	103	k to 11	2
	1984-85[c]	180	k to 10	4
Prince Edward Island	1970-71	796	1 to 12[e]	7
	1983-84[f]	519	1 to 12	3
	1984-85[c]	531	1 to 12	3
Nova Scotia	1970-71	[illegible]	p to 12	32
	1983-84[f]	4,470	p to 12	23
	1984-85[d]	4,200	p to 12	22
New Brunswick	1970-71	[illegible]	k to 12	198
	1983-84[f]	[illegible]	k to 12	157
	1984-85[c]	[illegible]	k to 12	157
Quebec	1970-71	[illegible]	k to 11	519
	1983-84[f]	[illegible]	k to 11	407
	1984-85[d]	[illegible]	k to 11	400
Ontario	1970-71	[illegible]	k to 13	381
	1983-84[f]	[illegible]	k to 13	357
	1984-85[d]	[illegible]	k to 13	350
Manitoba	1970-71	[illegible]	k to 12	49
	1983-84[f]	[illegible]	k to 12	31
	1984-85[d]	5,200	k to 12	30
Saskatchewan	1970-71	[illegible]	k to 12[e]	12
	1983-84[f]	768	k to 12	16
	1984-85[c]	758	k to 12	12

[c] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[d] Statistics Canada estimate.

[f] Figures revised since publication of the *1983 Annual Report*.

N/A No figures available.

Source: Statistics Canada.

		Enrolment	Grades	Number of schools
Alberta	1970-71	N/A	N/A	N/A
	1983-84	1,076	k to 9	9
	1984-85[e]	1,280	k to 9	10
British Columbia	1970-71	—	—	—
	1983-84[f]	1,783	k to 9	29
	1984-85[e]	1,810	k to 9	30
Yukon	1970-71	—	—	—
	1983-84	—	—	—
	1984-85[e]	30	1 to 4, 6	1
Northwest Territories	1970-71	—	—	—
	1983-84	—	—	—
	1984-85	—	—	—
TOTAL	**1970-71**			**1,197**
	1983-84[f]			**1,034**
	1984-85[d]			**1,019**

[e] Preliminary figures provided by the Department of Education.

[d] Statistics Canada estimate.

[f] Figures revised since publication of the *1983 Annual Report*.

N/A No figures available.

Source: Statistics Canada.

COMMISSAIRE AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES
COMMISSIONER OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

RAPPORT ANNUEL 1984

- Quinze ans après : relance ou recul
- Les minorités : le défi

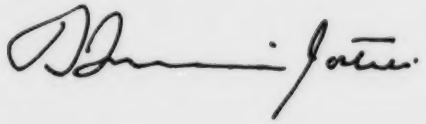
Monsieur le Président
du Sénat
Ottawa

Monsieur le Président,

Conformément à l'article 34 (1) de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, je soumets au Parlement, par votre intermédiaire, le quatorzième Rapport annuel du Commissaire aux langues officielles qui se rapporte à l'année civile 1984.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur le Président, l'assurance de ma très haute considération.

Le Commissaire aux langues officielles,



D'Iberville Fortier

Mars 1985

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de la Chambre des communes
Ottawa

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Le Commissaire aux langues officielles,

D'Iberville Fortier

Mars 1985

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Avant-propos

La réforme constitutionnelle de 1981 avait marqué un tournant pour nos droits linguistiques. La réaffirmation solennelle et circonstanciée de ses principes dans le discours du Trône du 5 novembre 1984, par un gouvernement issu d'une nouvelle majorité parlementaire, a apporté la confirmation d'un engagement politique. De plus on nourrit l'espoir encore fragile que la province de Québec rejoindra la famille constitutionnelle canadienne et donnera ainsi une assise définitive à une évolution amorcée en 1963 par la sage démarche de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme.

La *Loi sur les langues officielles* a 15 ans. Si l'on peut porter à son crédit de remarquables réalisations, il faut bien convenir que les succès ont été partiels, souvent mal assurés et bien en deçà de l'égalité proclamée des deux langues officielles. Qui pourrait nier dans ces circonstances que nous soyons pour ainsi dire à une étape-charnière entre des progrès incontestables et de nouveaux défis qui transcendent les déclarations de principe ? Les réponses que nous apporterons seront révélatrices de notre vouloir-vivre collectif.

La conjoncture de la fin de 1984 nous a incités à retourner aux sources, celles de la Commission B. B. qui constituent jusqu'à ce jour le seul plan d'ensemble dont nous disposions. Son rapport n'est certes pas parole d'évangile, mais on s'étonne de voir comme il a conservé sa pertinence. Il s'agissait d'un menu pour *table d'hôte*. Il a plutôt été utilisé *à la carte* par les divers ordres de gouvernement avec les conséquences que l'on sait. Pourquoi ? Pusillanimité ou difficultés tenant à l'extrême complexité d'une fédération où rien d'essentiel ne peut s'accomplir à l'échelle nationale sans la création d'un consensus ?

Après avoir fait le point, nous nous sommes interrogés sur les voies qui s'offrent à nous pour assurer une réalisation plus convaincante de l'égalité proclamée, seule condition du respect de notre dualité linguistique. Il va sans dire que nous pouvions nous appuyer sur une équipe de collaborateurs aguerris toute entière vouée à la cause.

L'alternative *relance ou recul* s'est imposée à nous comme une évidence. Malgré la détermination du gouvernement fédéral et une évolution des esprits généralement favorable à la réforme du régime linguistique, les obstacles foisonnent. Nous n'en citerons que deux. Çà et là, des flambées d'intolérance rappellent comme il y a loin de l'acceptation résignée de principes généreux à la volonté d'effectuer les changements majeurs qu'exige leur application. Par ailleurs des conflits peuvent apparaître, si le gouvernement n'y prend garde, entre la mise en oeuvre de nou-

velles orientations économiques et budgétaires et la poursuite, avec toutes les ressources nécessaires, d'un dessein national qui n'est pas moins prioritaire. Il faudra pour surmonter ces obstacles et bien d'autres, une vision tendue vers l'avenir, une volonté politique sans défaillance, l'art de convaincre et de rassembler et enfin, l'aptitude à sortir des sentiers battus.

Au-delà des objectifs déjà bien définis, des systèmes assez bien rodés au sein de l'État fédéral, nous sommes en droit de nous demander comment on pourra insuffler ce nouvel esprit plus généreux et plus agissant que réclamait M. Maxwell Yalden au terme de son mandat, sans lequel la réforme risque de s'embourber. C'est aux intellectuels, aux hommes d'affaires, aux médias, aux associations, en définitive à tout le monde que cette tâche incombe dans une société libre. Mais ce sera surtout à la classe politique qu'il reviendra d'assurer le *leadership*, si elle croit vraiment qu'un des éléments fondamentaux de l'identité du Canada, voire de son intégrité, peut en dépendre.

Nous incitons le Gouvernement à poursuivre avec énergie la mise en oeuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Il faut mettre sa maison en ordre en assurant à la réforme une direction politique plus attentive, une approche plus intégrée et en donnant à ses efforts plus de cohésion sur le triple plan de la disponibilité et de la visibilité des services au public, d'une participation de plus en plus équitable à la fonction publique et d'une authentique liberté de choix pour ce qui est de la langue de travail quand celle-ci n'est pas dictée par des impératifs de service.

Le problème de nos communautés de langue officielle en situation minoritaire, déjà grave depuis longtemps, est devenu aigu pour beaucoup d'entre elles. À celui des Francophones répartis dans le pays, est venu s'ajouter au cours de la dernière décennie celui des Anglophones québécois, dans un contexte différent, mais non moins étroitement lié à notre devenir national. Accepterons-nous la polarisation croissante des deux groupes linguistiques, comme si elle découlait des axiomes d'après lesquels « le français a besoin d'être protégé et soutenu au Québec » — ce que peu de gens mettent en doute — et « les majorités doivent être maîtresses chez elles », ce qui ne pourrait s'accomplir qu'aux dépens des minorités? Si notre réponse est négative, la recherche de solutions est urgente.

Le Gouvernement fédéral, pour sa part, devra, comme il s'y est engagé, faire plus et mieux. Il tentera aussi de le faire à moindre coût. Il doit rechercher une coopération plus ample et plus efficace avec les autorités provinciales. Un dialogue plus fourni sur ces thèmes avec le secteur privé ne contribuerait-il pas également au succès de la cause ? Nous avons tout lieu de croire que beaucoup de ses chefs de file sont bien disposés. Ce changement de cap devrait, croyons-nous, recueillir l'adhésion de la grande majorité des Canadiens. Ils semblent accepter de mieux en mieux les conséquences de la dualité linguistique pourvu que l'on tienne compte des particularismes régionaux liés à l'histoire et au droit.

En fonction de cette analyse, on discernera deux grands pôles ou volets dans le présent Rapport en ce qui a trait à l'action gouvernementale. Il y a d'abord le rôle de l'État fédéral comme responsable politique, pourvoyeur de services aux citoyens et premier employeur du pays. Nous lui avons consacré les parties II et III. Elles traitent chacune à sa manière de la mise en oeuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et, un peu accessoirement, de la Capitale nationale.

En second lieu, il est question du rôle de l'État auprès des minorités provinciales de langue officielle. Nous avons consacré toute la partie IV du rapport à la condition minoritaire. Si notre diagnostic n'a rien de réjouissant, il a le mérite de la franchise et celui de placer chacun face à ses responsabilités.

Ces trois sections sont encadrées par la partie I qui dépeint la « scène canadienne », les événements politiques et judiciaires qui ont ponctué la vie linguistique en 1984, l'évolution de l'enseignement des langues secondes de statut officiel, la situation de nos langues « patrimoniales », et l'évolution de l'opinion publique, et par la partie V, qui présente l'ensemble de nos suggestions et recommandations. On trouvera en annexe un bref exposé des activités et du budget du Commissariat.

Pour clore sur une note plus personnelle, je dirai qu'un pays est avant tout appartenance et avenir. Quelles promesses pour nous, Canadiens, dont l'histoire réunit deux des langues les plus illustres et deux des cultures les plus fécondes ! À cet arbre rare sur un fonds aborigène trop longtemps méconnu, sont venus s'ajouter d'autres rameaux bien vivants de la culture universelle. On apprécie peut-être mieux, quand on a passé une grande partie de sa vie au service de son pays à l'étranger, combien nous avons là des atouts et à quel point nous devrions fonder notre réflexion d'aujourd'hui sur une vision ample et généreuse du Canada de demain. Aurait-il une raison d'être, entre l'Europe qui lui a donné naissance et les États-Unis tout puissants, s'il venait à perdre cette confiance en son destin qui seule lui permet de relever le défi d'une vie nationale harmonieuse dans le respect des droits et de l'identité d'autrui ?

Je tiens enfin à exprimer ma reconnaissance pour l'honneur que l'on m'a fait en me confiant la tâche de Commissaire aux langues officielles à la suite de MM. Keith Spicer et Maxwell Yalden. Je leur rends ici hommage pour le magnifique héritage qu'ils nous ont laissé. Ils ont su donner à ce poste un rayonnement national dépassant le champ de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, comme l'exigeait une vue d'ensemble sur une situation aux éléments interdépendants. En déférant aux voeux du Parlement dont je suis mandataire, je me propose de suivre cette tradition de mon mieux et de servir la cause de l'égalité et de la concorde auxquels je suis profondément attaché.

D'I. F.

PARTIE I

La scène canadienne

Quinze ans après : le point

Pour la grande majorité des Canadiens, le bilinguisme officiel n'est sûrement pas une préoccupation de tous les jours. Est-il avantageux ? S'agit-il d'un programme bénéfique et prometteur, ou bien inapproprié et inefficace ? Les vues en la matière varient selon les intérêts de chacun et, pour ainsi dire, le patelin où l'on vit. Mais c'est la tâche du Commissaire de persuader tous les Canadiens que ce programme de réconciliation et de réforme s'inscrit toujours dans l'oeuvre de consolidation nationale, et que les résultats obtenus jusqu'ici justifient une nouvelle mobilisation de nos ressources. Cela est d'autant plus pressant qu'il se pourrait bien que la vie politique canadienne en soit à un tournant.

On est d'abord frappé par le fait que la formule canadienne de bilinguisme officiel, malgré d'importants succès, est encore loin de l'objectif. Que l'on considère uniquement les services fédéraux dispensés en français ou en anglais, ou les moyens accordés aux minorités linguistiques pour leur permettre de survivre décemment, peu de ses réussites semblent totalement inattaquables ou confirmées. Nous avons fait un effort honorable, notamment pour assurer au français la place qui lui revient au Québec et dans la région de la Capitale nationale, mais la tolérance dans le domaine linguistique n'est toujours pas une vertu très répandue ; aussi appartient-il aux responsables de tirer les conclusions et d'agir en conséquence. On a par ailleurs le sentiment que l'arrivée d'un nouveau gouvernement nous offre une occasion extraordinaire d'aller de l'avant et de rendre vraiment irréversible la réforme du régime linguistique. Plus que jamais sans doute, ce programme a besoin d'une direction nette et vigoureuse, que seul un gouvernement est en mesure d'assurer.

Bilan 1969-1984

C'est le devoir du Commissaire d'exposer la situation comme elle est et de dire au Parlement, au gouvernement et à la population canadienne dans quelle mesure selon lui l'idéal et les objectifs d'il y a quinze ans ont été atteints. Ces derniers s'appuyaient bien sûr autant sur une analyse politique que sur un attachement désintéressé aux droits individuels. Constitution ou pas, le bilinguisme officiel demeure une question politique bien actuelle. Selon le voeu de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme (communément appelée la Commisssion B.B.), les pouvoirs publics et les autres institutions devaient consentir un effort concerté pour rétablir l'association linguistique qui avait toujours été à la base de l'existence politique du Canada. Elle a vite compris que cela comportait des sacrifices et des adaptations pénibles pour les deux parties. Voici à ce sujet un passage de l'Introduction générale de son rapport[1] :

[1] Rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, Livre I, page XLI.

> Il est patent que ni les Anglophones ni les Francophones ne prétendent conserver intégralement les valeurs et les modes de vie hérités de leurs passés respectifs. La question est autre et bien plus complexe : il s'agit de préserver des éléments qui soient propres à leurs cultures dans une conjoncture de transformation rapide, qui impose aux institutions de chaque société des modifications et des adaptations incessantes.

Si tout le monde ne convient pas que « ... ni les Anglophones ni les Francophones ne prétendent conserver intégralement les valeurs et les modes de vie hérités de leurs passés respectifs », il est de fait que personne, dans le Canada d'aujourd'hui, ne peut préserver son passé culturel comme une vie en suspens. Ce qui est matière à débat, et qui suscite des affrontements de toutes sortes — comme ceux qui ont marqué le début et la fin de 1984 —, c'est que chacune des deux parties en présence ne démord pas de ses particularismes culturels, ni des idées, parfois changeantes, qu'elle entretient relativement à ses intérêts propres. Voilà la réalité avec laquelle la politique linguistique doit composer.

Dans quelle mesure avons-nous, depuis 1969, restauré les conditions de l'association sans que l'une ou l'autre des deux parties ne se sente lésée, trahie ou contrainte ? Étant donné la situation grave où nous nous trouvions il y a quinze à vingt ans, on peut dire que les Canadiens se sont sérieusement attaqués au problème, sans trop se laisser distraire par la pensée de ce que coûterait cette association. Malgré tout, la situation actuelle reste précaire. Nous n'avons pas fait autant de chemin sur la voie de l'égalité linguistique ou des relations saines entre les parties que nous l'aurions souhaité. Bien sûr les Canadiens de langue française ne jouissent pas encore de la même latitude linguistique que leurs compatriotes de langue anglaise, qu'il s'agisse de « se sentir chez soi » ou de l'exercice concret des libertés linguistiques. Mais la société canadienne, et cela est d'une importance capitale à nos yeux, a de toute évidence montré qu'une telle association était possible, qu'elle valait l'effort et qu'elle était ressentie comme essentielle pour l'avenir de notre pays.

Avant d'aller plus loin, arrêtons-nous à quelques considérations générales :

- Le bilinguisme officiel au Canada se trouve aujourd'hui devant l'alternative suivante : une honnête association linguistique à l'échelle du pays, ou une territorialisation à la belge.
- Il nous faut dès maintenant définir de façon nette et claire les priorités de l'heure, et donner des preuves de bonne foi au « prochain » de l'autre langue.
- Enfin, selon les termes du discours du Trône, « l'unité nationale exige (...) que les deux ordres de gouvernement collaborent pour appuyer les minorités de langue officielle et promouvoir le caractère multiculturel de notre pays. »

La nécessaire relance

Dans la perspective des deux langues officielles, cela suppose que l'on donne au programme une impulsion nouvelle. Car en rester aux mêmes cheminements ne fera plus l'affaire. Il ne s'agit pas simplement de contrer la propension de la

bureaucratie à s'endormir sur son blason, qui excède si souvent les contribuables. C'est qu'il y a risque que des compressions budgétaires ne compromettent gravement les objectifs de la réforme, du fait d'élagages dans les précieux services régionaux, de mises à pied qui toucheraient particulièrement le personnel le plus nouveau (souvent francophone), de privatisations qui pourraient rendre la politique linguistique plus difficile à appliquer. Il nous faut une formule renouvelée pour conférer au programme utilité, crédibilité et valeur pratique, pour l'exprimer en des termes accessibles et engageants.

Les « petites choses »

On trouve dans *Jérusalem*, de William Blake, le passage suivant, à saveur de maxime :

> On ne peut faire du bien à autrui que dans les petites choses ;
> le bien général est l'excuse de l'escroc, de l'hypocrite et du flatteur.

La réforme linguistique incline tout spécialement à se réfugier dans les grands principes. Selon une opinion fort répandue, « tout est pour le mieux dans le meilleur des mondes possibles » comme disait Voltaire, puisqu'un certain « French Power » s'exerce toujours à Ottawa, que le référendum au Québec a connu une issue « heureuse », que les droits linguistiques sont maintenant inscrits dans la Constitution, que le bilinguisme dans la fonction publique se porte assez bien merci et que le Bon Dieu continue de régner au paradis des langues. Si le nationalisme québécois qu'alimentaient les soucis linguistiques s'est quelque peu atténué, ne peut-on pas attribuer ce phénomène au succès de la politique et des programmes linguistiques du Canada. *Maybe*, mais dans quelle mesure et pour combien de temps ?

Cette analyse, un peu courte, occulte deux choses : condition essentielle de l'association et seul moyen de permettre au gouvernement d'être également à l'écoute des deux principaux groupes linguistiques et d'en être le reflet, la bilinguisation de l'appareil fédéral reste inachevée. Ensuite, la situation présente ne répond manifestement pas aux voeux réitérés de la Commission B.B. sur un point capital :

> Dans un Canada bilingue, le principe de l'égalité exige que les deux langues officielles s'épanouissent et soient utilisées *autant que le permettent les conditions de chaque région*. (Le souligné est de nous.)

Aux yeux des commissaires, cela signifiait « consolider les minorités régionales » de sorte que les Canadiens des deux communautés puissent se déplacer dans tout le pays sans devoir renoncer à leurs droits linguistiques.

Ces deux exigences, aussi impérieuses l'une que l'autre, doivent être également satisfaites. La première, dont dépendent les relations entre les deux majorités, l'est passablement, sinon idéalement. Quant à la seconde, on est tellement loin du compte que la réussite de la réforme pourrait en être gravement compromise. Les chapitres ultérieurs sur l'état des rapports entre les communautés de langue officielle, majoritaires et minoritaires, établiront que l'engagement fédéral, que sont venus concrétiser la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et les programmes s'y rattachant, n'a pas eu ailleurs l'écho attendu. Il n'a donc pas été possible d'assurer l'unique type de « consolidation » des minorités régionales qui compte, soit la

liberté d'utiliser leur langue dans un nombre appréciable de cadres publics et privés. À cet égard, l'éventail des occasions institutionnelles concrètes varie considérablement d'une minorité à l'autre : très nombreuses pour les Anglo-Québécois, elles se font presque inexistantes pour certaines collectivités francophones hors du Québec. En aucun cas cependant peut-on parler de « consolidation » assurée.

Les dangers de la double polarisation

Dans son message d'adieu au Comité mixte permanent sur les langues officielles, en juin dernier, M. Max Yalden a mis en relief les deux points ci-après :

> Tant et aussi longtemps que le français au Canada ne jouira pas d'une sécurité générale suffisamment garantie, la tentation de la polarisation des groupes linguistiques continuera d'être vive.
>
> La principale tâche à laquelle nous devons nous atteler est donc d'insuffler un peu de vie dans les règles et les systèmes afin d'améliorer l'*offre réelle* de services en français et en anglais.

Voilà une analyse lucide de la situation, si l'on entend le terme « services » au sens le plus large. La double polarisation linguistique n'a pas été enrayée. De plus, les méthodes et les programmes conçus pour assurer une offre satisfaisante de services dans les deux langues, et tout particulièrement aux minorités francophones, demeurent inconsistants et sans inspiration, à bien des égards. Le gouvernement canadien, voire la population d'une manière générale, doit s'ouvrir au fait qu'une polarisation progressive pourrait bien aboutir, à plus ou moins long terme, à l'extinction de la plupart des minorités francophones hors du Québec et, indirectement, à une réduction draconienne des libertés dont jouit l'anglais dans la province. Cela ne peut être maîtrisé que par un changement de tactique bien étudié. Le Québec d'aujourd'hui pourrait bien être, pour diverses raisons, plus ouvert à une entente constitutionnelle, mais il faudrait que celle-ci comporte en priorité la sécurité du français à long terme. On ne peut guère concevoir d'arrangement approprié, qui respecterait pleinement les communautés anglophones du Québec, sans un régime d'équivalences beaucoup plus poussé pour les communautés francophones des autres provinces ; qu'il s'agisse du Nouveau-Brunswick officiellement bilingue, de l'Ontario partiellement bilingue, du cas particulier du Manitoba, voire, à un degré moindre mais significatif, de n'importe laquelle des six autres provinces.

Le moment est propice

Dans le discours du Trône, le gouvernement s'est engagé « à faire respecter l'égalité des deux langues officielles consacrée dans les textes législatifs ; cette exigence (étant) vitale pour notre originalité et notre identité nationale ». Il a précisé en outre que les ministres reconnaissaient « la nécessité de réaliser des progrès constants et de manifester la vigilance requise dans ce domaine crucial de notre vie nationale », et réitéré sa volonté d'apporter un appui soutenu aux minorités linguistiques dans le cadre d'une collaboration fédérale-provinciale. Il semble donc que le gouvernement ait fait siens deux grands principes auxquels la relance du

programme se trouve subordonnée à nos yeux : que le succès du bilinguisme à l'échelon fédéral dépend de « progrès constants » sur le front de l'association nationale ; et que (comme l'a répété à souhait la Commission B.B.),

> pour créer les conditions nécessaires à l'égalité, il faut plus que l'intervention d'un seul ordre de gouvernement. Sont nécessaires, en effet, une politique et une planification communes dans les domaines où les gouvernements traitent avec les groupes minoritaires.

La Commission B.B. ambitionnait des réformes dans divers domaines, dont ceux décrits dans le tableau 1.1 à la page suivante, qui indique également le degré auquel ses objectifs ont été atteints.

Mise en oeuvre

La réaction fédérale à ces propositions témoignait d'une volonté évidente de procéder aux réformes proposées dans pratiquement tous ces grands domaines. Mais comme elle ne s'est pas toujours et partout traduite par des actes concrets, il n'est pas interdit d'affirmer que la promesse d'une association véritable n'a pas été entièrement tenue. Quel que soit le domaine où se porte notre attention — symboles de l'égalité (visibilité et audibilité égales des deux langues officielles) ; cadres judiciaires, institutionnels et administratifs (équilibre constitutionnel et juridique, consolidation des appuis essentiels aux minorités) ; suivi parlementaire des mesures, bien souvent insuffisantes, adoptées en son nom par les organismes fédéraux (incohérences dans le service assuré à la population, impasses relativement à la langue de travail, présences polarisées au sein de la fonction publique) — on arrive à la même conclusion. Si nous continuons de dériver béatement, il se pourrait que l'objectif d'une dualité linguistique toute vivante ne soit jamais atteint, que les efforts consentis jusqu'ici restent vains, et que ceux qui avaient mis leur confiance dans une solution fédérale, au sens plein du terme, soient déçus. Et les malins de s'écrier : je vous l'avais bien dit !

Le pourquoi de la relance

Plusieurs raisons incitent à saisir la présente occasion de rectifier le tir et de prendre un nouveau départ. Premièrement, le programme est imparfait et incomplet. Et, chose aussi importante, le nouveau gouvernement a fait comprendre qu'il entendait s'attaquer aux lacunes d'une manière qui nous semble prometteuse, notamment par la coopération. Nous avons eu les prémices de cette réorientation en octobre, quand le président du Conseil du Trésor a annoncé que le gouvernement se proposait de faire rédiger dans les deux langues officielles toutes les ententes fédérales-provinciales émanant du gouvernement ou du parlement canadiens. Même les dispositions de la Charte des droits touchant l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire supposent que les Canadiens sont disposés à accorder à nos diverses collectivités de langue officielle la sorte de soutien institutionnel dont elles ont vraiment besoin. Finalement, il y a chez les majorités anglophone et francophone des signes d'une évolution vers le consensus, qui donnent à penser que les deux communautés pourraient être amenées à chercher ensemble des moyens pratiques d'éliminer les tensions linguistiques. Tant que le chacun pour soi prédominera chez les deux groupes, la probabilité que le programme contribue à l'unité nationale demeurera faible. Mais le contraire est également vrai. Si nous parvenons à ouvrir les esprits et les coeurs à ce qu'ils peuvent faire pour autrui et avec autrui sur le terrain de la langue, les possibilités seront sans limites, comme l'est la générosité naturelle des Canadiens.

Tableau I.1

Objectif et définition	Bilan
Égalité officielle	
Déclaration d'égalité entre le français et l'anglais dans les institutions fédérales; affirmation solennelle, symbolique et effective que ce qui vaut pour une langue vaut aussi pour l'autre en ce qui concerne le Parlement et le gouvernement.	Réalisée par la Loi sur les langues officielles (1969) et la Charte des droits (1982).
Bilinguisme officiel dans la Fonction publique fédérale	
Une administration fédérale reflétant les valeurs des Canadiens francophones et anglophones, et où les deux langues pourraient être employées avec une liberté comparable.	Réalisation en cours; réussites variables.
Contrôle parlementaire suivi	
Un commissaire aux langues officielles veillerait à ce que le gouvernement fédéral fasse le nécessaire pour la mise en œuvre de ces propositions.	Réalisé en vertu de la Loi sur les langues officielles.
Une capitale fédérale bilingue	
L'égalité de statut la plus complète possible pour l'anglais et le français dans la région de la Capitale nationale.	Réalisation partielle.
Désignation conjointe de centres pour desservir les minorités régionales	
Un réseau de districts bilingues à établir dans tout le Canada, dans des frontières déterminées par les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux, de façon à assurer une protection légale adéquate aux minorités de langue officielle.	Réalisation limitée au gouvernement fédéral et à l'Ontario, par décisions unilatérales, puis au Nouveau-Brunswick en tant que province bilingue.
Droits scolaires pour la minorité de langue officielle	
Le droit pour les parents canadiens de faire instruire leurs enfants dans la langue officielle de leur choix.	Reconnu récemment par la Charte des droits, mais réalisé en partie seulement.
Parité institutionnelle dans trois provinces	
L'Ontario, le Québec et le Nouveau-Brunswick, provinces où habitent 95 % des membres des minorités de langue officielle, doivent être institutionnellement bilingues au même degré.	Réalisation non uniforme légalement, mais plus cohérente dans la pratique.
Autres services provinciaux en français	
Les sept autres provinces doivent assurer à leurs minorités les services en français justifiés par les concentrations démographiques locales.	Reconnaissance légale non obtenue; inexistence presque totale dans la pratique.

Les éléments d'une approche nouvelle et intégrée

Le programme doit être revivifié de deux manières : d'abord le gouvernement fédéral doit revoir la mise en œuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ; ensuite, repenser son action dans les domaines où il doit compter sur l'engagement et le concours d'autres partenaires.

L'administration fédérale

Coordination des politiques fédérales

Une relance du bilinguisme officiel suppose qu'on coordonne davantage les efforts et les ressources des organismes fédéraux concernés. Il y a trop de lacunes dans la planification et trop de champ pour les contradictions et l'égocentrisme bureaucratique dans la répartition actuelle des tâches. Il est nécessaire que tous les intéressés soient sensibles aux relations entre les divers éléments : la place politique du Québec dans le Canada ; l'efficacité, le sens de l'équité et la représentativité linguistique de la fonction publique ; enfin, les choix qui s'offrent véritablement aux communautés de langue officielle dans tout le Canada. Le Conseil privé, le Conseil du Trésor, le Secrétariat d'État, les ministères de la Justice et des Communications, la Commission de la Fonction publique et d'autres organismes, qui effectuent, à toutes fins utiles chacun de leur côté, des révisions des programmes des langues officielles, doivent absolument coordonner plus étroitement leurs efforts. À notre avis, les situations dépeintes dans les chapitres qui suivent illustrent la nécessité d'un réaménagement complet de l'ensemble des programmes en vue des difficiles tâches à venir. Sans une direction politique et une coordination au plus haut niveau de l'Administration, les chances de succès de la révision et de la relance sont plutôt minces. Et il pourrait bien se passer beaucoup de temps avant qu'une occasion comparable se présente de nouveau.

Le service à la population

Pour réaliser des « progrès constants » à l'échelon fédéral, il faut accorder une priorité absolue à la crédibilité des services. Le public a besoin de points de contact clairement désignés, bien situés, et manifestement (visibilité-audibilité) bilingues. Quant aux cadres, il faut leur montrer comment choisir ces points, de concert avec la clientèle, et leur donner l'autorité et les moyens appropriés pour mettre le service sur pied. Dans les régions, on a besoin d'équipes interministérielles habilitées à collaborer avec leurs homologues provinciaux et avec le secteur privé afin de réaliser le groupement de services le plus considérable possible dans la langue minoritaire.

Présence dans l'appareil fédéral

Pour être équitable, la représentation des Anglophones et des Francophones dans les institutions fédérales suppose trois conditions : définition claire des objectifs ; présentation complète et équilibrée des données pertinentes ; interventions sélectives et continuelles du gouvernement dans les domaines où les déséquilibres sont le plus accusés.

Langue de travail

Il nous semble beaucoup plus probable que nous puissions nous tirer de l'impasse où nous nous trouvons si nous cessons de faire aveuglément confiance aux procédures et considérons le problème pour ce qu'il est, soit un ensemble de comportements « institutionnels » ou administratifs où la langue n'est qu'une des forces à l'oeuvre ; et pas nécessairement la plus importante. Pour progresser encore dans ce domaine, sachons voir les fonctionnaires des deux communautés linguistiques comme ils sont, assignons-leur des objectifs réalisables et laissons-leur le soin de décider seuls ou entre eux des voies à emprunter ! Les questions de carrière que

suscite cette politique devront également faire l'objet d'une discussion à cœur ouvert. Et là encore il faudra que les deux groupes participent sur un pied d'égalité à la formulation des solutions et à leur application.

L'action fédérale-provinciale au profit des minorités

Le gouvernement fédéral n'a pas toujours été en position de susciter l'action complémentaire indispensable à la réussite de l'association linguistique. Les districts bilingues qui devaient assurer des éléments d'infrastructure et un centre de rayonnement pour tous les types de soutien institutionnel aux minorités de langue officielle se sont révélés impraticables sur le plan politique. À leur place, nous avons eu un assemblage disparate de dispositions n'offrant, dans la plupart des provinces, que quelques possibilités vagues et incertaines d'employer la langue minoritaire. Comment faire revivre le projet clé d'une action concertée, axée sur les besoins locaux et immédiats ? Les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux pourraient d'abord examiner avec les représentants des communautés ce qui est effectivement offert en fait de services ou de soutien, pour ensuite s'entendre sur les priorités d'intervention et créer un groupe de travail qui suivrait le déroulement des initiatives communes.

Cette collaboration concrète aurait préséance sur toute activité du type conférence fédérale-provinciale en la matière et sur l'affectation de nouveaux crédits fédéraux à la traduction de lois provinciales ou à d'autres mesures analogues plus ou moins abstraites. Ce qu'il faut, c'est que les gouvernements s'engagent, en collaborant sur le terrain, à satisfaire les besoins linguistiques les plus pressants. Qu'ils se prouvent à eux-mêmes, à une échelle même modeste, que cela vaut la peine et est possible !

Le secteur privé

Le secteur privé a fait beaucoup de chemin depuis le milieu des années 60, époque où la Commission B.B. a suggéré au gouvernement fédéral de recourir à « ses politiques économiques d'ensemble (et aux) services particuliers qu'il assure » pour influer sur l'emploi des langues officielles dans le commerce et l'industrie. Le gouvernement a encore beaucoup à faire pour répondre à ce vœu de la Commission B.B. et mobiliser tous ses moyens de persuasion d'ordre contractuel, réglementaire et autre afin de garantir des services publics fiables et réguliers dans les deux langues. Il devrait avoir des consultations suivies avec le secteur privé, au sujet des besoins du public, et dispenser les conseils et les incitations les plus susceptibles d'accélérer le progrès.

Tous ces moyens « institutionnels » — importants ou modestes, publics ou privés — se renforcent réciproquement. Seul un usage constant, dans bon nombre de situations, peut permettre à une langue — surtout si elle est minoritaire — de s'affirmer et de s'épanouir. Or, la probabilité qu'on emploie sa langue dans une situation donnée sera d'autant plus forte si l'on sait que bien d'autres situations analogues s'y prêtent.[1]

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[1] Les suggestions et recommandations que nous faisons dans les diverses parties du présent rapport sont regroupées dans la partie V.

Les droits linguistiques : décision et suspense

Que peut bien signifier pour l'individu la « liberté » de se servir de sa langue, si cela restreint considérablement le cercle de ses occupations et de ses relations, et ne débouche pas, dans le quotidien, sur des avantages concrets ? Et cette interrogation ne vaut-elle pas aussi pour la préservation même de cette langue ? C'est pourquoi notre législation et nos programmes linguistiques visent non seulement à protéger des droits intrinsèques, mais aussi à créer des conditions institutionnelles propres à favoriser l'emploi du français et de l'anglais là où ces langues accusent des signes d'érosion. Dès le début des années 60, la nécessité de réformer la politique linguistique canadienne se faisait sentir. On a d'abord cherché à rendre effectifs des droits linguistiques remontant à 1867 ou à plus loin, puis à les mettre à jour et à construire sur cette assise. Les droits linguistiques et la politique des langues doivent refléter la composition linguistique du Canada actuel et notre perception des besoins présents et futurs de ses diverses communautés.

Pour que nos efforts se traduisent par une véritable réforme, il nous faut comprendre dès le départ que tout droit linguistique, coutumier ou établi juridiquement, sera de peu de valeur si, au lieu de s'incarner dans un vécu ample et enrichissant, il ne fait que contribuer au bon renom de l'État. La loi est faite pour remédier aux dénis de justice. Lorsque les droits linguistiques sont bien vivants dans une société, il n'y a guère lieu de les défendre devant les tribunaux. Cependant, comme nous le verrons dans les pages qui suivent, le libre exercice de ces droits n'est pas pour demain.

Le tableau I.2 ci-après offre une représentation peut-être sommaire mais honnête, selon nous, des formes de protection que nos gouvernements assurent, en vertu des lois ou d'une politique bien établie, à nos deux langues officielles.

Les faits récents

Avant l'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* (1969) et de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés (1982), les seuls droits linguistiques formellement reconnus au Canada, dans le cadre fédéral, étaient ceux institués par l'article 133 de l'*Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique*[1], par l'article 23 de la *Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba*[1] et par les dispositions analogues relatives aux Territoires du Nord-

[1] L'article 133 de l'*Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique* (appelée aujourd'hui *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867*) et l'article 23 de la *Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba*, qui sont identiques à toutes fins utiles, sont ainsi conçus : a) l'usage de la langue française ou de la langue anglaise sera facultatif dans les débats du Parlement du Canada et des chambres des législatures du Québec et du Manitoba ; b) l'usage de la langue française et de la langue anglaise sera obligatoire dans la rédaction des registres, procès-verbaux et journaux de ces chambres ; c) l'usage de la langue française ou de la langue anglaise sera facultatif dans toute plaidoirie ou pièce de procédure devant les tribunaux ou émanant des tribunaux du Canada, du Québec et du Manitoba ; d) les lois du Parlement du Canada et des législatures du Québec et du Manitoba devront être publiées dans les deux langues officielles.

L'article 93 de l'*Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique* protège contre toute atteinte les droits et privilèges dont les écoles confessionnelles jouissaient conformément à la loi dans une province au moment de son entrée dans la fédération. Par le passé, ces garanties confessionnelles avaient à peu près l'effet d'un droit linguistique, pour la simple raison que dans l'ensemble les Francophones étaient catholiques, et les Anglophones, protestants.

Tableau I.2

	Parlement et organismes fédéraux	Québec	Nouveau-Brunswick	Ontario	Manitoba
Droit de recevoir des services fédéraux en français et en anglais (art. 20(1) Charte, art. 9, 10 LLO).	*	*	*	*	*
Réseaux nationaux de radio-télé: programmation dans la langue minoritaire (loi fédérale).	*	*	*	*	*
Étiquetage bilingue obligatoire des produits de consommation (loi fédérale).	*	*	*	*	*
Usage facultatif du français et de l'anglais dans les débats, travaux et séances du Parlement du Canada et des législatures provinciales.	* art. 133. Loi constitutionnelle de 1867	* art. 133. Loi constitutionnelle de 1867	* art. 17(2) Charte des droits	* Règlement 19A	* art. 23 Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba
Usage obligatoire du français et de l'anglais dans les lois, registres, procès-verbaux et journaux du Parlement du Canada et des législatures provinciales.	* art. 133. Loi constitutionnelle de 1867	* art. 133. Loi constitutionnelle de 1867	* art. 18(2) Charte des droits	● Traduction sélective des lois	* art. 23. Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba
Droit à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité (art. 23 Charte).	*	*[1]	*	*	*
Droit d'employer le français ou l'anglais dans les procédures criminelles.	* art. 133. Loi constitutionnelle de 1867	* art. 133. Loi constitutionnelle de 1867	* art. 19(2) Charte des droits art. 462.1 C. cr.	* art. 462.1 C. cr.	* a. 462.1 C. cr.
Droit d'employer le français ou l'anglais dans les procédures civiles.	* art. 133. Loi constitutionnelle de 1867	* art. 133. Loi constitutionnelle de 1867	* art. 19(2) Charte des droits	* Loi sur les tribunaux judiciaires; gamme de droits à l'emploi du français dans les cours désignées à cette fin	* art. 23 Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba
Droit de recevoir des services en français ou en anglais d'un gouvernement provincial ou territorial.	S.O.	* art. 15 Charte de la langue française. Sur demande d'une personne physique seulement	* art. 20(2) Charte des droits	● Certains services en français dans les régions désignées à cette fin	

Légende

* Garanti par la loi ● Non garanti par la loi ? Statut incertain

Notes

[1] La clause dite «de la langue maternelle» (article 23(1)(a)) de la Charte des droits et libertés, selon laquelle «les citoyens canadiens dont la première langue apprise ou encore comprise est celle de la minorité francophone ou anglophone de la province où ils résident» peuvent faire instruire leurs enfants dans la langue de la minorité de ladite province, ne s'applique pas en ce moment au Québec. Cependant, la Charte confère à la province le droit de décision en cette matière.

Saskatchewan	Alberta	Colombie-Britannique	Île du Prince-Édouard	Terre-Neuve	Nouvelle-Écosse	Territoires du Nord-Ouest	Yukon
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
?[3]	?[3]					* art. 10 Ordonnance des TN-O	?[3]
?[2]	?[2]						?[2]
*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
						art. 462.1 C. cr.	art. 462.1 C. cr.
?[2]	?[2]					*	?[3]
						* art. 15 Ordonnance des TN-O	?[2]

[2] Le statut juridique de ces garanties a été soulevé devant les tribunaux. L'on prévoit que les jugements seront rendus bientôt.

[3] Le statut juridique de ces garanties n'est pas clair et ces points pourraient être soumis à l'examen des tribunaux.

Sources: Loi constitutionnelle de 1867; Loi constitutionnelle de 1982, (Charte canadienne des droits et libertés); Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba; Loi sur les langues officielles; Ordonnance visant à reconnaître et à assurer l'utilisation des langues autochtones et à établir les langues officielles des Territoires du Nord-Ouest (Ordonnance sur les langues officielles); Loi de 1984 sur les tribunaux judiciaires (Ontario); Code criminel; Charte de la langue française (Québec).

Ouest d'alors, qui pourraient être considérées comme pertinentes et encore en vigueur. Au cours des quinze dernières années, la législation linguistique (qu'elle soit constitutionnelle, fédérale, provinciale, territoriale ou municipale) a proliféré, tandis que les recours aux tribunaux se multipliaient.

On constate également que l'interprétation judiciaire et quasi judiciaire qu'on en fait s'est modifiée. Alors que les gouvernements provinciaux, dans la première moitié du siècle, avaient le plus souvent réprimé les droits linguistiques, on a vu apparaître ces dernières années, tant à l'échelle fédérale que dans certaines provinces, des lois et des interprétations plus généreuses, ouvrant la voie à des progrès réels dans l'exercice des droits linguistiques.

La Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme avait tenté de prévenir la controverse judiciaire en proposant a) « que les assemblées législatives des provinces officiellement bilingues adoptent une loi sur les langues officielles » ; et b) « créent, chacune à ses propres fins, un poste équivalant à celui de commissaire fédéral aux langues officielles ». Cela ne s'est pas produit. Cependant, à la lecture de la chronique judiciaire ci-après, on ne peut s'empêcher de penser que les choses seraient allées plus loin, en moins de temps, si quelques-uns des problèmes avaient été réglés par voie de négociation plutôt que devant les tribunaux.

Les garanties juridiques

L'essentiel des garanties en matière de langues officielles se trouve dans la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867* et dans la Charte des droits, ce qui leur assure le plus haut degré de protection légale et signifie qu'elles ne peuvent facilement être entamées en tant que droits. Mais l'exercice de ces droits reste tributaire des relations entre individus. Les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux peuvent bien sûr élargir l'éventail des situations où l'anglais et le français peuvent ou doivent être employés à telle ou telle fin institutionnelle. Ainsi, l'année dernière, les gouvernements de l'Ontario et des Territoires du Nord-Ouest ont promulgué des lois qui complètent et renforcent les garanties générales ou particulières inscrites dans la Constitution et dans la Charte.

L'interprétation judiciaire

Les constitutions, plus encore que les lois, sont sujettes à interprétation ; en 1984, les tribunaux canadiens ont eu fort à faire à cet égard. Comme nous le verrons plus loin, la Cour d'appel de l'Ontario, dans une décision sur les droits scolaires de la minorité linguistique rendue le printemps dernier, laissait entendre que les tribunaux, soucieux de respecter et de mettre en oeuvre la Charte des droits, avaient commencé à interpréter d'une manière assez large les droits constitutionnels des minorités linguistiques. En s'éloignant ainsi « d'une interprétation étroite et rigoureuse des textes », et en les envisageant dans « un esprit plus large, qui permettrait l'examen de l'évolution historique (de ces droits)[1] », les honorables juges ont démontré le pouvoir des tribunaux de faire évoluer la Constitution.

Le Manitoba

On verra avec intérêt si la Cour suprême du Canada, dans sa décision relative aux garanties en faveur du français au Manitoba, va dans le même sens et aborde la

[1] Voir le renvoi à la Cour d'appel relatif à la *Loi sur l'éducation* et aux droits scolaires de la minorité linguistique, pp. 20-21.

nature fondamentale du pacte conclu par les communautés anglophone et francophone lors de la création de la province. L'évolution historique dans ce cas est particulièrement significative. En 1890, l'assemblée législative manitobaine a répudié les garanties constitutionnelles établies en faveur du français en déclarant l'anglais seule langue officielle des lois de la législature, des registres, procès-verbaux et journaux de la chambre, ainsi que des tribunaux de la province. À trois occasions, les tribunaux du Manitoba ont déclaré cette mesure inconstitutionnelle et contraire aux garanties accordées au français et à l'anglais par l'article 23 de la *Loi de 1870 sur le Manitoba*. En 1983, le gouvernement manitobain tenta de donner suite à un jugement rendu en 1979 par la Cour suprême du Canada[1] qui confirmait ces garanties ; il proposa un amendement à la constitution qui n'exigerait la traduction que de certaines lois et accorderait aux Franco-Manitobains les garanties et les services dont ils ont besoin pour survivre et se développer en tant que communauté. Ces efforts ayant été enrayés le printemps dernier, on pria la Cour suprême de statuer sur les implications actuelles de l'article 23. Le tribunal est aux prises avec un dilemme : comment maintenir et faire observer les droits garantis par la Constitution, tout en évitant les conséquences juridiques et politiques de lois provinciales promulguées abusivement. Au-delà du principe de la continuité des lois et des institutions provinciales, la Cour doit prendre en compte la continuité historique des relations entre deux communautés linguistiques. Sur le plan national, il sera difficile de ne pas interpréter le jugement comme plus ou moins favorable à la dualité linguistique qui constitue l'assise de la politique culturelle du Canada. Ce fait a été amplement reconnu par tous les partis au Parlement fédéral, qui ont unanimement adopté une résolution appuyant l'amendement constitutionnel proposé par le gouvernement manitobain.

L'Ontario

La Cour d'appel de l'Ontario pour sa part, a été priée de se prononcer sur la compatibilité de certaines dispositions de la *Loi sur l'éducation* de cette province avec les droits scolaires des minorités linguistiques inscrits dans la Charte des droits, et de déterminer, le cas échéant, les incidences de ces droits sur le plan administratif. Après avoir passé en revue les difficultés historiques que les communautés francophones ont connues au chapitre de l'enseignement, la Cour concluait : « C'est dans le contexte de (ces) préoccupations visant à promouvoir les droits à l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité que l'article 23 de la Charte[2] a été rédigé. » Elle a donc statué que certains articles de la *Loi sur l'éducation* étaient incompatibles avec l'article 23, et a proposé les avis ci-après sur divers points administratifs.

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[1] *Le procureur général du Manitoba c. Forest*, 1979, 2 S.C.R. 1032.

[2] En vertu de l'article 23 de la Charte des droits et libertés, les enfants sont admissibles à l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité si un parent satisfait à trois conditions :

1) il ou elle est citoyen canadien ;
2) a) sa première langue apprise et encore comprise est celle de la minorité linguistique de la province où il ou elle réside ; ou
   b) un de ses enfants étudie ou a étudié dans une école où l'enseignement était donné dans la langue de la minorité ; ou
   c) il ou elle a reçu son instruction au niveau primaire au Canada, dans la langue de la minorité de la province où il ou elle réside ;
3) il ou elle appartient à un groupe où le nombre des enfants est suffisant pour justifier la prestation, sur les fonds publics, de l'instruction dans la langue de la minorité.

- On ne peut laisser aux conseils scolaires l'entière liberté de décider s'ils assureront l'instruction en langue française et s'ils fourniront les établissements d'enseignement appropriés ; la législation provinciale doit établir « des critères suffisamment clairs et précis pour les circonstances où (...) une discrétion absolue entraînerait des restrictions arbitraires, discriminatoires ou de quelque façon inconstitutionnelles sur les droits garantis, ou imposerait des interdictions inutiles à l'égard de l'exercice de droits constitutionnels ». (Bref, les droits sont les droits.)

- On ne peut fixer sans justification un chiffre minimum (arbitraire) pour déterminer le nombre d'élèves donnant droit à l'instruction dans la langue minoritaire ou à des « établissements d'enseignement de la minorité linguistique financés sur les fonds publics » ; le critère numérique ne peut être appliqué arbitrairement partout dans la province, étant donné que les chiffres varieront nécessairement selon les besoins de telle région et l'enseignement exigé. Les lois scolaires de plusieurs provinces comportent maintenant la notion de « critère numérique ». (À moins que ces lois ne soient modifiées, la constitutionnalité de ce critère sera sûrement soumise encore une fois aux tribunaux, comme c'est le cas présentement à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard. Il faut espérer qu'on trouvera une solution sous peu, permettant d'éviter les coûts humains et pécuniaires de recours successifs en cette matière.)

- « Les enfants de la minorité linguistique doivent recevoir leur instruction dans des établissements dont l'environnement scolaire sera celui de la minorité linguistique. C'est seulement dans ce cas que l'on sera justifié de dire que les établissements reflètent la culture de la minorité et qu'ils sont propres à cette minorité. » De cette façon, la préservation de la langue, des coutumes et de la culture de la minorité sera assurée.

- La minorité francophone a le droit de participer à la gestion et au contrôle de ses classes et de ses établissements d'enseignement.

- Enfin, le groupe linguistique minoritaire n'étant pas usager exclusif des établissements d'enseignement minoritaires, tous les parents admissibles en vertu de l'article 23 ou titulaires des droits qui y sont prévus peuvent participer à cette gestion et à ce contrôle.

Si la Cour d'appel a commencé à définir les droits que la Charte confère aux minorités linguistiques, c'est aux gouvernements provinciaux qu'il appartient d'assurer la mise en oeuvre de ces droits, si possible de concert avec les minorités francophones. C'est ce qu'a d'ailleurs fait le gouvernement de l'Ontario, en modifiant, peu après la décision de la Cour, sa *Loi sur l'éducation* pour garantir à tous les enfants francophones le droit à l'enseignement dans leur langue. À longue échéance, cette décision devrait entraîner une restructuration du jeune système scolaire, un remaniement des districts scolaires, ainsi qu'un transfert de fonds des systèmes publics aux systèmes « séparés ». Le plus tôt on abordera ces problèmes, le plus tôt les élèves pourront jouir des droits promis. À l'échelle nationale, la décision de la Cour — qui n'a pas fait l'objet d'un appel — aura un effet de persuasion lorsque des questions analogues seront soumises aux tribunaux d'autres provinces.

Les tribunaux ontariens

Les tribunaux ontariens ont dû revoir également leur propre fonctionnement. Depuis 1975, la province élargit peu à peu par voie législative le droit d'utiliser le français devant les cours provinciales dans un certain nombre de districts judiciaires, où habitent 83 pour cent de la population francophone. Dans la *Loi sur les tribunaux judiciaires* de 1984, la province a confirmé et précisé ces droits et déclaré formellement le français et l'anglais langues officielles des tribunaux ontariens à compter du 1er janvier 1985. Si la gamme des droits et des services en langue française n'est pas aussi étendue que pour l'anglais, on reconnaît toutefois aux Francophones le droit de se faire entendre par un juge et un jury bilingues ainsi que le droit à des auditions en français, au dépôt de plaidoyers en français, à un interprète et à la traduction de tout document déposé en anglais.

Entre-temps, le départ de deux chefs politiques, MM. Pierre Elliott Trudeau et William Davis, a relancé le débat sur la question de savoir si l'Ontario devait passer au bilinguisme constitutionnel tel qu'il est pratiqué au Québec depuis toujours, et plus récemment au Nouveau-Brunswick. Mes prédécesseurs, suivant la voie tracée par la Commission B.B., ont toujours préconisé cette orientation et j'y suis également favorable. L'argument selon lequel la situation politique ne s'y prêtait pas encore était peut-être acceptable il y a quelques années, mais il est de plus en plus difficile à soutenir à la lumière de l'évolution linguistique en cours au Québec. Quant à la croyance que le bilinguisme institutionnel se mettra en place progressivement, en même temps que d'autres mesures successives seront prises et imprégneront les attitudes provinciales, elle nous semble foncièrement viciée par l'hypothèse voulant que ce qui se fait actuellement en Ontario soit déjà suffisant pour assurer la vigueur de sa communauté francophone. Telle n'est pas notre perception des choses, ni l'impression qui se dégage de la plus récente analyse publiée par Statistique Canada[1]. Comme le montrent les chapitres ultérieurs, les minorités linguistiques ont besoin de tous les encouragements et de toutes les garanties constitutionnelles possibles, simplement pour tenir.

Le Québec

La Cour suprême du Canada, ayant mis en parallèle les garanties scolaires assurées aux minorités linguistiques par la Charte fédérale des droits et celles de la *Charte de la langue française*[2] touchant l'accès à l'enseignement en langue anglaise, a statué que les garanties de la Charte fédérale ne pouvaient pas être réduites par une législation provinciale, que celle-ci soit ou non antérieure. Elle établissait nettement que les citoyens canadiens qui ont fait leurs études primaires en anglais n'importe où au Canada peuvent envoyer leurs enfants aux écoles de langue anglaise du Québec. De plus, les enfants de citoyens canadiens peuvent fréquenter les écoles anglaises du Québec si l'un des membres de leur famille reçoit ou a reçu en anglais l'enseignement primaire ou secondaire n'importe où au Canada. Il en résulte, évidemment, que les enfants francophones hors du Québec

[1] *La situation linguistique au Canada.*

[2] Notamment l'article 73 qui dispose, essentiellement, que seuls les enfants dont la mère ou le père ont reçu l'enseignement élémentaire en anglais au Québec peuvent fréquenter les écoles de langue anglaise.

ont droit à l'enseignement en langue française aux mêmes conditions que la minorité anglophone du Québec. Le gouvernement du Québec a déclaré qu'il se conformerait à la décision de la Cour.

Égalité dans l'exercice des droits énoncés par la Charte

La Cour a nettement établi la primauté de la Charte fédérale sur toute législation fédérale ou provinciale divergente. Elle affirme en outre l'inviolabilité des droits scolaires de la minorité linguistique, même si le Québec prétend que la nécessité de protéger la langue et la culture françaises justifie la restriction de ces droits. Voilà une raison de plus, s'il en fallait, pour que les pressions judiciaires, politiques et populaires en faveur de la mise en oeuvre de ces droits jouent également pour les deux communautés de langue officielle.

Près de trois ans après que la Charte des droits a été promulguée et près de dix ans après que les premiers ministres des provinces ont agréé le principe des droits des minorités linguistiques, on ne peut qu'éprouver un sentiment national de gêne devant le nombre de provinces anglophones qui n'assurent toujours pas d'écoles à la minorité linguistique et ne manifestent guère l'intention de remplir leurs obligations constitutionnelles et de donner suite à leur engagement à cet égard.

Affichage et publicité

Dans deux autres décisions sur les droits linguistiques au Québec, la Cour supérieure de la province a statué en ces termes : un article de la *Charte de la langue française* interdisant l'emploi d'une autre langue avec le français dans « l'affichage public et la publicité commerciale » est sans validité, parce qu'il contrevient au droit à la liberté d'expression établi par la *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne du Québec* ; la *Charte de la langue française* n'interdit pas la publication de catalogues ou de dépliants bilingues. Comme nous le notons ailleurs, l'usage de l'anglais sur les enseignes et dans la publicité est bien vu depuis longtemps par une majorité de Québécois de langue française. Il ne serait pas étonnant, toutefois, que ces derniers voient dans la rapidité relative avec laquelle les tribunaux ont réagi aux griefs légitimes des Anglophones, par opposition à leur lenteur dans le cas des Franco-Manitobains, une curieuse confirmation de la théorie de l'accélération de l'histoire formulée par Daniel Halévy.

Le Nouveau-Brunswick

Le Nouveau-Brunswick est la plus officiellement bilingue de toutes les provinces en vertu de sa législation linguistique et de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1982*. L'événement qui a fait le plus de bruit en 1984 a été la tenue, sous l'égide du Comité consultatif gouvernemental sur les langues officielles, d'audiences publiques pour examiner le rapport du Groupe provincial d'études sur les langues officielles (familièrement appelé le comité Bastarache-Poirier), publié deux ans auparavant.

Le mandat du groupe d'étude : « réviser complètement la *Loi sur les langues officielles* »[1], ne saurait être qualifié de modeste. Son rapport, de plus de 400 pages, embrasse les fonctions législatives et administratives du gouvernement, le système

[1] Gouvernement du Nouveau-Brunswick, *Vers l'égalité des langues officielles au Nouveau-Brunswick : Rapport du groupe d'études sur les langues officielles*, mars 1982, p. 19.

scolaire, l'organisation judiciaire, ainsi que les obligations linguistiques des municipalités, des associations professionnelles et du secteur privé. Il se termine par pas moins de 96 recommandations dont l'élément central est l'esquisse d'une loi sur les droits linguistiques entièrement nouvelle. Selon les auteurs du rapport, il ne fallait plus tarder à compléter les déclarations symboliques contenues dans la *Loi de 1969 sur les langues officielles* de changements structuraux qui refléteraient une égalité linguistique inscrite non seulement dans la loi, mais dans la réalité.

Étant donné l'ampleur du rapport et des sujets traités, la consultation publique devait susciter la controverse. Comme bien peu pouvaient se targuer d'avoir lu le document, la plupart s'en sont remis aux comptes rendus des médias. Et ceux-ci, de leur côté, s'attachaient de préférence aux recommandations radicales, dont celle de deux secteurs parallèles dans la fonction publique, l'un francophone et l'autre anglophone. Quels qu'aient été les mérites de ses conclusions et de ses propositions, le rapport, non ou mal assimilé, a été considéré comme un « livre rouge » plutôt que comme un livre blanc ; aussi a-t-il suscité plus d'affrontements que de débats raisonnés. Le gouvernement projette une consultation en deux étapes avec le public par l'intermédiaire du Comité. Les séances d'information tous azimuts et les « échanges d'opinions » de 1984 doivent être suivis d'audiences publiques portant sur les recommandations du groupe d'études. Nous espérons que cette méthode démocratique pourra donner lieu à un dialogue mieux informé entre les deux communautés linguistiques de la province, et que la législation éventuelle traduira un consensus généreux.

Les Territoires

En juin, l'assemblée législative des Territoires du Nord-Ouest déclarait le français et l'anglais langues officielles, et accordait en même temps une reconnaissance spéciale aux langues autochtones. La nouvelle législation instaurait le bilinguisme institutionnel dans nombre de domaines : publication des lois, débats de l'assemblée, cours territoriales, services publics. Certes, la *Loi sur les langues officielles* s'applique au Yukon et aux Territoires du Nord-Ouest, mais il y a beaucoup d'avantages à ce que les autorités le plus immédiatement concernées acceptent les mêmes principes dans leurs termes et à leurs conditions.

La Loi sur les langues officielles

Dans la prolifération des décisions constitutionnelles et des initiatives provinciales fragmentaires, il y a risque qu'on oublie que l'élément central dans l'évolution de ces quinze dernières années est la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, dont s'inspire pour une bonne part notre Charte des droits. Selon les termes mêmes de la Commission B.B., cette loi devait être la « pièce maîtresse de tout programme général de bilinguisme au Canada ». Et l'un de ses principaux objectifs devait être de :

> Donner au gouverneur général en conseil l'autorité nécessaire pour négocier avec les pouvoirs publics intéressés, tant à l'échelon provincial qu'à l'échelon local (...) dans le but de faciliter aux citoyens canadiens l'accès aux services publics dans les deux langues officielles.

Il sera utile aussi de nous remettre deux faits en mémoire. D'abord, pour le Canadien moyen, le gouvernement est le gouvernement, et la logique voulant qu'on assure certains services dans les deux langues, et d'autres en une seule, n'est pas évidente. À cela, les gouvernements provinciaux pouvaient légitimement répondre que l'histoire aussi est l'histoire, que la géographie est la géographie, qu'une obligation légale est une obligation légale. Plus une communauté linguistique est minoritaire, moins elle peut s'attendre raisonnablement à jouir dans sa langue de tous les avantages d'une majorité. Sans doute, mais si seuls l'Ontario, le Québec, le Nouveau-Brunswick et, dans une certaine mesure, le Manitoba acceptent l'obligation, en vertu d'une loi ou d'une politique, de dispenser leurs services dans la langue de la minorité, voilà qui laisse sans réponse la question de savoir quelles « mesures appropriées » refléteraient correctement les « circonstances régionales » régnant dans les six autres provinces, pour employer les termes de la Commission B.B.

Le second fait à nous remémorer est que le gouvernement fédéral a accepté une mission directrice en mettant sur pied une infrastructure institutionnelle satisfaisante pour l'usage de l'anglais et du français dans tout le Canada, dont ces six provinces. Cette mission comportait le partage avec toute autorité locale du « coût de la mise en place et du maintien de services administratifs et judiciaires assurant la reconnaissance de la langue de cette minorité ». Cette tâche est toujours la même : les deux ordres de gouvernement doivent s'employer conjointement à définir des objectifs linguistiques régionaux qui soient compatibles avec les engagements qui ont été pris implicitement par tous les adhérents à la Charte des droits et libertés en matière d'enseignement dans la langue des minorités. Il s'agirait non d'établir le bilinguisme officiel, mais de manifester un esprit de coopération au service d'une bonne cause.

Jusqu'à maintenant, les recours à la *Loi sur les langues officielles* avaient surtout pour objet d'amener les organismes gouvernementaux et parlementaires fédéraux à un minimum de conformité technique avec ses dispositions. Son rôle complémentaire, qui devait être axé sur les districts bilingues et soutenu par le cofinancement fédéral des services de base appropriés, est demeuré à peu près sans effet, mis à part ses dispositions sur l'enseignement de la minorité, du moins en dehors des trois provinces les plus bilingues.

Combien de temps peut durer un bilinguisme national qui repose d'un côté sur un pilier relativement solide, et de l'autre sur un support presque fictif ? Pour ce qui est de la Loi même, elle n'a pas fait l'objet de modifications notables en ses quinze années d'existence, malgré les propositions de sources diverses. En 1984, on l'a soumise à une chirurgie très légère, afin de la conformer aux changements apportés à la *Loi sur l'administration financière*. Il s'agissait d'étendre plus clairement son champ d'application aux filiales des sociétés de la Couronne. On a aussi effectué, à la fin de la dernière session du Parlement, des modifications conçues pour faire disparaître de vieilles anomalies de diverses lois : sur les musées nationaux, sur les chemins de fer et sur les liquidations, qui n'étaient pas parfaitement conformes au principe de l'égalité du français et de l'anglais.

La création de districts bilingues, traitée dans le tiers de la Loi, s'impose toujours selon la Loi, mais techniquement parlant, le gouvernement est en retard de plu-

sieurs années en ce qui a trait à la création d'un Conseil consultatif sur les districts bilingues. Ce qui nous intéresse n'est pas tant l'élimination de dispositions « désuètes », mais l'expression, par le Parlement, de sa volonté de les remplacer par d'autres qui réitéreraient le principe de la collaboration intergouvernementale dans ce domaine.

On attend toujours également les modifications qui rendraient la Loi pleinement conforme à la Charte des droits et libertés. Certains diront que la Loi n'en sera pas moins propre à réaliser l'égalité linguistique dans l'administration fédérale ou à créer l'atmosphère que suppose le bilinguisme officiel en tant qu'objectif national. Tel n'est pas notre avis. Les programmes globaux relatifs aux langues officielles, dans le domaine fédéral et au-delà, exigent l'exercice de tous les rôles d'orientation prévus pour le gouvernement fédéral. Il est temps de redonner à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, non pas un appareil de sanctions plus étendu, mais toute la gamme des objectifs qu'elle comportait au début et le sentiment renouvelé d'une mission pour la recherche d'une véritable « association linguistique ».

Autres faits

Au cours de l'année, les tribunaux ont rendu d'autres décisions touchant le régime linguistique.

- Les cours provinciales de l'Alberta et de la Saskatchewan ont statué qu'une personne inculpée en vertu d'une loi *fédérale* ne jouissait pas légalement du droit de contraindre les tribunaux de ces provinces à l'usage du français. La Cour d'appel de la Saskatchewan a pris en délibéré la question de savoir si un prévenu accusé en vertu d'une loi *provinciale* peut forcer les tribunaux de cette province à procéder en français.
- La Cour d'appel du Manitoba a conclu que l'article 23 de la loi constitutive de la province, qui fait du français et de l'anglais les langues officielles des tribunaux, n'exige pas d'un juge anglophone une connaissance et une compréhension suffisantes du français — sans le concours d'un interprète ou d'un dispositif de traduction — pour le considérer apte à entendre une cause se déroulant en français. Dans une affaire analogue, entamée au Nouveau-Brunswick, la Cour suprême du Canada aura l'occasion de définir le degré de compétence langagière exigible d'un juge, avec ou sans le concours d'un interprète ou d'un dispositif de traduction, qui préside l'audition d'une cause se déroulant en français.

Il y a d'autres questions relatives aux langues sur lesquelles les tribunaux devront statuer :

- L'article 23 de la Charte des droits permet-il la création d'écoles immersives au Nouveau-Brunswick, lorsque des parents francophones souhaitent que leurs enfants reçoivent l'enseignement dans les deux langues officielles ? Ce point sera examiné fort probablement à la lumière d'une décision rendue par la Cour d'appel de l'Ontario dans un renvoi touchant la *Loi sur l'éducation*, selon lequel l'enseignement destiné à la minorité linguistique doit être dispensé dans l'« environnement scolaire » de celle-ci. Enfin, faut-il voir dans cet arrêt une interdiction des écoles bilingues ?

- Est-ce que les dispositions de la loi de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard sur l'éducation prescrivant aux conseils scolaires régionaux d'assurer l'enseignement en français si 25 Francophones le demandent sont contraires aux garanties en faveur de la minorité linguistique conférées par la Charte des droits ?

- Est-ce que l'article 133 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867*, qui dispose que l'une ou l'autre langue peut servir dans l'établissement de toute pièce de procédure émanant d'une cour québécoise, donne à un Anglophone le droit de recevoir une sommation en anglais ?

- Est-ce que le gouvernement et les organismes publics du Yukon sont tenus d'assurer des services à un particulier dans la langue officielle qui est la sienne, en vertu de l'article 20 de la Charte des droits ?

La commission parlementaire : un nouveau départ

Nos rapports sont destinés au Parlement, et c'est à lui qu'il appartient d'apprécier nos observations sur la mise en oeuvre du bilinguisme officiel et sur ses perspectives d'avenir. On comprendra donc aisément l'importance que nous attachons au Comité mixte sur les langues officielles.

Si 1984 a été une année brève pour le Comité, elle a aussi donné le signal d'un nouveau départ. Le Comité spécial, qui menait une existence précaire d'une session à l'autre, a été transformé le 5 avril, avec l'appui de tous les partis, en un Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes de langues officielles. L'ancien comité avait mené à bien une revue d'ensemble des principaux éléments de la réforme du régime linguistique, proposé des améliorations à la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et présenté six rapports au Parlement. Ministres, hauts dirigeants ministériels, représentants des communautés, universitaires, et d'autres encore, y ont fait des dépositions sur une multitude de sujets. En accordant au Comité un statut permanent, on se trouvait reconnaître son utilité pour le Parlement.

Les grands thèmes

Le Comité permanent, composé désormais de vingt-quatre membres, s'est intéressé principalement, dans les six réunions publiques qu'il lui a été possible de tenir avant les élections, à des affaires entamées auparavant. Après avoir entendu un exposé du Commissaire sur son rapport annuel pour 1983, il a reçu les communications du Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor et de la Commission de la Fonction publique, qui portaient notamment sur diverses questions en souffrance relatives à la langue de travail. Il a aussi entendu le témoignage du Secrétaire d'État sur les programmes d'appui linguistique, puis a donné audience au Commissaire sortant, qui a exposé son point de vue ultime sur l'application du programme linguistique. Sa communication d'adieu a orienté le débat vers les thèmes ci-après :

- la fragilité, et la précarité institutionnelle de certaines collectivités de langue officielle en situation minoritaire ;
- la recherche d'un meilleur équilibre entre la demande de services dans la langue officielle minoritaire et la prestation effective de ces services par les organismes fédéraux ;
- les difficultés que pose l'interprétation des données de l'enquête sur l'utilisation des langues par les fonctionnaires, en vue d'orienter l'action en cette matière.

Le plan de travail

Sans doute le Comité a-t-il déjà une bonne idée de son plan de travail. Quant à nous, nous espérons qu'il trouvera le temps nécessaire pour prendre assez de recul face aux applications particulières de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, et faire le point sur la réforme du régime linguistique. Il peut jouer un rôle clé à cet égard en réanimant le programme par un regard nouveau sur les problèmes et les priorités liés à l'actualisation de l'égalité linguistique. Le présent rapport offre un survol de la situation, ainsi qu'une analyse et des recommandations plus poussées. Il pourrait peut-être servir de cadre général à une étude.

Le Comité est bien placé pour définir une perspective populaire sur les besoins et les préoccupations des communautés de langue officielle, majoritaires ou minoritaires. Il pourra se demander ensuite si les programmes gouvernementaux et non gouvernementaux répondent vraiment à ces besoins, et envisager les adaptations qui pourraient être opportunes. Du point de vue fédéral, la conformité à la Loi a toujours la primauté ; les membres du Comité voudront sans doute examiner eux-mêmes les obstacles à son application, telles les clauses d'ancienneté de certaines conventions collectives. Le Comité devra en outre décider de la façon dont il entend suivre l'action du gouvernement en réponse aux propositions d'amendement de la Loi énoncées dans le cinquième rapport du Comité mixte spécial. Mais la question fondamentale est toujours la même : dans quelle mesure la politique linguistique nationale répond-elle aux attentes des Canadiens ?

Pour aborder cette question, on pourrait en premier lieu entendre les associations des minorités linguistiques — et d'autres témoins bien renseignés — sur la manière dont les droits linguistiques sont ou pourraient être « étoffés » en fonction des besoins pratiques. Les ministres et les hauts fonctionnaires fédéraux seraient invités à rendre compte du rendement linguistique de certains organismes, des résultats des programmes, ainsi que de la gestion générale de la politique linguistique. Le Comité pourrait alors solliciter les opinions et formuler des propositions concrètes sur la manière de réaliser au profit des minorités linguistiques la collaboration fédérale-provinciale dont parlait le discours du Trône. Cela exigerait qu'on fasse appel non seulement aux représentants des provinces, mais aussi aux porte-parole du secteur privé. Il s'agit en définitive de susciter un recours beaucoup plus concerté aux services et à l'action de l'État, notamment par une meilleure exploitation commune des ressources de nos industries des communications et de la culture. Le savoir-faire et l'expérience considérables du secteur privé pour ce qui est de servir les clients des deux langues officielles pourraient être de fructueuses sources d'idées pour les gouvernements. Des audiences régionales permettant de recueillir sans intermédiaire les vues de particuliers, de personnalités locales, d'hommes d'affaires, d'éducateurs, de fonctionnaires, occuperaient une place importante dans cette étude.

La *Loi sur les langues officielles* touche un grand nombre d'organismes et un champ organisationnel étendu. Si l'on considère en outre les programmes et les mesures qui intéressent les provinces et le secteur privé, la matière à examen pour le Comité se révèle presque sans limites. Aussi nous semblerait-il judicieux qu'il planifie son travail sur plusieurs années, de façon à pouvoir bien centrer son attention sur chaque point important tous les trois ou quatre ans. Enfin, pour maintenir

une perspective générale bien équilibrée, on pourrait concevoir le plan de travail de telle sorte que chaque année comprenne l'examen des effets publics de la politique linguistique et celui des mécanismes judiciaires et administratifs en cause.

Débat et dialogue

Le Comité possède déjà le pouvoir, en vertu de la procédure parlementaire, d'exiger du gouvernement qu'il réponde à ses rapports et à ses recommandations. Nous souhaiterions que les principales constatations du Comité fassent chaque année l'objet d'un débat dans les deux chambres. La bonne marche de la réforme suppose un dialogue bien informé et continu entre tous les intéressés. Le Comité est l'un des principaux instruments pour veiller à ce que le Parlement accorde à la réforme du régime linguistique l'attention constante qu'elle exige, et entende lui-même ce que disent sur ce sujet les Canadiens.

L'enseignement de la langue seconde : l'évolution des mentalités

Il ne fait aucun doute que les Canadiens anglais entretiennent maintenant à l'égard du français des sentiments plus positifs que naguère — qu'il s'agisse de l'apprendre, de l'utiliser, voire de l'entendre. De leur côté, les Francophones du Québec — revenant ainsi à des attitudes en un sens historiques — voient aujourd'hui l'anglais d'un bien meilleur oeil, et souhaitent en particulier que leurs enfants bénéficient en cette matière d'un enseignement de haute qualité.

Les signes de cette évolution abondent, notamment les tendances nouvelles des inscriptions dans les écoles et l'action militante de milliers d'individus — enseignants, parents et étudiants. Dans ses propos sur les Canadiens de l'Ouest, l'honorable Joe Clark se faisait certes le porte-parole de nombreux Anglophones lorsqu'il déclarait au colloque d'Edmonton[1] : « Cette langue (le français) fait partie de notre avenir, mais pour la plupart d'entre nous elle n'appartient pas à notre passé. » Par ailleurs, *Le Devoir*, dans un éditorial sur la récente constatation que seulement 29 pour cent des Franco-Québécois s'estiment bilingues, exprimait la crainte qu'un « tel taux d'unilinguisme individuel (ne devienne) rapidement un désavantage collectif[2] ».

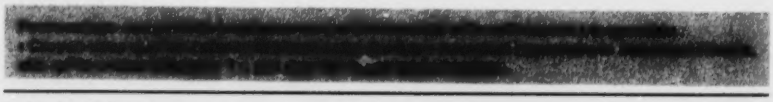
Les résultats d'un sondage Gallup sur l'enseignement du français aux enfants, publié en octobre dernier, témoignent éloquemment de l'importance que les Anglophones de partout au Canada accordent maintenant au français. Commandée par la *Canadian Parents for French* (association volontaire nationale), l'enquête portait sur un échantillon de 3 000 adultes ; une importante majorité d'entre eux, soit 68 pour cent, ont déclaré que les enfants « devraient apprendre le français à l'école afin de devenir bilingues ». Malgré des divergences régionales, l'écart entre l'Est et l'Ouest est loin d'être aussi marqué qu'on aurait pu s'y attendre, comme le démontre le tableau I.3.

Le sondage a également révélé un appui marqué, à l'échelle nationale, pour les programmes d'immersion longue en français ; 59 pour cent de ceux qui ont répondu oui à la première question se sont dits prêts à inscrire leurs enfants à un tel programme. Dans toutes les régions, le taux des réponses affirmatives était supérieur à 50 pour cent. Pour ce qui est des motifs invoqués, le sondage a corroboré les conclusions des recherches antérieures, à savoir : si les « perspectives

[1] Ce colloque s'est tenu, sous les auspices du Commissariat aux langues officielles, à l'Université de l'Alberta, à Edmonton, les 11 et 12 mai 1984.

[2] *Le Devoir*, 5 décembre 1984.

Tableau I.3



Colombie-Britannique	57
Les Prairies	56
Ontario	73
Québec	95
Les provinces atlantiques	83

Source : Sondage Gallup mené au Canada pour l'association Canadian Parents for French, juin et juillet 1984.

d'emploi » occupent le premier rang, l'« épanouissement intellectuel et culturel » s'est aussi révélé un facteur important. Si l'on peut douter que le français acquière jamais d'un bout à l'autre du Canada une véritable valeur économique pour un grand nombre de Canadiens, ce sondage n'en indique pas moins que la réforme linguistique est entrée dans nos moeurs.

En parlant de l'attitude des parents anglophones, et de l'existence d'une « réalité nouvelle », une personnalité franco-ontarienne faisait judicieusement remarquer : « Dommage que les leaders politiques ne partagent pas toujours la clairvoyance et le courage des parents anglophones de ce pays[1]. » Mais gardons-nous d'être trop optimistes ; il se trouve encore des poches d'indifférence ou de résistance, et tous n'ont pas changé leurs attitudes, tels certains dirigeants qui ne veulent pas voir *un seul enfant* apprendre le français. Dans l'ensemble cependant, nous avons pu constater cette année des progrès encourageants. Par exemple, la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec et la *Canadian Parents for French* ont tenu une réunion conjointe à l'issue de laquelle ils ont publié une déclaration affirmant leur appui au droit de tous les jeunes Canadiens d'avoir la possibilité d'apprendre les deux langues officielles, en particulier au « droit pour les jeunes Canadiens de langue minoritaire à l'éducation dans leur langue maternelle depuis la maternelle jusqu'au postsecondaire en conformité avec l'article 23 de la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés ».

Au-delà de l'action du secteur bénévole, l'enseignement des langues peut désormais bénéficier d'innovations technologiques (satellites, logiciels, vidéophonie) qui permettraient aux pouvoirs publics d'assurer en cette matière l'égalité des services aux régions ou écoles éloignées et peu achalandées, et ce au profit des groupes minoritaires et majoritaires. Voilà un domaine qui se prête parfaitement à une collaboration accrue et plus efficace entre les deux ordres de gouvernement. Des progrès ont d'ailleurs été rendus possibles en partie par la mise en oeuvre — longuement attendue —, en 1984, d'un nouvel accord fédéral-provincial sur le

[1] André Cloutier, alors président de l'ACFO, cité dans *L'Eau Vive*, 28 avril 1984.

financement de l'enseignement des langues officielles. À la fin de 1983, le secrétaire d'État et le Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation signaient un protocole d'entente pour la période 1983-1986, mais c'est en 1984 que des accords de financement détaillés ont été conclus avec chacune des administrations provinciales et territoriales. Cette initiative aura donc nécessité de longues négociations, si bien que l'année budgétaire 1985-1986 est déjà la dernière de ce « nouvel » accord triennal. L'accord renferme cependant des éléments intéressants : il prévoit une hausse du montant de l'aide — même si, à notre avis, celui-ci est loin d'être suffisant — et, par son caractère bilatéral, il laisse aux provinces une meilleure marge de manoeuvre pour tenir compte de leurs priorités et de leur situation particulière.

Si nous décelons dans ces accords un nouvel esprit d'innovation et de coordination, nous restons perplexes devant l'absence d'une véritable collaboration interprovinciale et d'initiatives mixtes qui pourraient être entreprises à l'échelon régional ou par deux ou trois provinces ayant des besoins similaires. Celles-ci pourraient par exemple travailler de concert à la mise au point d'un logiciel d'enseignement de la langue. Vu l'actuelle pénurie de ressources, seule une collaboration étroite permettra des percées dont tous bénéficieront. Pourquoi chercher à réinventer la roue chacun dans notre coin ?

Réseau canadien d'information linguistique

Nous faisions état dans notre rapport de l'an dernier du projet d'un réseau canadien d'information linguistique, qui avait été soumis aux autorités fédérales-provinciales. Une étude des besoins ayant clairement établi la nécessité de relier les centres de documentation pédagogique à une banque de données centrale, nous avions espéré que ceux auxquels incombait le financement de cette initiative agirait diligemment. Il n'en fut rien. En lieu et place, le Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation a référé le dossier à un comité, qui l'a à son tour renvoyé pour étude à un sous-comité... si bien que le projet se débat toujours au beau milieu d'une toile d'araignée bureaucratique.

En cette ère de dialogue fédéral-provincial, souhaitons qu'on saura, par un effort conjoint, le tirer de ce mauvais pas.

Le français langue seconde

Les deux principaux instruments de l'enseignement du français langue seconde, les programmes immersifs et les programmes cadres, sont loin de former un couple parfaitement assorti, leurs rapports étant entravés par des contradictions et des malentendus.

Il ne faudrait pas systématiquement accuser d'être anti-français et réactionnaires ceux qui disent craindre les répercussions néfastes sur le système scolaire de la vogue des classes immersives. Avec un taux d'inscription de près de 40 pour cent au primaire dans certains districts urbains, n'y a-t-il pas lieu de craindre que cet enseignement absorbe plus que sa part des maigres ressources financières actuelles, compromettant ainsi l'amélioration des programmes cadres de français qui

constituent le pain quotidien linguistique de 60 pour cent de la population étudiante ? Il est essentiel que les partisans de chacun de ces deux régimes en comprennent la complémentarité au sein d'une stratégie coordonnée. Au Nouveau-Brunswick, où la proportion d'élèves anglophones inscrits dans des programmes immersifs est la plus élevée au pays, on examine attentivement d'autres solutions, comme l'« enseignement intensif », qui pourraient éventuellement combler le fossé entre les deux méthodes, faciliter la transition de l'une à l'autre, ou encore permettre une meilleure utilisation des ressources.

L'enseignement immersif

L'inscription aux programmes immersifs, surtout dans les petites classes, a continué de progresser à un rythme d'autant plus étonnant qu'il est ininterrompu depuis plusieurs années. À l'échelle nationale, le nombre d'inscriptions pour 1984-1985 atteint près de 150 000. Malgré les prévisions, les restrictions financières n'ont pas semblé diminuer la popularité de ce mode d'enseignement, réclamé avec autant d'acharnement à Whitehorse, Yellowknife, Saint-Jean (Terre-Neuve) et Fort Saint John (Colombie-Britannique) que partout ailleurs.

Les programmes cadres

Quant aux programmes cadres de français qui, pour la majorité des jeunes Anglo-Canadiens, constituent le principal mode d'apprentissage de cette langue, ils semblent enfin manifester certains signes d'amélioration. Au secondaire, le nombre d'élèves choisissant d'étudier le français avait diminué depuis une vingtaine d'années, alors que la plupart des universités n'exigeaient plus comme condition d'admission la connaissance de la langue seconde ; aujourd'hui, dans toutes les régions du pays, les inscriptions commencent lentement à remonter la pente. Le taux moyen de participation en dehors du Québec est en effet passé de 37 pour cent à un peu plus de 38 pour cent, et atteint même 60 pour cent en Nouvelle-Écosse, à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard et au Nouveau-Brunswick. Cependant, à ce niveau comme à l'élémentaire, le nombre d'heures consacré à l'étude de cette langue demeure inchangé et résiste mal à la concurrence exercée par les autres matières.

L'amélioration et la coordination des programmes cadres de français supposent un enseignement plus intéressant et plus axé sur une utilisation pratique de cette langue en dehors de la classe. Certaines provinces, notamment l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, ont créé des comités chargés de recommander des façons de refondre les programmes. Dans un trop grand nombre de régions, les jeunes sont aux prises avec des professeurs qui ne maîtrisent pas toujours parfaitement le français, et des cours qui ne sauraient même leur permettre de s'acheter un croissant dans cette langue, et encore moins de courir les boutiques du Québec.

D'une province à l'autre

Malgré l'absence de percées spectaculaires sur le front de l'enseignement du français et de l'anglais comme langues secondes, l'année 1984 n'a pas été sans intérêt à cet égard.

Au *Yukon*, les parents ont revendiqué pour leurs enfants un enseignement du français comparable à ce qui est offert ailleurs au Canada. À Whitehorse, le programme immersif a connu un taux de croissance extraordinaire de 49 pour cent, et

dans toutes les collectivités du territoire l'on demande de plus en plus que les programmes cadres commencent dès la maternelle plutôt qu'en cinquième année. De même, à Yellowknife, dans les *Territoires-du-Nord-Ouest*, le taux d'inscription aux classes immersives a crû de 30 pour cent pendant l'année, et le programme existe désormais à tous les niveaux de l'élémentaire sauf un.

La *Colombie-Britannique* a fait face à de grandes restrictions financières, et de nombreux enseignants ont été mis en disponibilité. Les titulaires de cours immersifs, souvent les derniers embauchés, sont généralement les plus vulnérables. Mais les enseignants anglophones n'en manifestent pas moins une vive anxiété. À Vancouver-Ouest, par exemple, 30 pour cent des enfants de la maternelle suivent maintenant un programme d'immersion en français. On envisage actuellement de recycler vers l'immersion les professeurs qui ont une certaine connaissance du français en leur faisant suivre un cours universitaire spécial d'un an comprenant un semestre au Québec. Mais pour que cette mesure règle le double problème de l'excédent d'enseignants dans le programme anglais et du manque de titulaires pour l'enseignement immersif, encore faudrait-il qu'il y ait un nombre suffisant d'enseignants qui possèdent une solide connaissance du français.

L'enseignement du français langue seconde continue son expansion en *Alberta*. Le Conseil scolaire de Calgary prévoit assez de places dans les programmes d'immersion pour éviter les queues de onzième heure des dernières années. Il a également affecté 600 000 $ à l'expansion et à l'amélioration des programmes cadres de français. Une bonne part de ce montant est consacrée à la formation des enseignants durant les heures de travail. Le Conseil a également lancé un programme novateur, celui des « matinées françaises », destiné aux classes intermédiaires et secondaires, qui bénéficient ainsi d'une demi-journée d'activités dans un centre francophone.

En *Saskatchewan*, l'enseignement immersif et les programmes cadres continuent de progresser. Dans le cas de ces derniers, la province ne peut qu'aller de l'avant, étant donné qu'elle a été pendant longtemps au dernier rang pour le taux de participation aux cours de français à l'élémentaire. Par ailleurs, les administrateurs sont pressés de fournir aux élèves des programmes immersifs des services comparables à ceux dont jouissent leurs camarades, notamment les cours enrichis et de rattrapage.

Au *Manitoba*, les parents ont remporté une victoire dans la lutte pour l'égalité d'accès aux programme immersifs. La Cour d'appel a en effet jugé discriminatoire la pratique de demander aux parents dont les enfants fréquentent ces programmes de payer pour le transport en autobus scolaire, alors que celui-ci est offert gratuitement aux élèves des classes anglaises.

À l'heure actuelle, environ le tiers des conseils scolaires de l'*Ontario*, particulièrement ceux des régions de Toronto et d'Ottawa, offrent des programmes d'immersion courte ou longue. Mais la résistance à ces programmes peut parfois être assez déconcertante ; au printemps dernier, par exemple, on a entendu dire à Sudbury que les autorités cherchaient à « faire avaler le français de force ». Quant aux programmes cadres, il ne faut pas s'illusionner. Bien que la plupart des conseils scolaires offrent l'enseignement du français dès la quatrième, seulement

60 pour cent d'entre eux prévoient assez d'heures de cours par jour ou par semaine pour permettre aux élèves d'accumuler, à la fin de leurs études secondaires, les 1 200 heures que le ministère de l'Éducation juge nécessaires à l'acquisition du strict *minimum* de connaissances pour « participer à une conversation simple ».

Au *Québec*, on compte actuellement 18 000 élèves anglophones inscrits à des programmes d'immersion en français, soit 15 pour cent de l'effectif scolaire de langue anglaise. De plus, 13 000 Anglophones sont inscrits à des écoles françaises. Bien que les jeunes aient manifestement l'occasion d'apprendre le français au Québec, le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation, dans un récent rapport sur l'enseignement du français et de l'anglais, langues secondes, insistait, entre autres choses, sur l'importance pour les conseils scolaires de multiplier les échanges entre élèves francophones et anglophones.

Au *Nouveau-Brunswick*, le taux d'inscription aux programmes d'immersion en français ne cesse de grimper. Cette année, 12 500 élèves y participent, soit environ 13 pour cent de l'effectif étudiant des conseils anglais, la plus forte proportion en dehors du Québec.

Bien que les inscriptions aux programmes immersifs ne cessent d'augmenter en *Nouvelle-Écosse*, la situation varie d'une région à l'autre. À Dartmouth, on offrira en 1985, dans le cadre d'un programme pilote, deux classes immersives de première année. Ailleurs dans la province, on met encore l'accent sur les programmes cadres de français.

À l'*Île-du-Prince-Édouard*, le nombre de programmes immersifs a augmenté depuis l'an dernier, mais la demande surpasse toujours l'offre. L'inscription par téléphone ou le tirage au sort n'ont pas pour autant rendu le système plus acceptable.

À *Terre-Neuve* les programmes d'immersion en français ont progressé à pas de géant. D'après les chiffres du ministère de l'Éducation, 1 550 élèves y étaient inscrits pour 1984-1985, soit 60 pour cent de plus que l'an dernier.

L'anglais langue seconde

Au *Québec*, l'enseignement de la langue seconde, qui est obligatoire de la quatrième à la dixième année, s'inscrit dans un contexte bien différent. C'est que la majorité francophone doit concilier deux exigences parfois contradictoires : assurer la préservation de sa langue maternelle, tout en composant avec la réalité nord-américaine. Même des ministres du gouvernement actuel ont souligné l'importance d'un bon enseignement de l'anglais. Dans un récent rapport, le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation — organe consultatif rattaché au ministre de l'Éducation — a fortement recommandé de multiplier et d'améliorer les programmes d'anglais, langue seconde, en dépit des menaces qui pèsent sur le français en Amérique du Nord. Il rapporte notamment que certaines commissions scolaires ont mis en oeuvre des programmes intensifs d'enseignement de la langue seconde, auxquels participent quelque 500 élèves du primaire, et 700 du secondaire. L'enseignement immersif ayant été rejeté au Québec pour diverses raisons

socio-pédagogiques, le Conseil a recommandé au ministère que cette expérience soit étendue et suivie de près.

Au *Nouveau-Brunswick*, où l'enseignement de la langue seconde est obligatoire de la cinquième à la neuvième année, l'Association des enseignants francophones a récemment créé un comité spécial chargé d'étudier la qualité de l'enseignement de l'anglais dans les régions largement francophones.

L'enseignement de la langue seconde au postsecondaire

Nous signalions l'année dernière que les établissements postsecondaires anglophones commençaient à reconnaître l'importance pour leurs étudiants d'être bilingues, et la nécessité de prendre des mesures propres à répondre à leurs besoins. Hélas, à la fin de 1984, il semble que notre optimisme d'alors, pourtant modéré, ait été prématuré.

Dans celles des universités qui, armées de courage et de conviction, ont suivi nos recommandations et offert des cours en français, le nombre des inscriptions a été très décevant. Est-ce parce que la vague d'élèves des classes immersives n'est pas encore parvenue au postsecondaire, ou que les étudiants ont craint de moins bien réussir leurs travaux en français, ou encore qu'on n'a pas accordé à cette initiative la publicité voulue... il est bien trop tôt pour le savoir et, surtout, pour tourner la page. Bien sûr, l'année qui vient de se terminer a été particulièrement difficile sur le plan financier pour les universités, qui se sont vues obligées de réduire ou d'éliminer plus de programmes qu'elles n'en ont élargis ou créés. Mais cela n'explique pas leurs réticences à prendre des mesures qui ne nécessitent aucun accroissement des ressources. Nous n'arrivons pas à comprendre, par exemple, comment il se fait que la plupart d'entre elles ne veuillent pas rétablir comme condition d'admission une connaissance, même modeste, de la langue seconde.

Voici donc notre palmarès universitaire 1984.

Prix orange :

- Aux organisateurs de non pas une, non pas deux, mais bien trois conférences sur l'enseignement bilingue pour étudiants anglophones du postsecondaire, tenues aux universités Carleton, de Calgary et de la Colombie-Britannique.

- Au Secrétariat d'État, pour avoir institué à l'intention du postsecondaire un programme de Centres d'excellence pour des initiatives d'intérêt national ; aux universités maintenant de mettre de l'avant des projets dans le domaine de la langue seconde qui leur donneront accès à ce fonds de 25 millions de dollars.

- À l'Université de Toronto, pour avoir nommé un conseiller spécial en bilinguisme auprès du Président, et pour avoir continué d'offrir quelques cours en français, malgré un nombre réduit d'inscriptions.

- À l'Université Queen, pour avoir nommé un coordonnateur du français, s'être intéressé aux besoins éventuels des « nouveaux » à cet égard, et pour avoir offert des cours en français en dépit de la faiblesse de la demande.

- À l'Université de Windsor qui, pour la première fois, a offert un cours d'économie en français.

- Aux universités du Manitoba, de Winnipeg et de Waterloo, pour avoir confié à des comités ou à des membres du corps enseignant le mandat d'étudier la faisabilité de programmes bilingues.

- À l'Institut polytechnique Ryerson, à Toronto, qui, selon son président, est « sorti des ténèbres » et a créé un département de français, reconnaissant par le fait même que le bilinguisme est tout aussi important pour les étudiants en technique.

- À l'Université du Nouveau-Brunswick, pour avoir lancé ses premiers cours de psychologie, d'histoire, de sociologie et d'économie en français. Malgré le peu d'inscriptions, l'Université s'est engagée à poursuivre dans cette voie l'an prochain, dans l'espoir que l'arrivée des diplômés de classes immersives du secondaire vienne augmenter la demande.

- À l'Université de Montréal et à l'Université de la Colombie-Britannique, pour avoir mis sur pied un programme estival conjoint d'échange pour élèves de classes immersives, initiative qui devrait servir d'inspiration à d'autres établissements.

- À l'Association canadienne des professeurs d'immersion, qui a réalisé une étude excellente et détaillée des programmes actuels de formation et de perfectionnement professionnel pour les titulaires de classes immersives.

- À l'Association canadienne des professeurs d'université, à l'Association des universités et collèges du Canada, à plusieurs journaux étudiants et à la presse en général, pour l'intérêt éclairé qu'ils ont porté à la question du bilinguisme au niveau postsecondaire.

Prix citron :

- Aux nombreuses provinces (en particulier celles de l'Atlantique et l'Ontario), qui continuent d'offrir aux professeurs de français une formation décousue, et qui ne fournissent ni formation ni attestation spéciale aux futurs titulaires de cours immersifs.

- Au Ministère des collèges et universités de l'Ontario, pour avoir refusé, après une valse-hésitation de dix-huit mois, une demande de financement d'un centre inter-universitaire d'études en français, proposé conjointement par les universités Carleton et d'Ottawa, et l'Institut d'études pédagogiques de l'Ontario.

- Aux « collèges communautaires », qui refusent de voir l'avantage d'offrir à leurs étudiants l'occasion d'étudier le français, langue seconde. Signalons toutefois de louables exceptions dans les régions qui comptent une importante population de langue minoritaire, comme dans le nord et l'est de l'Ontario et au Nouveau-Brunswick (de quoi faire rougir de honte les universités).

En conclusion, on peut se demander s'il arrive aux universitaires de sortir de leurs tours d'ivoire, histoire de se colleter avec la réalité. En 1984, les chefs des trois principaux partis politiques, tous trois de langue maternelle anglaise, ont tenu un débat télévisé de deux heures entièrement en français sans que personne ne s'en offusque. Comme le disait si bien un éditorialiste du *Globe and Mail :* « Si la vague de l'opinion publique a pu déborder les digues de nos systèmes scolaires, il y a tout à parier que les universités devront apprendre à ramer avec le courant[1]. »

Programmes parascolaires et éducation des adultes

Personne ne met en doute, dans les milieux de l'enseignement de la langue seconde, la nécessité de compléter l'enseignement en classe par un contact direct avec la langue et ses locuteurs. Les lignes directrices émises par les ministères de l'Éducation de la plupart des provinces en conviennent d'ailleurs, et les autorités du monde de l'enseignement reconnaissent que les échanges entre les groupes linguistiques sont à l'apprentissage du français ce que sont les excursions sur le terrain à l'étude de la géographie. Pourtant, certains conseils scolaires considèrent toujours les expériences linguistiques parascolaires comme superflues, ou réservées aux familles qui peuvent se le permettre, ou encore à ceux et celles qui ont la chance de bénéficier des rares ressources que le fédéral consacre à cette fin[2]. Manifestement, il y a là malentendu.

Les échanges

Les rapprochements possibles entre les deux communautés linguistiques peuvent prendre autant de formes que l'on voudra ; des séjours individuels ou en groupes dans des familles ou des lieux communautaires francophones ou anglophones — durant l'année scolaire ou au cours de l'été — jusqu'aux visites culturelles organisées. Il y a aussi des fins de semaine d'immersion, certaines pour toute la famille, des camps d'été, des camps d'hiver, des visites à des collectivités de langue minoritaire de sa province. Mentionnons également les « parlements de jeunes » et autres initiatives du genre, et, plus près des activités scolaires, les concerts, pièces de théâtre, spectacles de danse, festivals et concours oratoires. Pensons aussi à la télévision. Des émissions dans les deux langues sont d'ores et déjà disponibles partout au pays ; il appartient aux parents et aux éducateurs d'en faire le meilleur usage possible.

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[1] *Globe and Mail*, éditorial du 4 mai 1984. Notre traduction.

[2] Nous estimons par exemple que moins de 2 pour cent des 920 000 jeunes qui étudient le français, langue seconde, en Ontario, bénéficient des programmes d'échange fédéraux, cette proportion étant encore plus faible dans les autres provinces.

Enfin, dans la classe même, on peut faire appel à des personnes-ressources de l'autre groupe linguistique, ce qui nous amène à parler du Programme des moniteurs de langues officielles. Quoi de plus sensé, par exemple, que de verser une modeste somme à de jeunes universitaires francophones ou anglophones qui étudient dans leur langue seconde, pour qu'ils initient à leur langue maternelle des élèves du primaire et du secondaire ? Pourtant, malgré des relèvements annuels de crédits, seulement quelque 1 100 moniteurs ont pu se livrer à cette tâche en 1984. Ce ne sont pas les requérants qui manquent, mais bien les fonds. Si l'on songe qu'une classe compte en moyenne 30 élèves et qu'un peu plus de 2 millions d'enfants sont inscrits dans des programmes de langue seconde, cela signifie qu'il n'y a au Canada qu'un moniteur pour 68 classes. Manifestement, le programme n'utilise pas toutes les ressources disponibles.

L'éducation des adultes

Un autre aspect de l'apprentissage de la langue, qui fait rarement le sujet de publicité ou d'étude, est celui de l'éducation permanente. Dans chaque province et dans chaque territoire, des milliers d'adultes étudient leur langue seconde le jour, le soir, les fins de semaine ou pendant leurs vacances d'été, dans les écoles locales, les « collèges communautaires », les écoles privées, les centres communautaires, ou sous l'égide de groupes sociaux. Malgré l'absence de statistiques précises, nous croyons pouvoir affirmer que la demande est très forte. Pourtant, ces gens n'ont droit ni aux bourses offertes aux étudiants d'université à plein temps, ni à la formation en cours d'emploi mise à la disposition de nombreux fonctionnaires, ni, pour la plupart, aux cours fournis ou payés par l'employeur.

En dernière analyse, que l'on songe aux enfants d'âge scolaire ou aux adultes, n'y a-t-il pas lieu de se demander si l'on ne devrait pas ajouter la langue seconde aux matières qui composent les programmes d'études de base. Si l'on considère par exemple que les sports constituent une discipline assez importante, pour qu'on lui consacre sans hésiter une part des dépenses annuelles, pourquoi n'en serait-il pas ainsi de la langue seconde — qui est l'instrument privilégié de communication avec l'autre communauté linguistique — et des programmes d'échange ? L'apprentissage des langues n'a-t-il pas en effet pour objet ultime de nous permettre d'en faire usage dans la vie réelle. Ce qui nous rappelle un mot d'une de nos jeunes correspondantes qui nous disait tout le plaisir qu'elle prenait à étudier le français à l'école, et ajoutait : « Cet été, nous avons visité le Québec, et *j'ai pu converser avec pas mal de gens.* » (Le souligné est de nous.) Voilà, en peu de mots, le pourquoi des classes de langue seconde.

Les langues patrimoniales : complémentarité

Depuis quelques années, nos rapports annuels font état de la situation des langues autres que le français et l'anglais en usage au Canada. Comment pourrait-il en être autrement quand on sait que plus de trois millions de Canadiens ont pour langue maternelle l'une ou l'autre de ces soixante-quinze langues ? C'est aussi qu'il existe une corrélation manifeste entre l'appui que la société canadienne accorde aux langues patrimoniales et l'acceptation du français et de l'anglais en tant que langues officielles.

Lors du colloque organisé par le Commissariat à Edmonton, en mai dernier, le président de la Fédération canadienne-ukrainienne des professions libérales et commerciales, M. Joseph Slogan, a d'ailleurs rappelé que chaque fois que le gouvernement du Manitoba avait légiféré en matière linguistique — soit pour faire de l'anglais la seule langue officielle de la province, pour permettre les écoles bilingues, ou encore pour annuler le compromis Laurier-Greenway — les droits de toutes les minorités — francophone, ukrainienne et autres — en ont été modifiés. La liberté de préserver ses attaches culturelles et linguistiques est un droit inaliénable pour tous les citoyens. En annonçant la politique du multiculturalisme en 1971, le Premier ministre d'alors déclarait : « Il faut protéger et rechercher cette liberté. Si elle est compromise chez certains groupes ethniques, elle l'est partout. Le gouvernement entend éliminer ce danger et protéger cette liberté. »

Il faut tout mettre en œuvre pour faire valoir aux yeux des Canadiens l'importance et la complémentarité des programmes de bilinguisme et de multiculturalisme, qui sont tous deux essentiels à l'harmonie sociale et à notre épanouissement culturel. Si nous nous réjouissons des efforts consentis par le gouvernement pour expliquer aux groupes allophones et autochtones l'importance du bilinguisme officiel, nous estimons par ailleurs qu'il faut favoriser bien davantage le rapprochement entre ces groupes et les minorités de langue officielle. Des exemples de tels rapprochements existent déjà. Ainsi, dans leur lutte pour faire inscrire dans la Constitution certains droits linguistiques, les Franco-Manitobains ont reçu en 1984 l'appui de la *Manitoba Association for the Promotion of Ancestral Languages*. À Toronto, par ailleurs, la *Coalition of Language Rights in Ontario* a fait front commun avec l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO) afin de faire valoir le droit des Francophones à l'autogestion de leurs écoles. À son tour, l'ACFO a accordé son appui à la *Coalition*, qui cherche à faire reconnaître le droit à l'enseignement en langue patrimoniale dans cette province.

Par contre, d'autres attitudes nous laissent perplexes. Celle d'un groupe d'enseignants de Toronto, par exemple, qui ont boycotté les activités parascolaires dans

les écoles élémentaires où l'on avait introduit l'enseignement de langues autres que le français et l'anglais. Selon une enquête effectuée auprès de ses membres par la Fédération des enseignants de Toronto, plus des deux tiers estiment que l'enseignement de ces langues risque de se faire au détriment de matières obligatoires comme l'anglais, les mathématiques et les sciences. Ce point de vue n'est pas partagé par tous les pédagogues.

Vers la même époque, un professeur de l'Université du Québec à Montréal, Mme Anne Laperrière, effectuait une étude préliminaire sur « l'intégration socio-scolaire des enfants immigrants dans les milieux socio-économiquement faibles ». L'auteur concluait à l'efficacité pédagogique, pour l'acquisition d'une langue et d'une culture secondes, de la maîtrise de la langue et de la culture d'origine.

Notre point de vue à ce sujet est bien connu : nous appuyons l'enseignement des langues patrimoniales non seulement parce que ces langues sont importantes, culturellement, pour de nombreux Canadiens, mais aussi parce qu'elles sont de précieux moyens de communication sur la scène internationale. La mise en œuvre de la politique du multiculturalisme suppose qu'on offre autant d'occasions que possible de préserver ou d'apprendre les langues patrimoniales. Depuis l'annonce officielle de cette politique, le gouvernement a réaffirmé à maintes reprises sa volonté de promouvoir la diversité culturelle au Canada. Et les gestes concrets ne manquent pas : l'article 27 de la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1982* consacre le caractère multiculturel du Canada ; le Comité mixte sur les langues officielles a invité divers organismes de minorités ethniques à exprimer leur point de vue sur l'article 38 de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* relatif aux « langues autres que les langues officielles » ; un projet de loi sur l'action multiculturelle a été déposé en première lecture.

Pourtant, la confusion entoure encore la politique du multiculturalisme, notamment quant à la façon de l'articuler au bilinguisme officiel. Le moment est venu, semble-t-il, de créer un programme de relations interculturelles pour venir en aide aux organismes qui s'emploient à resserrer les liens entre les groupes ethniques et les minorités de langue officielle. Par ailleurs, ne serait-il pas temps que les systèmes d'enseignement des provinces se montrent plus attentifs aux besoins linguistiques et culturels des jeunes, en leur offrant la possibilité de développer leur connaissance des langues autres que le français et l'anglais ; que les universités emboîtent le pas, en élargissant leurs programmes d'enseignement des langues et en dispensant des cours de relations interculturelles.

Le dialogue entre les diverses communautés intéressées est déjà bien amorcé. Aux pouvoirs publics maintenant d'entrer dans la ronde, et de convaincre les Canadiens qu'ils ont tout à gagner de la diversité linguistique et culturelle qui caractérise leur pays.

Note: Dans le présent rapport, nous utilisons « langues patrimoniales » comme équivalent de « heritage languages », expression qui sert à désigner les langues autres que le français et l'anglais, en usage au Canada. Bien sûr, il s'agit d'un choix de commodité, puisque toutes les langues — sauf celles de convention tel l'esperanto — sont nécessairement patrimoniales.

L'opinion publique : courants et contre-courants

Une politique réformiste ne mène nulle part si elle n'est bien expliquée et acceptée de la population. Si la majorité des Canadiens, comme les partis politiques qui les représentent, admettent volontiers que le Canada est un pays officiellement bilingue, l'accord est moins net sur la façon dont cette dualité fondamentale doit se refléter dans nos institutions et dans le traitement de nos minorités linguistiques. Les différences d'opinions sont bien sûr inévitables, mais on aurait espéré qu'avec le temps la confusion initiale sur les méthodes de la réforme ait été surmontée et que les propos extravagants sur le coût humain et pécuniaire du bilinguisme officiel soient choses du passé. Fort heureusement, ces outrances de langage représentent peu de chose dans l'ensemble. Le bilinguisme officiel a lui aussi ses adeptes, voire ses enthousiastes. Songeons en particulier à tous ceux qui expriment leur adhésion par des actes et qui mettent le bilinguisme en pratique dans les écoles, au travail et ailleurs dans la société. Et si le principe du bilinguisme n'a pas fait l'objet de débats au cours de la dernière campagne électorale, le bilinguisme sous sa forme concrète a été bien en évidence, et c'est ce qui compte.

Sondages d'opinions

Selon des indications encourageantes, les Canadiens sont de plus en plus disposés à accorder aux autres groupes ce qui leur est dû. Un sondage Gallup effectué en juin et juillet pour la *Canadian Parents for French* a établi qu'environ les deux tiers des Canadiens anglophones souhaitaient que leurs enfants apprennent le français à l'école, et qu'à peu près la moitié d'entre eux désiraient que cet enseignement soit obligatoire à l'école primaire ou à l'école secondaire, voire aux deux. Au Québec, le Conseil supérieur de l'éducation a noté, en décembre dernier, un renouveau d'intérêt pour les cours d'anglais chez les jeunes Francophones. Les luttes linguistiques récentes de la province ont sûrement influé sur les attitudes officielles à l'égard de l'anglais, mais aussi sur la façon dont les jeunes Francophones se représentent leur besoin d'une connaissance fonctionnelle de cette langue. À mesure que le français occupe au Québec une place aussi avantageuse que l'anglais dans le reste du Canada, le nationalisme commence à s'accommoder d'une attitude pratique. Dans un éditorial publié en décembre, *Le Devoir* traitait ce phénomène :

> ... plus que la moitié des Anglo-Québécois sont aujourd'hui fonctionnellement bilingues, 53 pour cent d'entre eux pouvant soutenir une conversation dans les deux langues. Chez les Francophones, cette proportion est de 29 pour cent seulement. Dans un monde où l'anglais, qu'on l'aime ou non et

> quels que soient nos griefs historiques, est devenu « une sorte de langue commune au XX^e^ siècle » comme le dit le Conseil, un tel taux d'unilinguisme individuel peut rapidement devenir un désavantage collectif.

La confiance en soi accrue chez les Québécois francophones sur le plan de la langue s'est manifestée autrement. Un sondage d'opinions effectué pour le compte du Mouvement national des Québécois, qu'on pourrait difficilement qualifier d'anglomane, notait que seulement deux Québécois sur cinq trouvaient que la *Charte de la langue française* accordait à l'anglais une reconnaissance suffisante. En 1979, moins du tiers des Québécois francophones étaient d'avis qu'on devait autoriser la présence de l'anglais avec le français sur les enseignes publiques et dans l'affichage. D'après un sondage de 1981 auprès des Francophones de l'Île de Montréal, près des deux tiers étaient disposés à faire place à l'anglais. En 1983, la proportion pour tout le Québec francophone s'élevait à 71 pour cent ; en 1984, quelque 80 pour cent étaient acquis aux deux langues ou estimaient que le choix revenait aux entreprises ou aux organismes intéressés.

Il y a quelque chose de paradoxal dans cette tolérance, pour ne pas dire cette générosité, à l'égard de l'anglais au Québec quand le français inspire toujours des réactions moins bienveillantes au Manitoba, en Ontario et au Nouveau-Brunswick, et d'autant plus que le sort du français au Québec même est loin d'être pleinement assuré. Qu'il y ait lieu de se préoccuper à ce sujet, le fait a été démontré dans un document publié par le gouvernement québécois[1], qui formulait ainsi son diagnostic : « Après avoir accentué le caractère français de leur société, les Francophones trouvent à l'intérieur d'eux-mêmes une nouvelle source d'inquiétude. » Et *Le Devoir* enchaînait dans ces termes :

> Cette majorité ne trouve plus en elle-même la capacité de se renouveler. Elle n'attire plus vers elle les nouveaux Canadiens. Elle réussit moins bien que les autres provinces à retenir ceux qui sont venus se joindre à elle.

Notre courrier

Les quelque quinze cents plaintes que nous recevons chaque année équivalent, en quelque sorte, à un référendum annuel sur l'utilité de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Si la plupart de ceux qui nous signalent des infractions à la Loi sont des Francophones, les observations défavorables sur les effets de la réforme du régime linguistique — à tous les niveaux — nous viennent en majorité d'Anglo-Canadiens pour qui le français reçoit plus que sa part légitime de notre attention. Généralement, ces remarques sont assorties d'un message double : « Nous n'avons pas besoin de plus de français où j'habite » et « Pourquoi fait-on la promotion du français en dehors du Québec quand l'anglais est interdit dans cette province ? » Si nous nous limitions à analyser le ton d'une cinquantaine de lettres d'opinion reçues par le Commissariat en 1984, nous arriverions à la conclusion que l'opinion canadienne sur le bilinguisme officiel, dans toutes ses manifestations, est négative à quelque 64 pour cent, positive à 24 pour cent et neutre pour le reste.

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[1] L'évolution de la population du Québec et ses conséquences, ministère du Conseil exécutif, février 1984.

Les médias

Les questions suivantes ont fait la manchette en 1984 : l'avenir des droits du français au Manitoba ; les propositions de bilinguisme officiel pour l'Ontario et leur rejet ; les changements, réels ou imaginés, aux droits de l'anglais au Québec ; et, comme bouquet, une engueulade au petit écran à propos des recommandations énoncées dans le rapport Bastarache-Poirier sur l'égalité linguistique au Nouveau-Brunswick. Il semblerait que le terrain des grandes batailles linguistiques soit désormais plutôt provincial que national, ce qui semble normal étant donné que c'est dans les provinces, pour une bonne part, que ces droits s'exercent le plus concrètement dans le quotidien.

Nous sommes également frappés par une constante : la polarisation des opinions autour de deux groupes de pression opposés, chacun se déclarant menacé, dans sa liberté ou son existence, par le comportement de l'autre. Bien qu'une portion grandissante de la population comprenne que l'objectif de la réforme est juste et, en outre, indispensable, le chauvinisme sévit encore ici et là, des deux côtés. Mais la respectabilité relative de ces outrances verbales est visiblement sur le déclin. Ainsi, le Parlement a rapidement rejeté un projet de loi visant à interdire la désignation « Nouvelle-Écosse » pour *Nova Scotia*, usage qui remonte au traité d'Utrecht de 1713 ; on a aussi entendu des ministres du Parti québécois exalter la valeur de l'anglais pour les Francophones du Québec.

Là où la doctrine de l'association linguistique a marqué le plus de points, c'est dans la démonstration de ses avantages. En dépit des prédictions de certains pontifes sur l'avenir du bilinguisme dans l'ère post-Trudeau, la campagne à la direction du parti libéral et la campagne électorale ont amplement démontré que la reconnaissance de la dualité linguistique, et de la nécessité du bilinguisme dans la vie publique, transcendait désormais la politique partisane. Outre un accord très poussé chez les chefs de parti à l'égard du bilinguisme, on peut signaler la réaction uniformément positive à deux heures de débat entièrement en français entre trois leaders indubitablement anglophones.

Selon une objection courante, les programmes des langues officielles imposeraient des préoccupations propres au centre du Canada à des régions qui n'y trouvent aucun intérêt. Voici à ce sujet le point de vue de l'un de nos correspondants, qui ne ménage pas ses mots :

> Quand vous, élitistes de l'Est, vous débloquerez-vous la cervelle pour comprendre que l'Ouest n'a jamais demandé le bilinguisme, n'en a pas besoin, n'en veut pas ?[1]

Voilà une question bien nette, et qui a sûrement des échos dans certaines parties de l'Est et du Centre, voire de l'Ouest. Qu'ils se trouvent à Moncton, Halifax, Winnipeg, Calgary, Victoria, ou même à Montréal ou Toronto, ceux qui soutiennent que le bilinguisme officiel résulte d'un complot fédéral ruineux et qui sème la discorde peuvent toujours compter sur une flopée de disciples tout disponibles. À la lumière des réactions de certains, il ne fait aucun doute que la question linguistique

[1] Notre traduction

divise les Canadiens. Mais peut-on parler d'un « complot ruineux » quand le programme ne coûte annuellement à chaque Canadien que dix dollars[1], soit le sixième de ce qu'il dépense pour son journal du matin.

Bien sûr, il est plus facile de trouver à redire sur le bilinguisme que de le situer dans la constellation des vertus canadiennes et d'en faire valoir les avantages. La question de la place du bilinguisme officiel relativement à d'autres préoccupations culturelles et linguistiques légitimes est à l'origine du colloque tenu sous nos auspices à Edmonton, en mai dernier, sous le titre : *Les Langues officielles : l'Ouest et son vécu*. Malgré le caractère bénin de ce titre, des questions délicates et controversées ont été débattues en toute franchise, notamment celles-ci : Est-ce que bilinguisme et multiculturalisme sont aussi complémentaires que le voudrait la philosophie politique ? Où les langues — officielles et autres — se situent-elles relativement à d'autres facteurs dans la définition de notre sens de la communauté ? Pourquoi non seulement les gens de l'Ouest, mais aussi ceux d'origine ni anglaise ni française dans tout le pays, sont-ils irrités et se sentent-ils exclus par les manifestations du bilinguisme officiel ? Ce dernier thème se détachait dans l'allocution prononcée par l'honorable Joe Clark, dont voici un passage :

> Non pas que les Canadiens (de l'Ouest) s'opposent foncièrement à la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ou au français. Ils craignent plutôt — et cela est tout à fait normal et plus manifeste en périodes de marasme économique — que certaines règles ne soient préjudiciables à leur égalité de statut.

Tous ceux qui ont pris la parole ont fait valoir que l'Ouest est bien différent de l'Est par sa structure culturelle et linguistique. La plupart étaient sensibles à la nécessité d'une conception pancanadienne de la politique linguistique, mais estimaient qu'elle devait comporter une plus grande reconnaissance du caractère ethnique et linguistique de la population de l'Ouest. Pourquoi le multiculturalisme n'est-il qu'une politique du gouvernement fédéral, sans l'appui d'une législation ? On a même proposé que la *Loi sur les langues officielles* soit étendue à d'autres langues que l'anglais et le français. Après que les participants en eurent fini de leur affirmation que l'Est est l'Est, que l'Ouest est l'Ouest, il leur restait à considérer comment accorder protection et appui aux 185 000 Francophones établis dans l'Ouest.

Devant l'abondance des sujets traités ou évoqués, on peut se demander ce que le colloque a pu accomplir. Il n'y a pas eu de résolutions dans les formes, mais diverses suggestions qui méritent qu'on s'y arrête. Personne n'a mieux résumé la complémentarité problématique du bilinguisme et du multiculturalisme au Canada que l'honorable Joe Clark. Il a dégagé deux points. Premièrement, la nécessité d'assurer à nos jeunes une connaissance fonctionnelle des deux langues officielles ; à ce propos, il s'est demandé « pourquoi nos systèmes scolaires n'obligent pas tous les élèves à apprendre les deux langues officielles du Canada, (et) pourquoi nos éta-

[1] Dans la Fonction publique, le bilinguisme coûte environ 250 millions de dollars par an. Il convient de doubler la note, si l'on inclut les 250 millions de dollars versés aux provinces au titre des langues officielles dans l'enseignement. Le gros des dépenses d'enseignement des langues repose en fait sur les provinces. La difficulté cependant consiste à déterminer en quoi ces dépenses sont supplémentaires, ou diffèrent de celles qu'entraîne l'enseignement de la géographie ou de la physique, par exemple.

blissements de haut savoir ne font pas de la connaissance de celles-ci une condition d'admission et d'obtention d'un diplôme ». En second lieu, se référant à la question des deux langues officielles et de la multitude des cultures, il a déclaré :

> Notre bilinguisme officiel a créé au pays ce que j'ai appelé une tradition de diversité (...) Je suis persuadé que cette tradition (...) qui favorise l'épanouissement du multiculturalisme dans l'Ouest a des racines profondes et qu'elle ne pourrait exister sans la consécration officielle des langues et des cultures des deux groupes fondateurs.

Ainsi que l'ont noté les coprésidents, MM. Bruce Howe et Louis Desrochers, en clôturant le colloque, toute différence individuelle de perspective a été compensée par l'absence d'acrimonie dans la discussion et par le sentiment que toutes les minorités étaient des alliées d'une cause commune, soit la préservation d'une diversité culturelle précieuse. D'autres réunions du genre aideraient sûrement à élucider la situation ; plus nous pourrons dissiper les craintes et les suspicions naturelles, plus grandes seront nos chances de substituer des accommodements raisonnables à la lutte traditionnelle.

Perspectives d'une plus grande harmonie

Le simple fait de ne plus tirer le rideau sur les divergences d'intérêts et d'opinions et d'en faire l'objet de discussions libres et rationnelles, constitue manifestement un grand avantage. La tolérance et la loyauté entre communautés linguistiques ne sont pas fatalement des fantaisies élitistes. Elles peuvent jeter les bases d'une association fonctionnelle et authentique. Mais cela suppose, des deux côtés, que la réponse et la tolérance s'imprègnent davantage de cet esprit de réciprocité qui serait latent, d'après les divers sondages d'opinions ; et que cela corresponde dans une certaine mesure à la perspective de diversité culturelle que le pape Jean-Paul II a exaltée lors de sa récente visite :

> Souviens-toi, ô Canada, que la plus grande richesse de ton caractère multiculturel est cette possibilité qui t'est donnée d'aller vers autrui pour lui apporter ton aide — d'apporter ton aide à tes frères et à tes soeurs dans le besoin. C'est cela que la foi rend possible ; c'est cela que l'amour exige.

C'est là un message que nous gagnerions à approfondir.

PARTIE II

L'égalité linguistique : les trois principes

Au service des Canadiens : dans les deux langues

Cette section de notre rapport traite des trois grands objectifs de la reforme du régime linguistique dans l'administration fédérale, objectifs qui sont explicitement formulés dans la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ou qui en découlent. Ce sont : la prestation de services en français et en anglais, la représentation équitable au sein de l'appareil fédéral des Francophones et des Anglophones, et le droit des fonctionnaires fédéraux de travailler dans la langue officielle qui est la leur. Deux chapitres sont consacrés à la question du service au public. Le premier porte sur sa qualité et sur les méthodes employées pour évaluer celle-ci, et le second, sur les plaintes : qui se plaint, à quel sujet, comment réagissent les organismes mis en cause, et comment faire en sorte que les plaintes débouchent sur des améliorations durables.

En français ou en anglais

Puisque le Commissaire aux langues officielles a pour fonction, entre autres, de dénoncer les manquements de l'administration fédérale à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, rappelons que celle-ci reconnait au français et à l'anglais « une égalité de statut, de droits et de privilèges » dans les institutions fédérales, égalité qui n'existait pas avant sa promulgation. Les rapports annuels que le Commissaire soumet au Parlement doivent donc rendre compte de deux phénomènes : d'une part, de la situation actuelle en matière d'égalité linguistique, et d'autre part, de la qualité et de l'opportunité des mesures prises afin de supprimer les inégalités qui subsistent.

À cet égard, nos lecteurs assidus n'auront sans doute que trop entendu cette rengaine : « Certes il y a eu progrès, mais d'autres améliorations s'imposent. » Au-delà donc et à la lumière de nos constatations, il nous faut aussi dire au Parlement et aux Canadiens s'ils peuvent espérer qu'un jour, au train où vont les choses, le français et l'anglais jouiront d'un véritable statut d'égalité en ce qui a trait aux principaux objectifs de la réforme, et quand cela se produira. Cette interrogation est d'autant plus pertinente depuis qu'il y a un nouveau gouvernement au pouvoir. Nous ne voulons pas, en soulevant cette question, insister sur les inégalités ni sur le fait que certaines initiatives gouvernementales en la matière sont plus judicieuses que d'autres. Nous cherchons tout simplement à savoir si le Parlement pourra dire un jour au peuple canadien : « Nous avons fait la preuve de la légitimité du bilinguisme officiel et, dans une large mesure, nous avons atteint notre but. »

Nous nous employons, dans les pages et les chapitres qui suivent, à faire le point sur la situation de l'égalité linguistique en 1984. Et l'idée nous est venue d'inviter les lecteurs, et en particulier les membres du gouvernement, à se poser chemin faisant quelques questions fort simples :

- Ce que je viens de lire concernant l'usage du français et de l'anglais, me permet-il de penser que l'égalité linguistique a été réalisée ?
- Comment réagirais-je si la situation était inversée, et si c'était ma langue qu'il fallait valoriser ?
- Compte tenu que la *Loi sur les langues officielles* existe depuis quinze ans et que l'égalité linguistique qu'elle consacrait a été confirmée il y a trois ans par la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1982*, puis-je considérer que les pratiques administratives et les mentalités évoluent aussi rapidement et aussi effectivement qu'il le faudrait ?
- S'il m'incombait d'assurer la mise en oeuvre de cette réforme à l'échelle nationale, comment pourrais-je en faire un succès ?

Le sentiment de l'égalité

La législation et la constitution nous autorisent à attendre du gouvernement qu'il nous offre des services d'une qualité comparable à ceux dont bénéficient les Canadiens de l'autre groupe linguistique officiel. En cette matière, la notion d'équité, qui dérive d'une sorte d'éthique sociale à laquelle souscrit l'ensemble de la population, est fondamentale. Mais comment vérifier si le gouvernement fédéral applique réellement ce principe ? Plusieurs indicateurs ont été utilisés à cette fin dans le passé, et nous les appliquons à notre tour afin de poser notre diagnostic pour 1984. Ces instruments de mesure sont au nombre de trois.

- Le « décompte des coups », qui nous renseigne à la fois sur le nombre de plaintes provenant des deux groupes linguistiques, et sur la gravité relative des irrégularités commises.
- L'« indice de crédibilité », qui mesure l'aptitude théorique des services fédéraux à fonctionner dans les deux langues. Il comprend : a) un test de « visibilité du service », pour déterminer jusqu'à quel point les clients sont incités à se prévaloir de leurs droits légaux et constitutionnels ; b) un test de « chaleur téléphonique », afin de savoir si les fonctionnaires répondent au téléphone avec le même entrain en français qu'en anglais, et s'il s'ensuit un échange efficace ; et c) un test « en chair et en os », permettant d'évaluer la qualité effective du service que semble promettre une charmante façade bilingue...
- Enfin, l'« examen de conscience » des hauts fonctionnaires fédéraux relativement aux tenants et aux aboutissants du programme, qui leur fournit l'occasion de revoir leur conduite à cet égard.

Une fois terminé ce petit exercice, on obtient ce qu'on pourrait appeler une « cote composée ». Celle-ci nous indique les chances respectives des clientèles francophone et anglophone — dans un certain nombre de situations précises — d'être

servies dans leur propre langue, selon les règles de l'équité, ou témoigne tout au moins des efforts qui sont consentis pour en assurer le respect et inciter la clientèle à recommencer l'expérience.

Le décompte des coups

Les motifs des plaintes, comme leur nombre, varient d'un groupe linguistique à l'autre. La raison en est simple : les services en langue française sont encore « en voie de développement » alors que ceux en anglais relèvent d'une longue tradition — même s'ils ne sont plus aujourd'hui à l'abri de la critique. Sur le plan de l'équité, il va sans dire que les Anglophones n'ont pas autant que les Francophones à se plaindre que le service dans leur langue leur est constamment refusé, que leurs droits sont sans cesse bafoués, voire qu'on les traite de façon injurieuse. Quand cela se produit cependant, ils n'en ressentent pas moins l'outrage. (On trouvera dans le chapitre qui suit un examen des plaintes et des suites qu'elles reçoivent.)

L'indice de crédibilité

S'afficher bilingue

Même si l'idée a mis du temps à faire son chemin, le Conseil du Trésor et les organismes fédéraux reconnaissent, depuis trois ou quatre ans, qu'il ne suffit pas, pour satisfaire aux exigences de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, de pouvoir assurer des services bilingues en certains endroits ; encore faut-il que les bureaux qui sont tenus d'en offrir affichent leur capacité à le faire.

Dès 1977, les directives du gouvernement concernant les langues officielles exigeaient des ministères et organismes qu'ils prennent des « mesures visant à informer le public de l'existence de services dans les deux langues officielles ».

Il y a trois ans, le gouvernement est revenu à la charge, demandant que l'offre soit « active », c'est à dire que « la prestation de service [se fasse] de façon à ce que le public sache qu'il peut librement choisir la langue officielle dans laquelle il recevra le service ». Parmi les moyens proposés pour assurer cette plus grande visibilité — ou « audibilité » selon le cas —, la directive mentionne l'accueil téléphonique et le suivi des appels, des points de service bilingues clairement identifiés comme tels, l'affichage et la documentation bilingues. Bref, on convenait de la nécessité de clairement informer les citoyens de l'existence de services en français et en anglais.

Bien que ces directives remontent à sept ans (ou trois ans si l'on veut), les recommandations très claires qu'elles renferment sont loin d'être appliquées partout intégralement. Certains contrôles ont été effectués en 1984, dont nous publions ci-dessous les conclusions sommaires. Les données ont été recueillies uniquement là où il y avait une clientèle minoritaire reconnue. Sauf indications contraires, les points de service vérifiés figurent tous dans le plus récent répertoire des bureaux fédéraux « qui sont en mesure de dispenser à temps plein des services au public dans les deux langues officielles[1] ».

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[1] *À votre service dans les deux langues officielles*, Conseil du Trésor du Canada, 1984.

Hisser les couleurs

Visibilité de l'offre

Fait-on les efforts nécessaires pour signaler aux Canadiens que les services fédéraux sont à leur disposition dans nos deux langues officielles ? Pour en juger, nous avons visité six ministères et trois sociétés de la Couronne[1] — inscrits au répertoire du Conseil du Trésor ou clairement identifiés comme prestataires de services bilingues — pour voir quels signaux ils envoyaient à la clientèle à cet égard. Le choix des villes a été déterminé en fonction de l'importance relative de leur minorité linguistique : Moncton et Cornwall (un peu plus de 30 pour cent) ; Québec et Edmonton (3 pour cent environ). Notre examen a porté sur trois points : l'extérieur (la façade, etc.) s'affiche-t-il bilingue ? L'intérieur indique-t-il de façon satisfaisante qu'on se trouve en un lieu bilingue ? Y trouve-t-on des écriteaux ou tout autre signe visible manifestant une offre « active » de service ? Le tableau ci-après donne les grandes lignes des résultats de notre mini-enquête.

Tableau II.1

[illegible]

	Nombre de bureaux examinés	Affichage extérieur %	Affichage interne %	Offre active %
Edmonton	16	90	58	13
Cornwall	3	100	67	88
Québec	12	100	83	89
Moncton	7	62	61	83

Source : Étude du Commissariat aux langues officielles, 1984.

Sauf à Moncton, les signes extérieurs (qui relèvent habituellement des Travaux publics) étaient suffisamment explicites, et ceux de l'intérieur l'étaient moyennement dans tous les cas ; quant à l'« offre active » de services, elle variait de bonne à Québec, à très mauvaise à Edmonton.

Sondage téléphonique

Cette année, notre sondage par téléphone a été effectué dans les mêmes villes, auprès des mêmes ministères et organismes. Les 273 appels ont donné les résultats ventilés au tableau II.2.

Ces résultats sont plus encourageants que ceux de l'an dernier, mais ils sont encore en deçà de ce qu'on est en droit d'attendre de bureaux « en mesure de dispenser à temps plein des services (bilingues) au public ». Bien que dans trois villes l'information ait pu être fournie rapidement environ neuf fois sur dix, les fonctionnaires ont répondu au téléphone dans les deux langues dans une proportion de

[1] Agriculture, Consommation et Corporations, Emploi et Immigration, Environnement, Santé et Bien-être, Revenu (Douanes et Accise), Air Canada, Société canadienne des postes et Via Rail. Les ministères et organismes n'étaient pas tous présents dans chacune des villes.

Tableau II.2

[redacted]

	Nombre de bureaux examinés	Nombre d'appels téléphoniques	Accueil dans les deux langues Nombre	%	Service dans la langue officielle minoritaire[1] Nombre	%
Edmonton	17	85	22	25,9	29	34,1
Cornwall	9	43	35	81,4	37	86,0
Québec	20	100	12	12,0	90	90,0
Moncton	13	45	29	64,5	44	97,7

[1] C'est-à-dire les cas où une information intelligible a été communiquée assez rapidement dans la langue officielle minoritaire.

Source : Étude du Commissariat aux langues officielles, 1984.

80 pour cent dans le meilleur des cas, et de 25 et 12 pour cent dans les pires cas, soit respectivement à Edmonton et à Québec. La qualité de la langue a été jugée inacceptable dans presque 7 pour cent des cas, et l'information, incompréhensible dans un peu plus de 8 pour cent. Il y a donc un net écart entre la réalité et ce que laisse entendre le document du Conseil du Trésor *À votre service dans les deux langues officielles*.

Les visites sur place

Même la région de la Capitale nationale n'est pas à l'abri des ratés. Lors d'un sondage effectué à la fin de 1984 auprès de 85 points de service destinés au grand public dans la région d'Ottawa-Hull, cinq d'entre eux seulement ont véritablement offert leur service dans les deux langues officielles, soit oralement, soit par des affiches bilingues. Généralement l'accueil se faisait en anglais, même du côté québécois de la rivière. Dans 18 pour cent des cas, l'accueil se faisait en français seulement. Dans tous les cas, on a pu obtenir un service simple en anglais, mais le même service n'a pu être obtenu en français que dans 70 pour cent des cas. Même à l'ombre de la Tour de la paix, le Francophone ne peut pas toujours être servi dans sa langue. De ce point de vue, les services publics ne projettent pas une image d'équité et leur indice de crédibilité est plutôt faible. Nous recommandons que tous les bureaux fédéraux qui dispensent des services bilingues soient tenus de le faire de façon active et explicite, dans toutes les situations et à toute heure.

L'examen de conscience ministériel

Les faits et gestes chiffrés

À partir des données contenues dans les Plans d'action des ministères et organismes, et de celles fournies par le Système d'information sur les langues officielles (SILO), le Conseil du Trésor a cherché à mesurer l'importance que 17 ministères[1]

[1] Ces ministères sont Agriculture, Revenu (Douanes et Accise), Consommation et Corporation, Pêches et Océans, Défense nationale, Environnement, Affaires des anciens combattants, Emploi et Immigration, Énergie, Mines et Ressources, Affaires extérieures, Transport, Santé et Bien-être social, Gendarmerie royale, Expansion industrielle régionale, Secrétariat d'État, Statistique Canada et Revenu (Impôt).

accordent aux services bilingues, et l'empressement dont ils font preuve à cet égard. L'examen a porté sur les services offerts à 40 communautés de langue minoritaire situées en dehors des régions dites bilingues.

Il en est ressorti des différences importantes d'un ministère à l'autre ; différences qui ne tenaient pas uniquement à la taille de ces communautés. On note par exemple des disparités marquées entre l'empressement qu'on semble manifester envers les communautés de langue anglaise et celles de langue française. De même, la qualité du service varie considérablement d'un ministère à l'autre et, au sein d'un même ministère, d'une région à l'autre. De toute évidence, cette véritable anarchie n'a rien pour inciter les citoyens à se prévaloir de leurs droits en cette matière.

L'espace nous manque pour détailler les résultats de l'analyse du Conseil du Trésor. Nous invitons cependant le lecteur à réfléchir à chacun des cas que nous exposons ci-dessous, à la lumière des questions que nous avons suggérées plus haut : Est-ce cela l'égalité ? Si j'étais en cause, quelle serait ma réaction ? De quoi cela est-il symptomatique ? Quelles mesures concrètes prendrais-je pour remédier à la situation ?

- C'est à Québec que l'on retrouve la plus forte proportion de fonctionnaires bilingues (550 sur environ 3 500), soit plus de 15 pour cent.
- De façon générale, les communautés de langue minoritaire du Québec ont, sur papier tout au moins, dix fois plus de fonctionnaires bilingues à leur service que les collectivités équivalentes des autres provinces.
- La minorité linguistique hors Québec la mieux desservie dans sa langue est celle d'Edmonton, où l'on ne trouve que 70 fonctionnaires bilingues sur un total de 4 000, soit moins de 2 pour cent.
- À Windsor, où l'on compte quelque 60 fonctionnaires bilingues sur un millier, seulement un ministère sur deux reconnaît que la demande de service français est suffisante et justifie une « offre active ».
- Si l'on se fie aux plans ministériels, on relève moins de 10 fonctionnaires bilingues dans 27 points de service sur 40, et 18 de ces points n'en comptent aucun ; selon les données du SILO, 18 points de service ont moins de 10 fonctionnaires bilingues, et 7 n'en comptent aucun.
- Au Québec, une seule des 12 villes étudiées compte moins de trois fonctionnaires bilingues pour desservir la minorité linguistique ; en dehors du Québec, près de la moitié des 28 villes sont dans cette situation.

Les chances de l'égalité

Toutes ces observations prouvent bien ce que nous savions déjà : il est impossible d'offrir un service de qualité si l'on s'en tient à la lettre des directives. La grande interrogation de notre rapport, rappelons-le, est de savoir si, au train où vont les choses, l'égalité linguistique dans les institutions fédérales pourra être atteinte, disons d'ici l'an 2000 ; et par égalité, nous entendons une qualité, une répartition et une accessibilité équivalentes des services en anglais et en français. Au vu de la situation présente, rien ne nous autorise à penser que cet objectif national est prêt d'être atteint.

Pourtant, il n'y a *aucune raison* pour que les choses ne changent pas. Certaines initiatives originales et simples ont déjà produit des résultats concluants ici et là ; il n'y aurait qu'à les étendre à l'ensemble de la Fonction publique. L'expérience révèle que les organismes où l'on fixe aux administrateurs locaux des buts clairs et précis, tout en leur laissant une bonne marge de manoeuvre, sont ceux qui réussissent le mieux. Ce n'est pas un hasard si le rendement d'Emploi et Immigration est excellent dans l'ensemble, et celui de la Société canadienne des postes, lamentable. Le succès dépend de trois choses fort simples : la volonté de discuter avec les groupes minoritaires des moyens de les servir convenablement ; des buts réalistes et clairement définis, qui ont le plein appui des hauts dirigeants ; la mise en place de mécanismes de vérification portant non pas sur l'aptitude théorique, mais bien sur les résultats concrets.

Demande suffisante

L'article 20(1) de la Charte des droits et libertés dispose que tout citoyen canadien peut communiquer avec l'administration fédérale soit en français soit en anglais, là où « existe une demande suffisante ». Mais cette notion de « demande suffisante » est bien vague et devra sans doute être précisée par les tribunaux. Le Conseil du Trésor a, quant à lui, commencé en 1984 à définir des critères quantifiables qui pourraient en faciliter l'interprétation. Il est dangereux, cependant, de s'adonner à cet exercice dans l'abstrait à partir des « prestations » offertes dans des bureaux présumément bilingues, ou de statistiques sur les populations de langue minoritaire. Tant qu'il n'y aura pas un minimum de service bilingue offert, cette démarche n'a aucun sens ; elle équivaut à laisser au public le fardeau de la preuve à cet égard. Tout le monde sait où se trouvent les minorités linguistiques. Il serait donc plus logique d'implanter de véritables services bilingues là où ils se révèlent vraiment utiles, de bien en faire la publicité et de suivre de près l'évolution de la situation.

En matière de service public en français et en anglais, la tâche des administrations centrales et des hauts dirigeants ministériels est de veiller à ce que les services offerts répondent effectivement aux besoins. Il leur faut pour cela voir à ce que les cadres fonctionnels reçoivent des directives claires, et disposent des moyens nécessaires pour atteindre leurs objectifs.

Les plaintes : vox populi

L'anglais et le français sont, au même titre, les langues officielles du Canada ; en cette matière, l'égalité est le maître mot. Pour déterminer dans quelle mesure ce noble principe s'est incarné dans le quotidien des services de l'État, il faut se mettre à l'écoute de la population, ou, plus précisément, de ceux qui, en butte à un traitement linguistique inacceptable, se donnent la peine d'entrer en rapport avec nous. On se représentera plus facilement le mécanisme de résolution des plaintes et ce qu'il signifie pour le public, pour les organismes fédéraux et notre Commissariat, si l'on considère la nature de ces plaintes et la suite qui leur est donnée.

Les plaintes et leur signification

Le législateur, tenant à ce que soient respectés l'esprit et la lettre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, a ménagé aux Canadiens la possibilité de recourir à un arbitre indépendant : le Commissaire aux langues officielles. Les contribuables ont su mettre à profit ce service. Les plaintes nous viennent de tous les milieux, de toutes les régions, de toutes les catégories d'âge. Dans la plupart des cas, ce sont des particuliers qui nous écrivent, mais il arrive que ce soient des associations de minorités linguistiques ou d'autres groupes. Si l'on se plaint, c'est que généralement on estime avoir été frustré dans ses droits. D'ailleurs, beaucoup nous expriment leur mécontentement en des termes non équivoques.

Les motifs de plaintes peuvent être répartis sous deux rubriques : les défaillances isolées, et les situations qui traduisent de la part d'un organisme une attitude foncièrement erronée à l'égard de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Si les incidents de parcours ne sont pas toujours sans gravité, les plaintes qui font ressortir une sérieuse faiblesse dans le système sont autrement importantes, et exigent un examen plus approfondi, parfois même une vérification linguistique complète.

Depuis la création de notre Commissariat, nous avons reçu plus de 16 000 plaintes. En 1984, il y en a eu 1 421, dont 214 venant d'Anglophones — du Québec pour le plus grand nombre. Ce rapport de 1 à 6 est resté constant ces cinq dernières années, ce qui ne manque pas d'être révélateur. La très grande majorité des plaintes concernaient les organismes fédéraux ; 137 seulement mettaient en cause des gouvernements provinciaux ou l'entreprise privée. (Voir le tableau A.1, en annexe.) L'afflux incessant des plaintes révèle trois choses : que le comportement fédéral est loin d'être parfait ; que les gens prennent très à cœur la question de la

langue ; que l'intervention du Commissariat leur paraît utile. Un bref retour sur notre propre conduite nous fait voir à quel point nous répugnons à porter plainte, malgré bien des provocations. Chaque plainte serait donc révélatrice d'une infinité d'autres, comme il peut ressortir de l'exemple ci-après.

Via Rail

Dans un wagon-couchettes de Via Rail, entre Montréal et Gaspé, un voyageur ne peut se faire servir en français par le préposé anglophone en fonction. Cet événement nous amène à formuler quelques hypothèses. Même si une seule plainte a été déposée, ne peut-on pas présumer que nombre de voyageurs francophones ont été ce jour-là en butte à la même difficulté. Mais comment Via Rail en est-il arrivé à affecter au service d'un train au Québec une personne ne parlant pas le français ? Il serait même étonnant que pareille incongruité ne se soit pas produite à bien d'autres reprises. Quant à ceux qui ne verraient rien d'anormal à l'incident, montreraient-ils la même tolérance devant l'absence de tout service en anglais dans un train quelque part en Ontario ? Voilà le genre de questions que nous nous posons lors de l'examen des plaintes qui nous sont présentées.

Autres exemples

La sélection qui suit illustre en partie les préoccupations de nos plaignants. Elle est présentée sous trois grandes rubriques : service au public, participation équitable des deux communautés linguistiques dans les organismes d'État, et langue de travail.

Service au public

La difficulté à se faire servir en français ou en anglais a fait l'objet de 93 pour cent des plaintes portées en 1984. Bien entendu, certains ministères et organismes, tels Air Canada, la Société canadienne des postes, Emploi et Immigration et Transports, ont fait les frais de la plus grande partie des plaintes ; c'est qu'ils comptent le plus grand nombre de clients et de points de service. Une autre précision s'impose : plus de la moitié des plaintes mettent en lumière l'une des lacunes les plus graves du système, soit l'absence d'empressement à offrir le service dans la langue de la minorité.

Musées Nationaux

Notre premier exemple illustre comment un fait assimilable à un incident isolé aurait pu avoir de lourdes conséquences. Quelques étudiants francophones de Hull s'étaient déjà rendus à quelques occasions au Musée de l'Homme, à Ottawa, pour préparer une dissertation ; or, un préposé en uniforme les accueillit un jour en leur suggérant de rentrer au Québec s'ils ne parlaient pas anglais. On imagine facilement la consternation de ces jeunes et de leur professeur devant pareille leçon d'anthropologie canadienne, tout comme celle des autorités des Musées nationaux lorsqu'elles furent informées de l'affaire. La situation, qui impliquait un agent de sécurité contractuel, a été corrigée avec diligence, et des excuses ont été présentées. En guise d'amende honorable, on invita les victimes à une visite commentée du Musée.

Cour de l'impôt

Souvent les explications que nous donnent les organismes en cause nous aident à comprendre la frustration ressentie par les plaignants. Une Francophone s'est présentée devant la Cour de l'impôt, à Montréal, pour contester une cotisation fiscale.

Le juge et l'avocat de Revenu Canada étaient des Francophones. À un moment donné, le procureur remit des photocopies de documents en langue anglaise au juge et à la plaignante. Celle-ci, ne lisant pas l'anglais, demanda une traduction, mais se fit répondre qu'on n'en avait pas. Par la suite, un représentant de la Cour nous expliqua que la plaignante aurait dû réclamer au préalable un interprète, service qui est accordé sur demande écrite. Mais comment diable aurait-elle pu deviner qu'elle aurait besoin d'un interprète? Bref, la plaignante n'a pas obtenu de réparation immédiate, mais nous avons prié la Cour d'inclure dans ses règlements un article qui définirait avec précision les droits linguistiques des appelants et qui ferait peser sur la Cour toute obligation en la matière.

Santé et Bien-être

Il arrive également que les Anglophones n'obtiennent pas sans difficultés des services en leur langue. Ainsi, un médecin de Colombie-Britannique exerçant à titre privé avait adressé un rapport d'examen au ministère de la Santé et du Bien-être ; or, il reçut une lettre en français, lui demandant des renseignements additionnels. On a cru d'abord à une simple inadvertance, la *Loi sur les langues officielles* n'abolissant pas celle de Murphy ; l'affaire se compliqua cependant lorsque le fonctionnaire en cause fit valoir son droit de travailler en français. Heureusement, il finit par comprendre et présenta ses excuses.

Participation équitable

Les préoccupations touchant la participation s'expriment ordinairement par des questions et des commentaires sur les données statistiques ou sur les règles d'accès à la Fonction publique, jugées restrictives. Nous recevons un certain nombre de plaintes touchant, par exemple, les exigences linguistiques s'attachant à des postes, les tests d'aptitude et l'accès aux cours de langue. Si dans la plupart des cas nos recherches ne révèlent rien d'anormal, nous avons parfois constaté des situations où la méthode péchait contre l'équité.

Société canadienne des postes

Mais le recrutement soulève aussi divers problèmes : avis et définitions de tâches non accessibles dans la langue appropriée, ou membres d'un comité de sélection ne sachant pas la langue du candidat. Voici à cet égard un cas bien caractéristique : la Société canadienne des postes a fait paraître un appel de candidature pour un poste à pourvoir au Québec dans un journal francophone de Montréal, mais non dans le quotidien de langue anglaise. Or, à l'heure actuelle, moins de 3 pour cent du personnel québécois est anglophone. Il est bien évident que ce déséquilibre ne peut être corrigé si les Anglophones ne sont pas informés des offres d'emploi.

Langue de travail

Seulement 7 pour cent des plaintes reçues en 1984 avaient trait à la langue de travail, la plupart d'entre elles venant de la région de la Capitale nationale. En partie par crainte de représailles, les fonctionnaires hésitent généralement à se plaindre. Pourtant, les sondages réalisés au cours de nos vérifications linguistiques ont révélé un fort degré de mécontentement en ce qui concerne la possibilité pour les Francophones de travailler dans leur langue.

Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité

Nous avons reçu deux plaintes contre le Service canadien du renseignement de sécurité. Selon la première, l'interprétation simultanée n'était pas offerte lors des réunions à l'échelle nationale, ce qui constituait une invitation caractéristique à s'en tenir à l'anglais comme langue de travail. La seconde avait trait à des télex,

notes et messages divers expédiés uniquement en anglais du siège d'Ottawa au bureau québécois. On nous a répondu que le Service en était encore à l'étape de l'organisation et qu'on remédierait à ces difficultés au cours des mois à venir. Encore une fois, nous nous trouvions devant une situation tout à fait classique. Lorsqu'un organisme est mis sur pied, la question du régime linguistique est reléguée à une étape ultérieure.

Défense nationale

Un groupe de soldats du Royal 22e, en garnison en Allemagne, s'est heurté à des difficultés imprévues à l'occasion d'un incendie qui avait détruit un entrepôt au Canada et leurs biens et effets qui s'y trouvaient. La société d'assurance intéressée dépêcha un représentant auprès des soldats et des personnes à leur charge afin d'établir les montants des indemnités. Soucieux d'assurer un bon déroulement de l'affaire, le ministère de la Défense, de son côté, envoya deux de ses experts pour renseigner les soldats et leurs familles sur leurs droits. Mais un problème s'est posé : presque tous les membres du personnel militaire et les personnes à leur charge étaient francophones, alors que ni l'un ni l'autre des deux envoyés du Ministère ne parlaient le français. Le Ministère nous a informé que ses experts n'avaient pas eu de difficultés, grâce à « l'entière collaboration des Forces canadiennes en Europe ». Par contre, si le Ministère avait envoyé au moins un expert bilingue, nos valeureux militaires n'auraient pas eu à interrompre le cours habituel de leurs activités.

Le traitement des plaintes

À l'occasion d'une plainte, le Commissaire a un rôle de tierce partie. Voyons comment il le joue avec l'organisme mis en cause.

Emploi et Immigration

Un bon nombre d'organismes fédéraux voient dans une plainte un signe authentique que quelque chose ne va pas et se donnent la peine de chercher l'origine du problème. En voici un exemple. Depuis 1982, nous avons reçu nombre de plaintes concernant le manque de service en français dans les Centres d'emploi du Canada à Hamilton. Le Ministère a examiné la situation, a eu des entretiens avec les associations francophones de la ville et en est arrivé à la décision qu'il fallait un établissement central où tous les services pourraient être dispensés en français. Bien sûr, le projet ne pouvait être mis à exécution du jour au lendemain ; toutefois, nous sommes heureux de signaler que le centre est en pleine activité aujourd'hui.

Statut de la femme

Bonne nouvelle également pour ce qui est du Conseil consultatif canadien de la situation de la femme. Des plaintes nous étaient parvenues au sujet du bureau de Winnipeg qui n'offrait pas de service en français. Le Conseil a d'abord réagi en engageant une personne bilingue. Bien des ministères ne seraient pas allés plus loin. Le Conseil, lui, a ensuite tenu des réunions avec des groupes de Franco-Manitobaines afin de trouver des moyens d'améliorer le service en français. Voilà comment se comporte un organisme de bonne volonté.

Revenu national (Impôt)

Malheureusement, tous ne manifestent pas le même empressement. Nous avons reçu des plaintes au sujet du bureau de renseignements de Revenu Canada (Impôt) à Ottawa, qui n'offrait pas toujours de service en français. Le Ministère nous a répondu que cinq des huit préposés aux renseignements téléphoniques

étaient bilingues et que, parfois, le client devait composer plusieurs fois le numéro pour obtenir la communication. Le problème, concluait-il, n'avait rien à voir avec la question des langues. Nous n'étions pas et ne sommes toujours pas de cet avis. Le malheureux client anglophone était, au moins, assuré d'être servi dans sa langue, dès qu'il obtenait la communication ; mais tel n'était pas le cas pour le Francophone. Il a fallu sept lettres et de longs entretiens avant que le Ministère n'envisage la possibilité d'installer des lignes séparées pour le français et l'anglais.

Pêches et Océans

La sensibilité aux questions de langue est d'une importance particulière pour les organismes dont la fonction consiste à réglementer. Malheureusement il y a bien des cas où cette sensibilité fait tristement défaut. Un pêcheur francophone de Nouvelle-Écosse, qui avait refusé l'accès de son bateau à des inspecteurs de Pêches et Océans, s'est vu traduire en justice par le Ministère. En défense, il a fait valoir que ces agents n'étaient manifestement pas en mesure de s'acquitter de leurs tâches en français. Le juge a rejeté les allégations de la poursuite, estimant qu'en vertu de la Charte des droits, le pêcheur aurait dû être servi plus adéquatement dans sa langue. Le Ministère en a appelé de la décision, mais en vain. Aussi a-t-il résolu finalement d'affecter au moins un agent bilingue à chaque équipe d'inspection. Vu la nature de son rôle, on s'étonne qu'il n'ait pas agi de la sorte des années auparavant.

Via Rail

D'après nos enquêtes et nos vérifications, les allégations que renferment les plaintes sont rarement hors de propos. Et de fait il arrive peu souvent que les ministères les contestent. À l'occasion, un organisme prétendra ne pas être en mesure de confirmer l'incident signalé. Deux voyageurs, l'un allant vers Montréal et l'autre vers Ottawa, se sont plaints d'avoir reçu une réponse en anglais du chef de train a qui ils avaient demandé l'heure de l'arrivée. Via Rail a transmis les plaintes aux Chemins de fer nationaux, l'équipe du train étant au service de cette société. Subséquemment, le CN nous informa qu'aucun des employés de l'un ou l'autre train ne pouvait se souvenir d'un incident de cette nature. Mais n'allant pas, fort heureusement, jusqu'à mettre en doute la bonne foi des plaignants, le CN décida de rappeler aux personnels des trains leurs obligations linguistiques. S'il ne faut pas trop attendre d'une telle solution, il y a lieu de préciser que la plupart des difficultés de Via Rail à cet égard sont un legs du CN. L'exemple ci-dessus soulève un problème qui sévit dans les organismes fédéraux tels Via Rail, le CN, Air Canada et les Postes canadiennes. Les employés qui ont le plus d'ancienneté jouissent du premier choix lors des affectations, peu importe leur compétence linguistique. Cette priorité est même inscrite dans leurs conventions collectives. Dans les circonstances, l'offre «spontanée» d'un service bilingue est impossible. Sempiternel, ce problème n'a jamais été abordé sérieusement par les organismes en cause. À moins que les cours de justice n'en décident autrement, le droit du public d'être servi dans sa langue a préséance sur les clauses d'ancienneté des ententes collectives. Le gouvernement ferait bien d'étudier sérieusement cette question et même de la soumettre au débat public quand il envisagera soit d'étendre les services de ces sociétés, soit de privatiser celles-ci.

Comment le Commissariat règle-t-il ces situations ? Notre tâche est d'obtenir satisfaction pour l'auteur de la plainte et, par-dessus tout, de susciter les changements institutionnels propres à faire disparaître la source du problème.

Travaux publics

Une firme sous-traitante de Montréal a constaté que dans la version anglaise du cahier des charges sur lequel reposait son offre, il manquait un paragraphe de l'original français. Comme conséquence, la firme a dû effectuer des travaux supplémentaires estimés à plus de 4 000 $. Le ministère des Travaux publics, qui avait établi le cahier des charges, s'est rallié à notre point de vue, selon lequel les deux versions auraient dû être identiques, et a indemnisé le sous-traitant.

Air Canada

Dans certains cas, les plaintes ont abouti à des changements institutionnels. Parfois il faut une vérification linguistique pour aller au fond des choses. À la suite de nombreuses plaintes reprochant à Air Canada de ne pas assurer de service suffisant en français à l'Aéroport international Lester B. Pearson de Toronto, nous avons effectué une vérification et constaté que le personnel n'accueillait pas les voyageurs dans les deux langues, voire que la direction ne l'exigeait pas. Nous avons proposé, entre autres, qu'il y ait constamment un nombre approprié d'employés bilingues en fonction et qu'on indique aux voyageurs où obtenir un service bilingue. La Société a amorcé la mise en oeuvre de nos recommandations.

Il ne faut pas oublier que le Commissaire, comme tout ombudsman, n'a pas le pouvoir légal de contraindre les organismes à observer ses recommandations. Son autorité est plutôt d'ordre moral, la loi pertinente ne prévoyant ni coercition ni sanctions. Il peut tenter de persuader et de convaincre, mais son pouvoir ultime réside dans ses rapports au Parlement, qui rendent publiques les carences gouvernementales et mobilisent l'opinion en faveur du citoyen.

Dans ces conditions, quel succès obtenons-nous dans le traitement des plaintes ? Les plus qualifiés pour répondre à cette question sont les citoyens eux-mêmes. Justement, dans le cadre d'une vérification complète de notre Commissariat, en 1983, le Vérificateur général a commandé à une firme indépendante un sondage sur la satisfaction chez les plaignants. Un questionnaire non marqué a été envoyé à tous ceux qui avaient déposé une plainte au cours d'une année ; le taux de réponse a été de 50 pour cent.

Dans l'ensemble, 80 pour cent des répondants se sont déclarés satisfaits. Quant aux autres, la moitié ont exprimé le souhait que le Commissaire soit investi d'un pouvoir de coercition ou, à tout le moins, trouve le moyen d'obtenir de meilleurs résultats. L'autre moitié n'avaient pas encore reçu le rapport final sur notre investigation, ou bien trouvaient notre service trop lent ou nos réponses trop vagues.

Quoi qu'il en soit, 60 pour cent des insatisfaits ont déclaré qu'ils déposeraient de nouveau une plainte, si l'occasion le justifiait. À la suite de ces critiques, nous avons fait le nécessaire pour accélérer le service et rehausser la qualité de nos réponses. Nous avons en outre amélioré notre système de contrôle afin d'apporter plus de promptitude au traitement des affaires, et surtout de mieux informer nos correspondants sur l'évolution des dossiers et les résultats obtenus.

Le mot de la fin

Les plaintes ont beaucoup d'importance pour nous, comme pour leurs auteurs. Lorsque des particuliers se donnent le mal de communiquer avec nous, c'est qu'ils

estiment avoir été frustrés de l'exercice d'un droit qui leur est accordé par la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et par la Constitution. Ce déni représente beaucoup plus qu'un ennui ; il reflète l'irrespect à l'égard de la loi, du citoyen, du contribuable et, tout compte fait, de la notion même de service public. En ce qui nous concerne, les plaintes constituent un lien indispensable avec le peuple canadien. Elles aident à repérer les domaines où l'égalité linguistique est en souffrance et où, en conséquence, nos efforts s'imposent particulièrement. S'il y a eu amélioration sensible sur le front des langues depuis l'avènement de la Loi, c'est pour une bonne part grâce à tous ceux qui nous ont signalé, par leurs plaintes, des situations inacceptables. Nous souhaitons qu'ils en bénéficient autant que nous et que l'objectif de l'égalité linguistique y gagne également.

La participation équitable : une question de découpage

La question de la participation équitable des Canadiens francophones et anglophones dans l'administration fédérale agace bien des gens. Ils redoutent encore que cet objectif se traduise par une « action positive », une « discrimination à rebours » ou des « quotas ». Le gouvernement n'a cessé de répéter qu'il respecterait scrupuleusement le principe du mérite. Malgré cela, les débats publics n'ont pas permis jusqu'ici aux autorités de dissiper les malentendus en cette matière. Il n'y a donc pas à s'étonner si Francophones et Anglophones apprécient de manière fort différente les effets de cette politique, et voient d'un tout autre oeil leur présence et leur répartition respectives.

Objet de la politique

Avant d'analyser l'origine de ces perceptions et leur fondement, attardons-nous un moment sur la raison d'être de cette politique. En quoi ce partage dans la gestion des programmes fédéraux importe-t-il ? Pourquoi faut-il qu'il reflète, raisonnablement, la composition linguistique de la population canadienne ?

Il y a plusieurs réponses à ces questions. D'abord, dans une démocratie, l'égalité d'accès aux emplois publics est un principe de base. La politique de participation vise donc à écarter les obstacles qui pourraient limiter indûment l'accès d'un des groupes linguistiques. Ensuite, il est tout à fait normal que le premier employeur du pays tienne compte de l'influence qu'il exerce sur les revenus des deux groupes. En outre, soucieux de refléter les valeurs de la population qu'il sert, l'État se doit de fonctionner en français aussi bien qu'en anglais. La possibilité pour les employés de s'exprimer et de travailler dans leur langue est directement fonction des taux de participation. Une bureaucratie trop étrangère à la carte linguistique du pays — dans toutes les régions et à tous les échelons de la hiérarchie — aura bien du mal à s'aligner sur les valeurs socio-culturelles de *tous* les contribuables, sans parler de leurs orientations politiques.

On peut difficilement aborder cette question sans d'abord citer des chiffres. En 1984, environ 220 000 fonctionnaires fédéraux, visés par la *Loi sur l'emploi dans la Fonction publique*, travaillaient dans des ministères et organismes, et quelque 236 000 autres dans des sociétés de la Couronne. Par rapport à l'ensemble de la population active canadienne, ce secteur est suffisamment important pour changer la physionomie globale du marché du travail et, par voie de conséquence, l'équilibre linguistique national. Le tableau II.3 ci-après donne une vue d'ensemble de la répartition des effectifs suivant la taille des organismes.

Tableau II.3

Répartition des effectifs fédéraux, selon la langue des employés et l'importance des organismes.

	Employés relevant de la Loi sur l'emploi dans la Fonction publique[1]				Autres employés fédéraux[2]			
	Nombre d'organismes	Anglophones %	Francophones %	Total	Nombre d'organismes	Anglophones %	Francophones %	Total
Organismes de plus de 400 employés	34	72,8	27,2	216 890	62	75,1	24,9	231 139
Organismes de moins de 400 employés	34	63,6	36,4	3 778	56	56,0	44,0	5 273
TOTAL	**68**	**72,6**	**27,4**	**220 668**	**118**	**74,7**	**25,3**	**236 412**

Sources : [1] Commission de la Fonction publique, 1983;
[2] Chiffres du CLO, 1984; certains sont approximatifs.

D'après le recensement de 1981, 26 pour cent de la population canadienne s'est déclarée de langue maternelle française ; la participation francophone dépasserait donc légèrement ce chiffre dans les ministères fédéraux mêmes, tandis qu'elle lui serait quelque peu inférieure dans les sociétés de la Couronne. L'un dans l'autre, ce n'est en fin de compte pas trop mal.

Les données du problème

Commençons par une mise en garde. Dans ce volet particulier de la politique linguistique, l'analyse des éléments constitutifs importe autant, sinon plus, que les résultats globaux. Vus seulement en termes bruts, les taux de participation sont souvent trompeurs. Si nous partons du tableau général, c'est justement à cause des interprétations erronées auquel il peut donner lieu. Ce n'est qu'en ventilant par groupe et niveau professionnel, par région, par genre de ministère, même par organisme particulier que l'on peut effectivement déterminer les tendances positives et négatives de la participation. Pour bien cerner la réalité, nous allons donc systématiquement éplucher chacune des rubriques en pénétrant sous la surface des impressions. Il importe de faire ressortir la complexité du problème, mais aussi les nombreux éléments à prendre en compte dans la recherche des solutions.

La Fonction publique proprement dite

En 1983, sur un effectif total de 220 668 fonctionnaires répartis dans les 68 ministères et organismes fédéraux de la Fonction publique proprement dite, 60 417 employés avaient le français comme première langue officielle, soit 27,4 pour cent. Ces chiffres globaux permettent deux constatations : d'une part, ils paraissent convenables, d'autre part, les Francophones ont marqué des points en quinze ans d'application de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Le tableau II.4 montre la situation

en 1965. La Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme avait signalé, quoique à partir d'un échantillon réduit, que la proportion de fonctionnaires de langue maternelle française se situait à 21,5 pour cent. Soit dit en passant, ce taux équivalait à celui qui avait été atteint lors de la Première Guerre mondiale, et contrastait fortement avec celui de 1944 (12,3 pour cent), le plus bas jamais enregistré. En 1974, 24,3 pour cent des fonctionnaires ont indiqué le français comme leur première langue officielle, et il est certain que les progrès ne se sont pas arrêtés là.

Tableau II.4

[illegible]

	1965[1]	1974	1984
Français	21,5	24,4	27,8
Anglais	78,5	75,6	72,2

[1] Langue maternelle.

Sources : Chiffres de 1965 : *Rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme*, vol. III p. 219, 1969 (d'après un échantillonnage);
Chiffres de 1974 et de 1984 : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, décembre 1984.

Il n'y a donc pas grand chose à dire de la répartition globale. Mais comme en témoignent certaines lettres envoyées à la presse et au Commissariat, un nombre non négligeable de Canadiens anglophones jugent, d'après les chiffres, qu'il y a « trop » de Francophones dans la Fonction publique. Or, non seulement cette affirmation à l'emporte-pièce n'est pas exacte, mais — nous le prouverons ultérieurement — les Francophones sont nettement désavantagés dans bien des cas, surtout aux postes de direction. Comment dès lors expliquer de tels malentendus ?

La répartition générale des Francophones et des Anglophones par ministère est source de confusion. Si l'on trouve acceptable une participation francophone comprise entre 22 et 30 pour cent (marge de 4 points en plus ou en moins par rapport à la norme nationale de 26 pour cent), et que l'on prend les pourcentages *globaux* correspondant aux 56 administrations qui comptent plus de 500 employés pour lesquels on possède des données fiables, on arrive aux résultats suivants : 14 administrations sont dans la norme, 30 la dépassent et 12 ne l'atteignent pas. Compte tenu de ces chiffres très approximatifs, on pourrait croire que les organismes ayant « trop » de Francophones l'emportent de beaucoup sur ceux qui en ont « trop peu ». Or la composition linguistique globale de ces organismes donne le rapport Anglophones-Francophones suivant : 76 — 24. Y a-t-il une explication ? La plus simple consiste à examiner de près les chiffres et non les pourcentages.

Certains, qui comptent des milliers d'employés (GRC, Environnement, Air Canada, Agriculture, Pêches et Océans, Transports, par exemple) sont très loin des

22 pour cent ou y arrivent tout juste. Une sous-représentation de cette importance peut bouleverser complètement le tableau. Mais ces chiffres généraux ne donnent qu'une vision sommaire et peu révélatrice de la participation. Ce n'est qu'une fois dépassée la question des effectifs globaux que l'on distingue enfin si chacun des groupes a sa juste part dans la gestion des affaires de l'État. Dans les six grandes catégories professionnelles de la Fonction publique (tableau II.5), il suffit de regarder les proportions respectives des deux groupes pour constater la persistance de graves déséquilibres de divers ordres.

Tableau II.5

	1981				1984			
	Anglophones		Francophones		Anglophones		Francophones	
AGENTS	**Nombre**	**%**	**Nombre**	**%**	**Nombre**	**%**	**Nombre**	**%**
Gestion	1 148	79,5	296	20,5	3 199	79,5	824	20,5
Scientifiques et spécialistes	17 210	80,1	4 267	19,9	17 783	77,9	5 043	22,1
Administration et service extérieur	39 095	72,1	15 110	27,9	39 887	70,6	16 626	29,4
Techniciens	21 518	80,8	5 122	19,2	22 106	79,4	5 718	20,6
Total partiel :	**78 971**	**76,1**	**24 795**	**23,9**	**82 975**	**74,6**	**28 211**	**25,4**
AUTRE PERSONNEL								
Soutien administratif	49 224	68,0	23 205	32,0	47 956	66,6	24 101	33,4
Exploitation	74 632	73,0	27 600	27,0	33 685	75,4	11 014	24,6
Total partiel :	**123 856**	**70,9**	**50 805**	**29,1**	**81 641**	**69,9**	**35 115**	**30,1**
TOTAL	**202 827**	**72,8**	**75 600**	**27,2**	**164 616**	**72,2**	**63 326**	**27,8**

[1] Tous les employés y compris ceux travaillant à l'extérieur du Canada.

Source : Système d'information sur les langues officielles.

La répartition hiérarchique

Un phénomène, que l'on pourrait qualifier de « polarisation professionnelle », saute aux yeux. Plus de la moitié des Francophones (33 190 sur 60 417) ne sont pas des agents, les deux tiers se trouvant dans la catégorie Soutien administratif, qui

regroupe les commis, secrétaires et fonctions assimilées. Il s'ensuit bien évidemment une sous-représentation des Anglophones à ces échelons. En revanche, il y a peu de Francophones dans les catégories Techniciens, et Scientifiques et spécialistes, où ils représentent respectivement 20 et 22 pour cent.

La catégorie Gestion

Le pire score va à la Gestion : 20,5 pour cent. Qui plus est, comme le tableau II.5 l'indique, la participation globale des Francophones n'y a pas bougé depuis trois ans. Ils forment environ 22 pour cent du groupe de la direction, et quelque 17 pour cent de celui de la gestion supérieure. Ils n'occupent pas non plus la place qu'ils pourraient avoir dans les « groupes de relève », qui se situent à un ou deux échelons au-dessous de la gestion supérieure, et où ils représentent à peu près 18 pour cent des effectifs. Mais si les tendances se poursuivent en matière de recrutement et d'avancement, et si les coupures budgétaires annoncées ne bouleversent pas la situation, les prévisionnistes de la Commission de la Fonction publique s'attendent à 25 pour cent de Francophones dans le groupe de la direction d'ici 1987. Vu sous cet angle, l'accroissement régulier de la participation francophone au fil des ans acquiert une tout autre signification. S'il y a eu avec le temps quelques améliorations, très inégales, dans toutes les catégories, la trop grande concentration francophone dans les catégories de soutien et la participation fluctuante de ce groupe dans les hautes sphères de l'administration fédérale continuent à justifier une attention spéciale.

La répartition régionale

Les Francophones de la Fonction publique proprement dite se retrouvent massivement au Québec, puisque à peu près la moitié (30 242) y travaillent. En outre, environ 93 pour cent de tous les employés fédéraux en poste dans cette province sont de langue française. Cela renforce notre thèse que, dans le domaine de la participation, les chiffres qui englobent toutes les régions sont éminemment trompeurs.

Le tableau II.6 ci-après permet de comparer la répartition dans les grandes régions du pays à la fin de 1983 et de 1984. Au chapitre des bonnes nouvelles, la participation francophone a légèrement augmenté partout, malgré les coupures budgétaires effectuées pendant cette période. En revanche, il est malheureux de constater que la représentation, déjà faible, de la minorité anglophone du Québec a encore diminué dans la Fonction publique, et que la participation francophone est encore bien loin d'atteindre le niveau voulu dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario et du Nouveau-Brunswick.

Il y a des inégalités appréciables dans plusieurs régions. Au Nouveau-Brunswick, dans les régions bilingues du Québec (dont Montréal) et dans celles du nord et de l'est de l'Ontario — qui abritent 95 pour cent des minorités linguistiques — la Fonction publique est un pâle reflet des collectivités minoritaires. Nous prenons acte des sérieux efforts de redressement au Nouveau-Brunswick, qui portent déjà fruit. Il y a aussi une certaine amélioration — quoique moins frappante — dans le nord et l'est de l'Ontario, où la mauvaise performance de quelques ministères

Table II.6

[redacted]

	1983				1984			
	Anglophones		Francophones		Anglophones		Francophones	
	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%
Provinces de l'Ouest	49 137	98,1	941	1,9	49 154	98,0	996	2,0
Ontario unilingue	32 411	97,3	917	2,7	32 010	97,1	972	2,9
Ontario bilingue	2 711	77,3	798	22,7	2 834	76,6	857	23,2
Région de la Capitale nationale	48 936	64,6	26 799	35,4	48 527	64,3	26 900	35,7
Québec bilingue	1 329	7,9	15 575	92,1	1 225	7,3	15 504	92,7
Québec unilingue	706	4,7	14 409	95,3	647	4,2	14 738	95,8
Nouveau-Brunswick	5 730	74,1	2 003	25,9	5 636	73,2	2 062	26,8
Autres provinces atlantiques	20 753	96,6	730	3,4	21 010	96,4	792	3,6
Territoires	2 472	96,2	97	3,8	2 400	96,0	101	4,0
Total au Canada	**164 185**	**72,5**	**62 269**	**27,5**	**163 443**	**72,2**	**62 922**	**27,8**

[1] Excepté les fonctionnaires travaillant à l'extérieur du Canada.

Source : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, décembre 1983 et 1984.

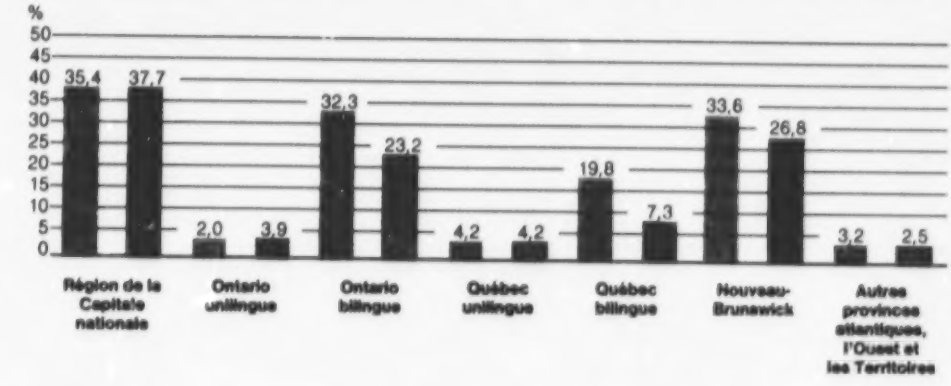
comme Environnement Canada et Agriculture Canada fait baisser la moyenne régionale. (Voir le tableau II.7.)

Le Québec

La situation de l'administration fédérale au Québec présente des difficultés autrement plus aiguës, et mérite qu'on s'y arrête. Dans toutes les régions, les Anglophones n'occupent environ que 7 pour cent des emplois fédéraux, chiffre à la baisse par rapport à 1983 et à 1982. La situation est la même partout, et dans toutes les catégories. Dans les régions bilingues, la participation anglophone est passée de 8,2 pour cent en 1982 à 7,3 pour cent en 1984. Dans les régions unilingues, elle a chuté de 5,3 pour cent à 4,3 pour cent au cours de la même période. Il s'agit d'un problème généralisé, fort grave, que ni les organismes centraux ni les ministères n'ont réussi à résoudre.

Le recrutement du personnel de soutien de langue anglaise — secteur où la représentation des Anglophones est encore plus faible que dans le groupe des agents — se heurte à des difficultés particulières. D'après des études,

Tableau II.7



Légende:

Population générale

Fonctionnaires

Sources: Les pourcentages visant les fonctionnaires ont trait à la première langue officielle. Système d'information sur les langues officielles, décembre 1984. En ce qui concerne la population générale, les pourcentages correspondent à la langue maternelle. Recensement de Statistique Canada, 1981.

les Anglophones posent leur candidature en nombre suffisant à ces postes; mais cela ne se reflète pas dans l'embauche. Ils ne peuvent franchir le cap de la sélection. Le problème n'est certes pas facile à régler, mais les choses iraient tout de même mieux si les responsables étaient plus décidés à passer à l'action. Malgré une pléthore d'études et de réunions auxquelles participe la Division régionale du Québec d'Emploi et Immigration Canada — chargée de proposer des candidats pour la dotation des postes de soutien —, il est clair que la direction de ce service n'a pas pris les choses au sérieux. Tout ce qu'elle trouve à dire, c'est que la proportion démesurée d'Anglophones dans les sociétés de la Couronne compense la faible représentation de ce groupe dans les ministères fédéraux. Pour étayer son argument, elle met dans le même sac l'administration centrale et les opérations régionales des sociétés en question. Si l'on s'en tient strictement aux opérations régionales, il est bien sûr que la représentation anglophone (11 pour cent) y est meilleure que dans les ministères, mais elle n'a rien d'excessif. On a beau jongler avec les statistiques, on ne change pas les tendances, qui sont à la baisse dans les deux cas.

En revanche, la Commission de la Fonction publique semble prendre la situation à coeur. Ses cadres ont continué à suivre les recommandations de l'étude, effectuée en 1982, sur la participation des minorités linguistiques dans les régions bilingues.

Ils ont rencontré les représentants de collectivités anglo-québécoises et ont fait des efforts sérieux pour accroître les candidatures d'Anglophones aux postes d'agents au Québec. Mais, même avec la meilleure volonté du monde, la situation ne peut changer du jour au lendemain. Étant en moyenne beaucoup plus âgés que leurs collègues francophones, les fonctionnaires de langue anglaise prennent nombreux leur retraite, alors que le recrutement externe est quasiment au point mort. Les ministères devront se démener comme des diables — comme la reine blanche d'Alice au pays des merveilles — pour seulement maintenir le statu quo. Là encore, une action concertée sera la seule façon logique de s'en sortir.

Les sociétés de la Couronne

Comme elles emploient plus de la moitié du personnel fédéral, les sociétés de la Couronne devraient faire plus souvent l'objet d'une vérification au chapitre de la participation équitable. Pour commencer, elles ne tiennent pas toutes les dossiers voulus dans ce domaine. Quoique relevant elles aussi de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, en qualité d'employeur distinct elles ne sont pas tenues de fournir au Conseil du Trésor — haute instance gouvernementale pour les questions de langues officielles — des relevés normalisés sur la participation. D'où un tableau fort incomplet de la situation globale des emplois de l'État.

D'après les informations qu'elles communiquent, les grandes sociétés sont souvent très éloignées des normes en matière de participation équitable des deux groupes linguistiques. Prenons, par exemple, le cas de Postes Canada. Si cette société présente, en façade, un rapport national Anglophones-Francophones raisonnable de 70 à 30, l'envers du décor est beaucoup moins reluisant. Un peu moins de 3 pour cent des employés des Postes au Québec sont anglophones, déséquilibre qui n'a d'égal que celui qui existe dans les régions à prédominance anglophone : moins de 7 pour cent du personnel est francophone dans les provinces atlantiques, et 1 pour cent ou moins dans l'Ouest. Air Canada pour sa part ne compte que 4 000 Francophones sur 21 000 employés, tandis qu'à Eldorado Nucléaire Limitée — pour citer une société plus centralisée — la proportion de Francophones est également de 20 pour cent environ, dont très peu de cadres. Pétro-Canada est l'exemple type de l'organisme qui ne se soucie guère de statistiques linguistiques. Tout ce qu'ont pu recueillir comme information nos vérificateurs, c'est qu'il y avait « une soixantaine de Francophones sur les 3 000 personnes affectées aux opérations de Pétro-Canada à Calgary ». Dans le reste du pays, résultats néants ! Sans pouvoir parvenir à des conclusions précises pour l'ensemble des sociétés de la Couronne, d'après nos calculs, il semble que la participation des Francophones soit inférieure au taux de la population de langue maternelle française.

Presque partout, nous nous heurtons au même mur. Nombre de sociétés *ignorent* totalement l'origine linguistique de leur personnel, le nombre de bilingues qu'il leur faudrait, le nombre d'employés *effectivement* bilingues, où ils se trouvent — tant dans la hiérarchie que dans les régions. Le Conseil du Trésor n'ayant pas autorité sur elles en cette matière, nous recommandons que *toutes* les sociétés qui relèvent de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* soient légalement obligées de tenir des

statistiques linguistiques sur leurs effectifs, en se conformant aux critères en vigueur dans toute la Fonction publique, et d'en rendre compte. Le Parlement doit posséder cette information pour disposer d'un tableau complet et intelligible de la situation de l'emploi dans les institutions publiques canadiennes. Selon nous, pour une surveillance effective de l'application de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, la présentation normalisée est un impératif. Faute de données précises, l'imputabilité en matière de langues officielles ne peut être qu'un leurre ; et la perspective de privatisations éventuelles avive encore nos inquiétudes à cet égard.

Particularismes ministériels

Si toutes les inégalités hiérarchiques et régionales n'existaient plus, dans quelle mesure chaque ministère et chaque subdivision ou direction ministérielle aligneraient-ils leur rapport Francophones-Anglophones sur le recensement officiel de la population ? Soyons honnêtes et réalistes : vu le mandat ou la mission de certaines administrations, il est très peu probable, même à long terme, qu'elles parviennent à un équilibre « normal » entre les deux groupes linguistiques. Ce n'est pas un mystère, par exemple, qu'au Bureau des traductions les Francophones l'emportent ou, au contraire, qu'au Conseil des grains du Canada, les Anglophones sont omniprésents. La demande de services fédéraux varie selon les régions et les groupes linguistiques. Mais il faut éviter que certains secteurs professionnels ne deviennent la chasse gardée de l'une ou l'autre des communautés, de telle sorte que « les arts et la culture » n'attirent que des Francophones, et que les « sciences » soient l'apanage des Anglophones. On ne peut faire disparaître complètement ces soi-disant prédilections culturelles, mais de grâce, qu'on ne les laisse pas « régenter » nos services publics. Si nous luttons énergiquement pour rééquilibrer les chances, nous ne sommes pas tenus pour autant d'aller à contre-courant des forces du marché. Il n'est pas question de fixer des objectifs artificiels ou qui créent de nouvelles disparités.

Conclusion

À divers degrés et dans différents secteurs, on peut parler de progrès pour la participation francophone dans les activités de l'administration fédérale, et pour le redressement des déséquilibres touchant certaines professions. Quoique encore incomplète, la réforme est sur la bonne voie. Au Québec, pourtant, où la situation s'aggrave, on laisse le mouvement continuer sur sa lancée alors qu'il aurait fallu le freiner, ou même l'inverser à un moment donné. En ce qui concerne la participation, les forces sociales en jeu peuvent facilement créer des effets de pendule très difficiles à maîtriser. Raison de plus pour suivre de très près, en uniformisant les critères, *tous* les facteurs pertinents, et pour intervenir sélectivement et à bon escient, en tenant dûment compte du temps nécessaire pour corriger les déséquilibres.

Plus qu'une question de chiffres, une saine participation, dans un climat de collaboration, est d'abord un état d'esprit. Ce n'est pas un levier politique sur lequel on peut agir à sa guise. Les décisions prises aujourd'hui peuvent prendre bien des années avant de porter fruit. Il est particulièrement important dans ce domaine délicat de ne pas nous laisser entraîner par notre chauvinisme linguistique, de disposer de données normalisées et d'examiner en profondeur les changements qui

s'avèrent nécessaires avant de réagir de façon excessive. Nous devons encore nous atteler à quatre ou cinq problèmes prioritaires assez localisés : la situation des Anglo-Québécois, celle des minorités hors-Québec, le recrutement de scientifiques francophones, l'accroissement des Francophones aux postes de gestion, leur réduction dans les catégories subalternes, et ainsi de suite. Mais que ces difficultés particulières ne nous arrêtent surtout pas ! Notre Fonction publique est beaucoup plus représentative, beaucoup moins figée qu'il y a quinze ans.

La langue de travail : le choix existe-t-il?

La politique fédérale en matière de langue de travail doit permettre aux fonctionnaires d'exécuter leurs tâches en français ou en anglais dans les secteurs de la Fonction publique où Francophones et Anglophones sont — ou devraient être — convenablement représentés. La notion d'équité en matière de langue de travail a, dans ce contexte, des incidences à la fois culturelles et politiques. Il a été démontré que les Francophones travaillant dans un milieu subtilement ou carrément réfractaire au français ont tendance à perdre leurs moyens et à devenir, à la longue, incapables d'offrir un service efficace dans cette langue. La Commission B.B. a constaté par exemple que bon nombre de Francophones qui avaient indiqué, à leur entrée dans la Fonction publique, qu'ils préféraient travailler en français, ont répondu quelques années plus tard qu'il leur était devenu plus facile de travailler en anglais. (Voir le tableau II.8) Bien que cette tendance se soit quelque peu atténuée, des chiffres récents révèlent que les Francophones ont encore trop peu d'occasions de participer librement et utilement aux activités quotidiennes dans leur langue. Selon des statistiques du Bureau des traductions, par exemple, en 1983-1984, près de 90 pour cent des documents à usage interne étaient rédigés en anglais[1]. Si les Francophones n'ont pas plus d'occasions d'utiliser leur langue et n'y sont pas plus incités, la fonction publique, largement anglophone, continuera d'être un milieu d'anglicisation.

Tableau II.8

	Langue de travail optimale		
	française	**anglaise**	**française ou anglaise**
À l'entrée dans la Fonction publique	57,4	9,8	32,8
Plus tard (en 1965)	31,9	13,3	54,8

Source: Rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, livre III, Le monde du travail, p. 130.

[1] À l'exclusion du secteur parlementaire.

Le gouvernement a tout intérêt à favoriser l'usage du français par les Anglophones autant que par les Francophones. Les sommes et les efforts personnels qui ont été à ce jour consacrés à l'apprentissage des langues sont énormes. Si les intéressés n'utilisent pas leur deuxième langue, tous ces efforts auront été vains et la plupart perdront jusqu'à la possibilité d'occuper des postes bilingues. Quand les points de vue des Francophones sont transmis en anglais au gouvernement, ce ne sont plus vraiment des points de vue de Francophones. Et quand un gouvernement communique avec le quart des électeurs par le biais de la traduction et de l'interprétation, il ne peut réellement prétendre être près des citoyens. D'année en année, notre rapport dénonce l'absence de progrès à ce chapitre. Cette année encore, bien que la question semble soulever un intérêt accru, force nous est de conclure que la situation a peu évolué. On a bien répertorié un certain nombre d'initiatives ministérielles visant à étendre l'usage du français, mais presque rien n'a été fait pour en assurer la coordination et les faire connaître, tel que nous l'avions recommandé en 1982.

Tableau II.9

	Population francophone	Fonctionnaires francophones
Région de la Capitale nationale	35,4	35,7
Régions bilingues de l'Ontario	32,2	23,2
Régions bilingues du Québec	66,8	92,7
Nouveau-Brunswick	33,6	26,8
Toutes les régions	**52,3**	**43,7**

Sources: Population générale : Statistique Canada, recensement de 1981;
Fonctionnaires : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, 1984.

Les sondages sur l'usage des langues

Au printemps dernier, le Conseil du Trésor a rendu public un sondage mené en 1983 sur l'usage du français et de l'anglais par les fonctionnaires dans les régions bilingues[1]. Compte tenu du fait que les fonctionnaires ont évalué subjectivement leur propre usage des deux langues officielles, tout indique que les progrès dans l'utilisation du français dans les communications internes, orales ou écrites, ont été très marginaux. La proportion est passée de 28 à 30 pour cent entre 1978 et 1983. Le tableau suivant (II.10) donne une vue d'ensemble de la situation sur toute la période.

[1] Selon une directive fédérale, sont désignées « régions bilingues » aux fins de la langue de travail les régions suivantes : au Québec, Montréal, certaines parties des Cantons de l'Est et la Gaspésie ; certaines parties de l'est et du nord de l'Ontario ; le Nouveau-Brunswick en entier ; la région de la Capitale nationale. La proportion des Francophones par rapport à l'ensemble de la population et des fonctionnaires dans ces régions est indiquée au tableau II.9, ci-dessus.

Tableau II.10

[redacted]

	1978	1981	1983
Anglophones	9	9	11
Francophones	57	55	55
Les deux	**28**	**28**	**30**

Source: L'utilisation des langues officielles dans les régions bilingues de la Fonction publique (1978-1983), (« Enquête sur l'utilisation de la langue »), Conseil du Trésor, 1984.

Ces chiffres globaux occultent cependant des variations régionales, ainsi que des modifications à la hausse ou la baisse dans l'emploi du français dans les différentes catégories de poste : anglais essentiel, français essentiel, bilingues, français ou anglais essentiel. De plus, les données relatives aux régions bilingues du Québec, où les Francophones représentent environ 93 pour cent des fonctionnaires et où l'usage du français est forcément élevé, faussent quelque peu ce tableau général.

Langue d'usage et postes bilingues

La raison d'être de cette politique a toujours été de placer l'usage du français par les fonctionnaires francophones sur le même pied que l'anglais partout où les deux groupes sont en nombre assez important. Cela suppose deux choses : d'une part, que les Anglophones maîtrisent et utilisent davantage cette langue et, d'autre part, que les Francophones soient incités à s'en servir. Dans quelle mesure ces deux objectifs ont-ils été atteints ? La meilleure façon de le savoir est d'examiner les habitudes linguistiques des titulaires de postes bilingues dans leurs communications internes. Compte tenu de l'augmentation du nombre de fonctionnaires francophones au cours de la période étudiée, on devrait s'attendre à ce que les possibilités d'utiliser plus équitablement l'une ou l'autre langue aient augmenté (voir tableau II.11 ci-après). Des variations de un à deux pour cent n'étant pas significatives, on peut conclure du tableau II.12 qui suit que l'usage du français dans la région de la Capitale nationale et au Nouveau-Brunswick est encore restreint et ne progresse pas, tandis qu'il semble en régression dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario.

Les rapports professionnels et l'usage des langues

Pour mieux saisir les raisons de la sous-utilisation apparente du français, les responsables du sondage de 1983 ont cherché à savoir combien de temps les Anglophones et les Francophones passaient à travailler avec des membres de chaque groupe linguistique, et dans quelle mesure ils employaient l'anglais et le français dans ces circonstances.

Tableau II.11

[redacted]

	1978	1983
Région de la Capitale nationale	53,3	60,3
Régions bilingues de l'Ontario	41,7	58,9
Régions bilingues du Québec	90,4	91,4
Nouveau-Brunswick	58,7	72,7

[1] Ces chiffres ainsi que ceux de l'« Enquête sur l'utilisation de la langue » ne comprennent pas la Société canadienne des postes, devenue société de la Couronne en 1981.

Source : Système d'information sur les langues officielles.

Tableau II.12

[redacted]

	Groupe de langue officielle	1978	1981	1983
Région de la Capitale nationale	Anglophones	15	15	18
	Francophones	41	41	38
Régions bilingues de l'Ontario	Anglophones	22	22	15
	Francophones	40	40	34
Régions bilingues du Québec	Anglophones	57	57	61
	Francophones	73	73	80
Nouveau-Brunswick	Anglophones	18	18	17
	Francophones	43	43	42
Toutes les régions	**Anglophones**	**18**	**18**	**20**
	Francophones	**52**	**52**	**51**

Source: « Enquête sur l'utilisation de la langue », Conseil du Trésor, 1984.

Les réponses à ces questions ont permis de mieux comprendre la corrélation qui existe entre le fait de travailler avec des collègues de l'une ou l'autre langue et l'usage du français et de l'anglais. Le Québec mis à part, les résultats sont les suivants.

- Les Anglophones qui sont titulaires qualifiés de postes bilingues passent à peu près le tiers de leur temps à communiquer avec des fonctionnaires de langue française. Ce faisant, ils utilisent cette langue dans une proportion de 40 pour cent dans la région de la Capitale nationale, de 44 pour cent dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario et de 53 pour cent au Nouveau-Brunswick.

- Les Francophones qui sont titulaires qualifiés de postes bilingues passent de 50 à 60 pour cent de leur temps à communiquer avec des fonctionnaires de langue anglaise et, ce faisant, ils utilisent leur propre langue dans une proportion de 12 pour cent ou moins.

- En général, ces Francophones passent au maximum la moitié de leur temps à communiquer avec d'autres Francophones. Ce faisant, ils utilisent le français dans une proportion variant de 80 pour cent dans la région de la Capitale nationale à environ 75 pour cent dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario et au Nouveau-Brunswick.

Ces données montrent bien que l'anglais exerce encore un très fort attrait pour les Francophones. Les titulaires anglophones considèrent pour leur part qu'ils utilisent passablement le français. Pourtant, dans la région de la Capitale nationale, par exemple, ils ne passent que le tiers de leur temps à communiquer avec des Francophones, et ne le font en français que dans une proportion de 40 pour cent (l'équivalent de moins d'une heure par jour).

La masse critique

Combien faut-il de Francophones dans une unité de travail pour atteindre cette « masse critique » qui permettrait d'assurer une parité même relative dans l'usage des deux langues officielles ? À quel modèle pourrait-on se référer en pareille matière ? Quels comportements linguistiques Francophones et Anglophones devraient-ils adopter ? Dans les régions bilingues, à partir de quand pourrons-nous considérer que la limite a été atteinte en matière d'usage du français ? Chose certaine, il faut aller au-delà de la situation actuelle. Dans une région bilingue comme la Capitale nationale, où la représentation des Francophones s'élève à 36 pour cent de l'effectif global, il devrait être possible d'utiliser le français dans une proportion supérieure à 30 pour cent du temps.

Satisfaction relative

Les deux plus récents sondages sur l'usage des langues ont également cherché à savoir dans quelle mesure la situation reflétait les choix des fonctionnaires; on leur a donc demandé s'ils étaient satisfaits à cet égard ou s'ils aimeraient utiliser davantage l'une ou l'autre des deux langues. Le tableau II.13 ci-après indique qu'un plus grand nombre non seulement de Francophones mais aussi d'Anglophones souhaitaient en 1983 utiliser davantage le français.

Tableau II.13

	Satisfaits		Désirent plus d'anglais		Désirent plus de français	
	1981	1983	1981	1983	1981	1983
Anglophones	55	50	3	4	42	46
Francophones	66	60	15	17	19	23
Les deux	**60**	**55**	**8**	**9**	**32**	**36**

Source: « Enquête sur l'utilisation de la langue », Conseil du Trésor, 1984.

Une fois de plus, ce tableau ne tient pas compte des variations selon les régions et les catégories de postes.

- Une bonne part des Anglophones qui souhaitent parler plus souvent le français sont des fonctionnaires de la région de la Capitale nationale qui occupent des postes où l'anglais est essentiel ; la proportion de bilingues insatisfaits dans cette catégorie est passée de 40 à 49 pour cent de 1981 à 1983.

- En 1983, on note une proportion beaucoup plus forte (34 pour cent contre 26 pour cent) de Francophones titulaires de postes bilingues dans la région de la Capitale nationale qui souhaitent utiliser plus souvent le français.

- Aussi étonnant que cela puisse paraître, la proportion des fonctionnaires francophones du Québec souhaitant parler davantage l'anglais est passée de 20 pour cent en 1981 à 32 pour cent en 1983.

En somme, Anglophones et Francophones semblent avoir compris que l'usage équitable des deux langues va au-delà du simple respect de la politique gouvernementale. Il en va de leur carrière, surtout là où les postes bilingues sont nombreux.

Initiatives des ministères

Si le taux d'utilisation du français est à peu près statique alors même que les fonctionnaires souhaitent le parler davantage, il semble qu'il y ait lieu de modifier les habitudes langagières. Notre étude de 1982 sur la langue de travail rendait compte de certaines initiatives ministérielles en ce sens. Parmi celles-ci, il y avait la formation d'équipes composées de Francophones et d'Anglophones pour la réalisation de projets précis, la mise sur pied d'ateliers destinés à aider les fonctionnaires à accomplir certaines tâches dans les deux langues, et des cours de perfectionnement linguistique. L'an dernier, un groupe de directeurs des langues officielles ont

répertorié près de 150 initiatives de ce genre sous cinq grands thèmes : formation linguistique ; instruments de travail et services ; rôle incitatif des cadres ; opérations spéciales ; enquêtes et recherches sur la langue de travail. Le Conseil du Trésor a accepté de distribuer une version abrégée de ce document.

Initiatives des organismes centraux

Il est possible d'envisager d'autres voies afin d'accroître l'équité linguistique au travail. L'une d'elles, qui a refait surface en 1984, consiste à relever les exigences des postes bilingues. La Commission de la Fonction publique, lors d'une révision des instruments administratifs pertinents, a proposé d'appliquer la « dotation impérative[1] » à tous les postes bilingues ; de revoir les critères d'accès aux cours de langue ; de hausser les niveaux de compétence en langue seconde (généralement peu élevés) pour la catégorie des gestionnaires. Il est difficile de saisir dans quelle mesure ces suggestions auraient plus d'effet que les dispositions prises en ces domaines au cours des dernières années. Tant que les Anglophones bilingues n'auront qu'une compétence « intermédiaire » en français (et c'est le cas de la majorité d'entre eux), l'usage du français restera limité. Il est vrai également que les cours de langue et les méthodes en vigueur n'ont guère aidé les Anglophones à améliorer leur connaissance de la langue seconde. Nous sommes manifestement dans un cercle vicieux.

Les autres avenues

Comme nous l'avons déjà indiqué, il est parfois utile de laisser de côté nos grilles d'analyse et d'examiner ce qui se passe dans les faits. Si ni les Anglophones ni les Francophones bilingues n'utilisent le français autant qu'on le prévoyait, la faute en incombe-t-elle aux seules exigences linguistiques ? D'autres facteurs entrent sûrement en ligne de compte. Pour prendre le mal à sa racine, il faudra vraisemblablement modifier les mentalités et les attitudes. Ce n'est sans doute pas en prenant une dose plus forte de formation linguistique que les Anglophones deviendront effectivement bilingues. Il faudrait plutôt que les pratiques administratives, en favorisant notamment l'emploi du français par les Francophones, les poussent à entrer dans le jeu.

On peut expliquer de plusieurs façons le comportement linguistique des fonctionnaires : souci d'efficacité, conformisme, position hiérarchique, connaissance incertaine de la langue seconde, etc. Une façon de mieux comprendre l'interaction de tous ces facteurs serait d'en « parler ouvertement », d'organiser des discussions et des tables rondes sur les avantages et les inconvénients pratiques de travailler dans les deux langues, plutôt que sur les grands principes de la politique linguistique. Il revient aux premiers concernés, c'est-à-dire ceux qui ont quotidiennement à satisfaire aux exigences de la politique, de mettre le doigt sur les vrais problèmes, d'arriver à un consensus réaliste sur les buts à atteindre, d'établir des critères locaux et d'en vérifier l'applicabilité. Mais surtout, il importe que les hauts fonctionnaires s'emploient activement à promouvoir officiellement l'usage équitable de nos deux langues officielles.

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[1] Faire en sorte qu'on ne nomme à un poste bilingue que des candidats linguistiquement qualifiés.

Le bilinguisme réceptif

Tout le monde sait qu'il suffit souvent de la présence d'un seul anglophone unilingue à une réunion pour que le français file à l'anglaise... Il n'y a qu'une seule façon de remédier à la situation : que les Francophones agissent comme si toutes les personnes présentes comprenaient le français. Ceux qui ne peuvent pas suivre les discussions devront se les faire résumer ou se faire remplacer par un collègue. La notion de bilinguisme réceptif circule depuis la Commission B.B. Ce n'est pas une panacée, mais elle peut se révéler fort utile là où plusieurs fonctionnaires des deux groupes linguistiques sont appelés à travailler ensemble. C'est une façon, peut-être même la seule, d'étendre l'usage du français au travail si l'on ne veut pas que l'équité linguistique ne demeure qu'un voeux pieux.

La question du choix

En fait, de nombreux fonctionnaires francophones, surtout hors du Québec, n'ont jamais eu beaucoup l'occasion de travailler en français et, ce qui est fort compréhensible, fondent peu d'espoir de ce côté. Forcer des Francophones à utiliser leur langue seconde pour communiquer oralement ou par écrit n'ajoute rien à l'efficacité ; tout au plus cela simplifie-t-il quelque peu les choses. Il est aussi possible d'imaginer que, à mesure qu'un plus grand nombre de Canadiens bilingues — surtout des Anglophones — entreront à la fonction publique, la question de la langue de travail sera grandement simplifiée. D'ici là, il faut s'efforcer de modifier les attitudes. Ne pas intervenir sur le cours des choses serait accepter une politique double, qui reconnaît le principe de la participation équitable mais ne tient pas compte des raisons culturelles et politiques pour lesquelles le gouvernement se doit d'être à l'écoute des Canadiens dans les deux langues, et par la voie du bilinguisme. Étendre l'usage du français ne sera pas chose facile. Il faudra à tout le moins que les cadres définissent clairement et concrètement les règles du jeu et en assurent le respect en toutes circonstances, par exemple lors des réunions. Comme disait La Rochefoucauld, rien n'est si contagieux que l'exemple.

Souplesse et coopération

L'automne dernier, on s'est demandé si les nouveaux ministres pouvaient exiger de recevoir des rapports oraux ou écrits dans leur langue. Cela allait-il à l'encontre du droit des fonctionnaires de travailler dans *leur* propre langue officielle ? Voilà un cas où la souplesse et la coopération entrent en jeu. La question n'est d'ailleurs pas aussi nouvelle que l'ont laissé entendre les médias, ni aussi dramatique. Idéalement, les uns comme les autres devraient être suffisamment bilingues et assez conciliants pour que ce débat reste purement théorique. Dans le concret, un ministre est parfaitement en droit de demander que les dossiers lui soient soumis dans sa langue, et les ministères n'ont aujourd'hui aucune excuse valable pour ne pas satisfaire à cette exigence. Ce qui serait néfaste, évidemment, serait d'imposer d'autorité une langue au détriment de l'autre, de sorte que le français ne fasse plus l'objet d'un libre choix. Cela irait à l'encontre de l'esprit de toute la législation linguistique. Mais selon les indications reçues, les ministres sont bien conscients de ce danger.

Conclusion

Depuis 1969, l'usage du français dans la fonction publique fédérale a incontestablement progressé. Depuis quelque temps, cependant, il semble que ce mouvement ait atteint une sorte de palier, en dépit des aspirations de nombreux fonctionnaires à cet égard. Pour que soit ranimée la flamme, nous recommandons :

- que l'on définisse un ensemble de règles ou de normes — en d'autre termes un modèle — pour préciser l'idéal à atteindre en matière d'équité linguistique, particulièrement en ce qui a trait aux titulaires de postes bilingues ;
- que l'on procède à des études ponctuelles sur le pourquoi et le comment des comportements linguistiques des fonctionnaires ;
- que les organismes centraux s'emploient plus activement à évaluer, à coordonner et à promouvoir les initiatives visant à favoriser le libre choix de l'anglais et du français au travail.

La région de la Capitale nationale : donner l'exemple

Nous traitons ce sujet dans la partie du rapport consacrée à la mise en oeuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* essentiellement pour deux raisons. La première est que la région de la Capitale nationale doit illustrer tout spécialement l'esprit du bilinguisme canadien. La seconde est que ce sujet n'a pas encore reçu toute l'attention qui eût été souhaitable.

Historique

C'est en décembre 1857 qu'Ottawa a été désignée capitale du Canada-Uni par la reine Victoria. S'il n'y a pas lieu de s'attarder ici sur les motifs de cette décision, trois citations tirées de l'excellent ouvrage de Wilfrid Eggleston, *Choix de la Reine*[1], peuvent nous éclairer sur les desseins du gouverneur général de l'époque, Sir Edmund Walker Head, auteur de la proposition. Dans une missive à la reine, il explique : « De fait, Ottawa n'est situé ni dans le Haut-Canada ni dans le Bas-Canada. À proprement parler, elle se trouve dans cette première province ; mais seulement un pont la sépare du Bas-Canada. » Humour britannique ou ruse de diplomate ? Il ne pouvait en tout cas mieux camoufler ses intentions secrètes, que Eggleston lui-même traduit en termes clairs : « Sir Edmund Head, tout comme Lord Durham près de vingt ans auparavant, s'imaginait que les Canadiens français devaient être assimilés... » De son côté, John Hamilton Gray, un des Pères de la confédération, précise, dans son ouvrage *Confederation of Canada*, publié à Toronto en 1872, ce qui suit : « Aucune disposition n'a été prise en vue de créer un district fédéral destiné à soustraire la capitale à l'autorité exclusive de la législature d'une des provinces. »

Quoi qu'il en soit, l'*Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique* a confirmé ce choix en faisant d'Ottawa la capitale du Canada, sans définir cependant son statut linguistique. Il faudra un siècle pour qu'on songe à remédier à cette anomalie. En 1969 une conférence constitutionnelle réunissant les premiers ministres se prononce pour une région de la Capitale nationale embrassant Ottawa, Hull et leurs environs, sans modifier pour autant le statut d'Ottawa en tant que capitale du pays. Les participants forment le voeu que les deux langues officielles y soient reconnues par toutes les administrations publiques concernées.

En 1970, la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme publiait une étude consacrée à la capitale fédérale, soit le Livre V de son rapport. Suivant son schéma d'ensemble, la ville ou l'agglomération où siège le gouvernement doit reconnaître et illustrer les deux peuples fondateurs. Neuf de ses recommandations portent sur le rôle du gouvernement fédéral en la matière, et sept sur

[1] Imprimeur de la Reine et Contrôleur de la Papeterie, Ottawa, 1961, pp. 109-110, 111 et 155.

ceux de l'Ontario et du Québec. Dans la dix-septième, la Commission invitait les trois gouvernements à former un organisme consultatif. Mais c'est dans la première recommandation qu'on trouve l'essentiel du message : « Nous recommandons que, dans la capitale actuelle comme dans la région qui serait désignée capitale fédérale, l'anglais et le français aient un statut d'égalité totale, et que l'ensemble des services dispensés au public soient partout accessibles dans les deux langues. » De plus, le gouvernement fédéral doit « assumer un rôle direct et positif dans la capitale actuelle comme dans la région qui serait désignée capitale fédérale, afin d'y promouvoir, sous tous ses aspects, l'égalité entre Anglophones et Francophones ». Il est aussi appelé à corriger le déséquilibre entre le secteur ontarien et le secteur québécois en accroissant sa présence à Hull.

Le gouvernement fédéral

Le gouvernement fédéral jouera un rôle prépondérant dans la création de la région de la Capitale nationale, mais il s'efforcera de maintenir le dialogue avec les autres administrations publiques. Bon nombre des recommandations seront acceptées par elles, mais non sans atermoiements dans bien des cas. Toutes les mesures découlant de la politique générale du gouvernement fédéral relative aux langues officielles auront des incidences sur la capitale fédérale.

Expansion du côté de Hull

L'administration fédérale tend à équilibrer la répartition de ses organismes entre Ottawa et Hull. Après de nombreux déménagements, dont ceux du Secrétariat d'État, du ministère de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration, ainsi que d'organismes tels que l'ACDI, le CRTC et la Commission canadienne des Transports[1], le nombre des fonctionnaires fédéraux travaillant à Hull s'élève à 17 133 en 1983, soit environ le quart de l'effectif compris dans la région de la Capitale. Parmi eux, 7 456, ou 44 pour cent, sont francophones. Notons ici que du côté d'Ottawa, 17 684 fonctionnaires sur 54 775, soit 32,3 pour cent, sont de langue française. Cette répartition, qui peut sembler harmonieuse, ne rend pas compte de déséquilibres hiérarchiques considérables.

Visage de la capitale et langues

Peu à peu, et parfois avec peine, les transformations se sont produites dans le sens souhaité par la Commission B.B. Le bilinguisme est apparu sur les façades, les enseignes, les écriteaux, les affiches et dans la signalisation routière relevant de la Commission de la Capitale nationale. En 1984, la fonction publique fédérale affiche, au chapitre du bilinguisme, des résultats impressionnants : le nombre des postes bilingues y atteint maintenant 40 080, dont 33 708 (soit 84 pour cent) sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés.

De leur côté, les organismes culturels fédéraux tels le Centre national des Arts, les Archives publiques et les musées nationaux, reflètent plus que jamais le caractère bilingue de l'administration fédérale. Pour ce qui est de la langue d'accueil et de renseignements, il y a eu progrès manifeste ces dernières années, mais il subsiste de nombreuses lacunes. Une enquête toute récente, traitée ailleurs dans le présent

[1] Un autre déménagement se prépare, les futurs locaux du Musée de l'Homme étant en cours de construction à Hull.

rapport, montre que trop souvent le premier contact avec les visiteurs emprunte encore uniquement la langue anglaise dans les services fédéraux. Au centre-ville d'Ottawa, la situation est particulièrement mauvaise sous ce rapport.

Langue de travail

Il suffit de lire les bulletins de santé des ministères et organismes, à la partie III, pour constater que même dans la région de la Capitale le droit de travailler dans leur langue, reconnu aux Francophones, n'est pas suffisamment exercé. Nous pouvons signaler, sur ce point, les résultats d'une enquête du Conseil du Trésor sur l'emploi des langues officielles dans les dix-sept plus importants ministères de la région de la Capitale, pris globalement. À Hull, les fonctionnaires francophones feraient usage de leur langue au travail la moitié du temps ; le chiffre correspondant n'est que de 17 pour cent pour leurs homologues du côté ontarien. C'est dire qu'il reste beaucoup à faire.

Au recensement de 1981

Ottawa compte 304 462 habitants, dont 66,5 pour cent de langue anglaise et 19 pour cent de langue française ; pour Hull, les chiffres sont respectivement de 56 225, 7 pour cent et 88,5 pour cent. Le français est la langue maternelle de 35,4 pour cent des résidents de l'agglomération Ottawa-Hull, dont la population totale est de 718 000 habitants. La proportion des Francophones y est donc plus élevée que dans l'ensemble du Canada.

L'Ontario

En 1968, le gouvernement ontarien définit une politique des services en langue française. Il modifie la *Loi sur l'administration des écoles* et la *Loi sur les écoles secondaires et les conseils scolaires* de façon à permettre la création de classes ou d'écoles de langue française, aux degrés primaire et secondaire. En 1972, Ottawa compte parmi les régions désignées pour l'application de cette politique. En 1979, le ministre ontarien de l'Éducation déclare que les conseils scolaires sont tenus, dorénavant, de créer des classes, entités ou écoles de langue française « là où le nombre le justifie ». En 1984, la Cour d'appel de la province reconnaît à la minorité franco-ontarienne des droits en matière de gestion et de contrôle de ses établissements scolaires. Il est sûr que ce jugement aura des répercussions dans Ottawa-Carleton à brève échéance, mais, pour l'instant, les écoles de langue française de la région relèvent toujours de conseils scolaires bilingues, et non de conseils francophones.

Depuis 1977, dans la région de la Capitale, on peut soutenir un procès en français à deux divisions des cours provinciales (criminelle et de la famille). Depuis 1982, les hautes cours civiles de la région sont ouvertes au français. Enfin, un amendement de 1979 à la *Loi municipale de l'Ontario* autorise Ottawa et les villes environnantes à faire usage de formulaires bilingues.

Dans le domaine social et celui de la santé, les établissements du secteur ontarien souffrent depuis longtemps d'une pénurie de personnel spécialisé pouvant assurer les services en français.

Enfin, malgré l'excellent travail accompli par les divers titulaires du poste de coordonnateur des services en français, il semble bien que ceux-ci soient gênés

inexorablement par le refus du gouvernement ontarien de reconnaître au français le statut de langue officielle. D'ailleurs, les services en français sont, le plus souvent, sporadiques et improvisés.

Ottawa en tant que municipalité

En 1970, le conseil municipal reconnaît le français et l'anglais comme langues officielles. Il adopte ensuite une politique du bilinguisme ainsi que des règlements relatifs à la pose de panneaux de circulation bilingues ou pictographiques. En 1971, la municipalité se dote d'un service de traduction. En 1979, elle donne un caractère officiel à son comité consultatif des services en français, qui aura aussi pour mission d'élaborer une politique municipale du bilinguisme.

En 1982, le conseil municipal, qui avait reçu le rapport du Comité consultatif des langues officielles, revoit à fond sa politique, puis fixe à l'administration de nouveaux objectifs en divers domaines : affiches, écriteaux, publicité, services, instruments de travail et égalité des chances à l'embauche et en cours de carrière. Cette politique laisse prévoir une expansion des services en français et des possibilités d'emploi du français comme langue de travail. Il reste que dans divers services municipaux l'usage spontané et prioritaire de l'anglais est une garantie de service rapide et efficace.

Le Québec et Hull

Paradoxalement, le Québec tend vers l'unilinguisme alors que l'Ontario évolue vers le bilinguisme. Avec la *Charte de la langue française*, le français est devenu la langue officielle et dominante. Aussi les Anglophones de la région éprouvent-ils plus de difficulté à obtenir des services en anglais aux échelons provincial, régional et municipal. Les services de l'État et des divers organismes québécois de la région de la Capitale nationale pratiquent l'unilinguisme dans nombre de domaines : accueil téléphonique, écriteaux, imprimés et instruments de travail. Le caractère vexatoire de cette situation s'imagine aisément.

Toutefois, les services des organismes provinciaux et municipaux sont accessibles en anglais dans nombre de cas. Cela tiendrait à ce que le bilinguisme est plus poussé chez cette population québécoise. Selon le recensement de 1981, 57 pour cent des habitants du secteur québécois de l'agglomération parlent les deux langues, contre 35 pour cent dans le secteur ontarien. Ainsi, la police de Hull l'emporte sur celle d'Ottawa au chapitre du bilinguisme. La minorité anglophone, quant à elle, bénéficie toujours d'un système scolaire fort satisfaisant, mais la baisse des inscriptions est sujet d'inquiétude pour elle. La question du contrôle linguistique des établissements scolaires se pose avec plus d'acuité depuis un certain temps. Dans les circonstances, serait-il déraisonnable d'espérer que Québec reconnaisse que Hull et les municipalités voisines puissent assurer une gamme complète de services en anglais sans perdre pour autant leur identité linguistique ?

La région de la Capitale nationale aujourd'hui et demain

Notre tableau de la capitale évoque heurts, disparités et accidents sur le plan linguistique. Parfois, les milieux fédéral, provincial et municipal semblent appartenir à des univers différents. D'une extrémité à l'autre de l'agglomération, on passe subitement de déserts unilingues à des oasis de bilinguisme. Et du côté du secteur privé, la situation ne se présente nullement comme florissante. Dans l'ensemble, le secteur Ottawa-Carleton est fortement anglophone ; il faudra beaucoup d'efforts pour y introduire le français dans l'aspect extérieur comme pour ce qui est de l'accueil dans la plupart des établissements commerciaux. Si du côté québécois, d'autre part, le visage est largement français, la plupart des commerces peuvent servir la clientèle en anglais. Dans la partie québécoise de l'agglomération les transferts linguistiques chez les Anglophones s'élèvent à 14 pour cent. Dans la division de recensement de Hull, 2 500 personnes ayant l'anglais pour langue maternelle emploient le français à la maison.

Mais il y a quand même recul du français dans l'ensemble. L'attraction qu'exerce la langue anglaise dans ce microcosme régional explique le taux de l'assimilation ou des transferts linguistiques. Dans la partie ontarienne de la région métropolitaine de recensement, ce taux s'élevait à 22,6 pour cent en 1981, résultat peu brillant pour une capitale nationale, on en conviendra. Les pertes pour la francophonie d'Ottawa seraient d'environ 14 300 personnes, celles-ci étant passées à l'anglais comme langue de la maison. Il faut dire que l'anglais demeure la langue habituelle de travail dans beaucoup de secteurs de l'administration fédérale et davantage encore dans les organismes de la province, des municipalités et des entreprises privées. Comme la région de la Capitale est une véritable pépinière de recrutement pour l'administration fédérale, avec 27,8 pour cent des nouveaux effectifs en 1983, les conséquences de l'assimilation linguistique nous semblent redoutables.

Conscients de la complexité et de la gravité de cette situation, nous comptons y consacrer une étude approfondie. Néanmoins, nous serions heureux que les pouvoirs publics nous devancent sur ce terrain et sachent prendre les mesures nécessaires pour assurer à la région de la Capitale nationale le régime linguistique correspondant à sa vocation.

Nous nous intéressons plus particulièrement à l'avenir qu'à ce qui a été fait par le passé. L'an 2000 est notre horizon. Nous déplorons que la collaboration ait été insuffisante jusqu'ici entre les diverses parties intéressées. La Commission de la Capitale nationale (dont les services au public sont parmi les meilleurs) mérite toutefois une mention spéciale ; elle a mené à bien des ententes en matière d'aménagement avec les partenaires québécois et ontariens.

Quant à l'organisme consultatif tripartite proposé par la Commission B.B. aux trois gouvernements pour l'application d'un programme global, il y aurait lieu d'insuffler vie à ce projet. Il conviendrait en outre d'associer plus directement le secteur privé à la grande entreprise inscrite dans le mandat confié à la Commission de la Capitale nationale, soit que « la nature et le caractère du siège du gouvernement du Canada puissent être en harmonie avec son importance nationale ».

Beaucoup de changements ont été accomplis pour accorder la région de la Capitale nationale à la dualité linguistique du Canada. La tâche demeure considérable cependant. Elle suppose une collaboration plus poussée de la part des autorités gouvernementales et une plus grande coordination des initiatives et des mesures. En d'autres termes, nous souhaitons que les administrations fédérale, provinciales et municipales conjuguent étroitement leurs efforts et y associent le secteur privé.

À cette fin, nous recommandons la formation d'un groupe de travail composé de représentants de tous les secteurs. Il aurait pour mission d'élaborer un plan d'action tendant à réaliser la pleine reconnaissance de la dualité linguistique dans la capitale et à affermir le caractère bilingue de ses organismes.

PARTIE III

L'égalité linguistique : les responsables

Ministères et organismes: de la parole aux actes

On trouvera ci-après une appréciation critique de plus de 110 ministères et organismes fédéraux. Notre information a pour sources nos vérifications et suivis, l'analyse des plaintes et l'examen de la documentation émanant des intéressés et des organismes centraux chargés de veiller au grain de la réforme linguistique. Les remarques qui suivent portent essentiellement sur notre méthode de travail, puisque nous avons déjà fait à la partie précédente la synthèse des questions qui nous préoccupent.

Plutôt que de consacrer à tous le même type de présentation, nous avons dressé cette année un portrait en pied des principaux ministères et organismes, ainsi que de ceux qui ont fait l'objet d'une vérification en 1984, et nous avons brossé un tableau sommaire de la réforme chez les autres. Notre évaluation porte sur cinq éléments : 1) la planification et le contrôle dans le domaine des langues officielles ; 2) le service au public ; 3) l'utilisation du français et de l'anglais au travail ; 4) la participation équitable des deux groupes linguistiques ; et 5) la nature et l'importance des plaintes.

À la lecture de nos commentaires sur les plans d'action et les mesures de contrôle, on constatera que certains problèmes ont un caractère endémique. Ainsi, ce sont toujours les mêmes employeurs (Air Canada, le CN, les Postes, Via Rail) qui se heurtent à la question de l'ancienneté, celle-ci prenant le pas sur les exigences du service au public. Pourtant, serait-il si déraisonnable de tenir compte, pour les affectations, de la compétence linguistique ? On sait par ailleurs, que ministères et organismes procèdent parfois à des restructurations plus ou moins importantes, et cela pour une multitude de bonnes raisons. Mais les motifs invoqués n'englobent que rarement l'amélioration du service à la minorité linguistique. Qu'on nous permette de citer ici La Rochefoucauld : « Ceux qui s'appliquent trop aux petites choses deviennent ordinairement incapables des grandes. » Quoi qu'il en soit, nous analysons les métamorphoses successives des organisations, afin de nous assurer qu'elles répondent aux exigences de la réforme linguistique.

Pour ce qui est du service au public, nous nous intéressons non seulement à la capacité théorique de servir le client dans sa langue (nombre de postes bilingues, enseignes et affichage, imprimés, etc.) mais nous cherchons aussi à déterminer si, dans la réalité quotidienne, les organismes montrent de l'empressement auprès de la minorité de langue officielle. Nous tenons également compte de la gravité relative des situations, par exemple quand le non-respect des droits linguistiques des citoyens peut donner lieu à des sanctions. Dans ces cas, nous examinons à la loupe les mécanismes de contrôle mis en place pour déceler les failles dans la

prestation de services bilingues. De plus, nous jaugeons toujours la valeur des correctifs qui ont été apportés à la suite de nos interventions, et signalons aussi bien les réalisations importantes que les défaillances notoires.

L'analyse des sondages menés auprès du personnel jette une lumière vive sur la possibilité réelle d'employer le français et l'anglais au travail, et surtout sur la volonté de la direction d'établir un régime où l'égalité des deux langues soit plus que théorique. En fin de compte, ce sont les hauts fonctionnaires qui donnent le ton ; s'ils n'encouragent pas leurs employés francophones d'une parole ou d'un geste, rien ne changera.

Plusieurs ministères et sociétés affichent des pourcentages satisfaisants quant à une participation équitable, mais la moyenne voile, par exemple, une pléthore de Francophones au Soutien administratif, ou une pénurie d'Anglophones au Québec. Pour en arriver à une évaluation raisonnable, nous prenons en considération les facteurs suivants : nature des services, vocation de l'organisme, lieu du siège social, bassins de recrutement, territoire desservi, type de clientèle. Bref, il ne suffit pas de « vouloir » un juste équilibre, il faut aussi vérifier si tout le processus de recrutement est équitable : définition des exigences, appels de candidatures, comité de sélection, etc.

Ce qui frappe surtout à l'examen des plaintes, c'est qu'elles reflètent une situation inexplicable, voire inexcusable. Étant donné que la gestion moderne se targue de tout contrôler, nous nous étonnons que tant de cas puissent encore tromper la vigilance des administrateurs.

L'index qui suit permettra au lecteur de repérer les organismes qui l'intéressent ; ceux qui ont fait l'objet d'une vérification en 1984 sont marqués d'un astérisque.

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Administration de pilotage de l'Atlantique

L'Administration de pilotage de l'Atlantique compte maintenant une employée bilingue à son siège social d'Halifax. À cela près, sa situation en termes de langue de service est demeurée stable. Notre sondage auprès de la clientèle révèle que les rares clients francophones sont généralement satisfaits des services fournis par le biais de la traduction : correspondance, facturation. Néanmoins, il n'y a toujours aucun Francophone parmi ses 71 employés.

L'Administration a fait l'objet de deux plaintes en 1984. Toutes deux concernaient la parution d'annonces dans les journaux anglais seulement : elles ont été promptement réglées.

Administration de pilotage des Laurentides

L'Administration de pilotage des Laurentides a fait l'objet pour la première fois en 1984 d'une vérification linguistique. L'Administration, qui a son siège à Montréal et dont les trois bureaux régionaux sont au Québec, éprouve peu de difficultés à respecter ses obligations en matière de langues officielles. Elle devrait cependant veiller à ce que ses nombreuses ressources bilingues soient adéquatement utilisées, particulièrement en ce qui a trait à la prestation de services.

Il nous est apparu que l'élaboration d'une politique des langues officielles et sa diffusion au sein du personnel favoriseraient une utilisation maximale de ses ressources. L'Administration s'est engagée à mettre en oeuvre notre recommandation à ce sujet.

Soixante-huit de ses 79 employés étant bilingues, l'Administration peut aisément fournir ses services dans les deux langues officielles aux agents maritimes et aux pilotes à contrat, ses principaux clients. L'accueil téléphonique se fait cependant uniquement en français et nous avons recommandé à l'Administration de corriger cette situation. Une seconde anomalie exige une attention particulière : bien que les factures pour les services de pilotage soient imprimées dans les deux langues, elles sont remplies en anglais seulement.

L'Administration n'a pas de relevé de la première langue officielle de ses employés ; elle devra sans tarder combler cette lacune. Il est cependant notoire que la quasi-totalité du personnel est francophone. Lorsque l'Administration aura déterminé la composition linguistique de son personnel et informé ses employés de leurs droits en matière de langue, elle devra, le cas échéant, rendre bilingues les instruments de travail qui n'existent pour le moment qu'en français. De plus, elle devra déployer des efforts en vue d'assurer une participation plus équitable des Anglophones parmi son personnel.

Affaires des anciens combattants

Finalement installé à Charlottetown, le ministère des Affaires des anciens combattants s'est employé à redonner vigueur à son programme des langues officielles. Il

a effectivement réussi à améliorer sa capacité de servir le public dans les deux langues. Toutefois, le Ministère n'a toujours pas réussi à rencontrer ses objectifs en matière de langue de travail et de participation. Telle est la conclusion de notre récente vérification linguistique du Ministère et des quatre organismes qui lui sont associés.

Si l'effectif global du Ministère a été réduit au cours de l'année à 3 557 personnes, le nombre des postes bilingues, lui, s'est accru (33,5 pour cent). Près de 65 pour cent de ceux-ci exigent une compétence « intermédiaire » ou « supérieure » en langue seconde, et 996 des 1 193 titulaires la possèdent. En outre, le Ministère a mis sur pied un programme de formation linguistique à l'intention des infirmières de l'hôpital de Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue et nommé un conseiller bilingue au seul et unique poste exigeant la connaissance des deux langues à l'ouest du Manitoba, soit au bureau d'Edmonton. Ce qui n'empêche pas certains anciens combattants francophones d'être obligés de traiter avec des conseillers unilingues anglophones dans plusieurs régions. Cette situation ne risque pas de changer avant que ne soit établie de façon plus précise la demande de services dans la langue officielle de la minorité.

Le Ministère compte une proportion élevée de Francophones (41,2 pour cent) parmi ses employés. Il convient cependant de noter que la plupart d'entre eux se retrouvent dans la région de Montréal. En effet, 1 046 des 1 464 employés francophones travaillent à l'hôpital de Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue. Par contre, dans plusieurs autres régions ils sont peu nombreux : 1 sur 217 en Colombie-Britannique et 6 sur 165 en Nouvelle-Écosse, par exemple. Le déménagement à Charlottetown continue de nuire au recrutement des Francophones. Les employés de langue française se faisant de plus en plus rares à l'administration centrale (15,8 pour cent), la direction devra adopter un plan d'action énergique. Les Francophones sont sous-représentés dans deux catégories professionnelles, tandis que les Anglophones le sont dans trois.

En règle générale, les manuels et les autres documents de travail sont bilingues, et les employés sont évalués dans leur langue. L'administration centrale s'enorgueillit d'un nombre fortement accru de surveillants linguistiquement qualifiés ; 65 pour cent par rapport à 42 pour cent en 1983. Le Ministère évalue à 25 pour cent la quantité de travail effectuée en français, et ce malgré le peu d'employés francophones. La minorité a la possibilité de travailler dans sa langue dans certains coins du Nouveau-Brunswick, du Québec et de l'Ontario. Cependant plusieurs des directives émises à l'intérieur des bureaux régionaux et de district desservant les deux communautés linguistiques sont unilingues anglaises.

Les quatre organismes associés au ministère des Affaires des anciens combattants : la **Commission canadienne des pensions**, le **Bureau des services juridiques des pensions**, la **Commission des allocations aux anciens combattants** et le **Conseil de révision des pensions** — ont tous maintenant leur siège à Charlottetown.

Les bureaux de la **Commission canadienne des pensions** à Toronto et à Winnipeg ne sont toujours pas en mesure de servir leur clientèle francophone dans sa langue et dans de nombreux bureaux, l'accueil téléphonique bilingue est laissé au

petit bonheur la chance. Conscient qu'un meilleur contrôle de tous ses services améliorerait sa performance, la Commission a décidé d'entreprendre une série de vérifications ponctuelles dans la plupart des bureaux régionaux. Elle effectuera également un sondage sur la satisfaction des clients à six endroits. Le taux de participation globale des Francophones y est moins élevé que l'année dernière : 18,7 pour cent des 300 employés. Il n'y a qu'un seul Anglophone parmi les 19 employés du Québec.

Le **Bureau des services juridiques des pensions**, avec ses 120 employés, continue de bien servir le public dans les deux langues et un avocat bilingue est venu se joindre à l'équipe du bureau de Winnipeg. Trente-quatre des 37 titulaires de postes bilingues satisfont aux exigences prescrites, et la plupart des bureaux desservant les deux communautés linguistiques sont dotés d'une capacité bilingue suffisante. Afin d'améliorer davantage son rendement, nous avons suggéré au Bureau de mieux mesurer la demande de services dans la langue officielle de la minorité ; de promouvoir l'usage du français aux assemblées générales ; et de faire en sorte que tous les employés soient encadrés et évalués dans la langue de leur choix. L'organisme a réagi favorablement à toutes ces recommandations. La participation globale des Francophones demeure stable à 21 pour cent.

La **Commission des allocations aux anciens combattants**, avec ses 24 employés, offre un excellent service bilingue au public. Quinze de ses 16 postes bilingues exigent une compétence « intermédiaire » ou « supérieure », et 12 des 14 titulaires sont qualifiés à cet égard. Afin de corriger les seuls points faibles apparents de son programme des langues officielles, nous avons demandé à la Commission de rappeler à ses employés que l'accueil doit se faire dans les deux langues et de faire traduire certains documents de travail unilingues. La Commission, qui a accepté nos deux recommandations, a déjà pris des mesures pour remédier au problème de l'accueil téléphonique. Huit de ses 24 employés sont francophones.

Le **Conseil de révision des pensions** est en mesure d'offrir un excellent service au public, ses 14 employés — dont 12 satisfont aux exigences prescrites — occupant des postes bilingues. La langue de travail ne pose aucun problème. Nous avons toutefois recommandé au Conseil de s'efforcer de recruter davantage d'Anglophones, son effectif n'en comptant que trois. Conformément, il a entrepris de revoir ses méthodes de dotation.

Ces organismes n'ont fait l'objet d'aucune plainte en 1984. Nous en avons toutefois reçu trois mettant en cause le Ministère. Deux provenaient du Québec : la première portait sur l'affichage à l'hôpital Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue, l'autre soulignait de nombreuses erreurs dans la version française d'une formule. Le Ministère a réglé ces deux plaintes avec empressement. Une plainte reçue à la fin de l'année mettait en cause l'absence de service en français au bureau de district de Windsor.

Affaires extérieures

La vérification que nous avons effectuée cette année à l'administration centrale du ministère des Affaires extérieures a révélé de sérieux problèmes quant à la langue

de travail et à la participation. La situation est généralement plus satisfaisante dans les missions à l'étranger en raison de la capacité bilingue élevée parmi les agents du Service extérieur.

Le Ministère dispose d'une bonne politique et d'un plan d'action bien articulé en matière de langues officielles, mais leur mise en oeuvre à l'administration centrale ne nous semble pas constituer une priorité. Ainsi, les gestionnaires n'ont aucun objectif précis, et le Ministère ne s'est pas encore doté de mécanismes de contrôle.

À l'étranger, à la suite des recommandations de notre étude de 1982, le Ministère a adopté un certain nombre de mesures valables. Les grandes missions élaborent présentement leur propre programme des langues officielles tandis que le Service de vérification interne suit de plus près la situation des diverses missions à cet égard. Le Ministère a par ailleurs distribué des brochures d'information aux employés permutants et au personnel recruté sur place.

La capacité du Ministère d'offrir des services dans les deux langues est étroitement liée à ses ressources bilingues parmi le personnel permutant. Si la capacité bilingue demeure satisfaisante chez les quelque 1 400 agents du Service extérieur (78 pour cent), elle est nettement inadéquate parmi le personnel de Soutien, 46 pour cent seulement des quelque 1 000 membres de cette catégorie étant bilingues. Il n'est donc pas étonnant que l'accueil téléphonique et en personne se fassent souvent en anglais seulement, en particulier à l'administration centrale. À l'étranger, le Ministère poursuit son objectif qui est d'achever la bilinguisation des services d'accueil d'ici 1986.

Le grand défi du Ministère est celui de la langue de travail. Le français est la langue principale de travail dans 25 des quelque 120 missions à l'étranger. À l'administration centrale, son emploi n'est guère répandu : mis à part quelques unités du secteur des affaires politiques où l'usage du français est chose courante, l'anglais y domine en effet très largement, notamment dans les secteurs du commerce et aux échelons supérieurs de la hiérarchie.

Dans de nombreux cas, l'encadrement et la notation du personnel ne se font qu'en anglais. Les cours de formation sont souvent offerts en anglais seulement, particulièrement les séances d'orientation à l'intention des nouveaux employés. Le manque de services de soutien en français constitue aussi un obstacle important à l'usage de cette langue au travail. Ainsi, le tiers seulement des 475 secrétaires permutants possèdent un niveau de connaissance «intermédiaire» de leur langue seconde. De plus, le Ministère a suspendu la formation linguistique à plein temps de ce groupe. On voit mal comment il pourra atteindre son objectif de porter, d'ici 1988, à 70 pour cent la proportion des secrétaires bilingues.

Si les services centraux sont de plus en plus offerts dans les deux langues, certaines unités ne possèdent pas encore suffisamment d'employés bilingues. C'est le cas notamment des secteurs suivants : contrôle de la gestion, vérification, exploitation, entretien et télécommunications. Exemple révélateur du peu de cas qu'on fait du droit des employés à recevoir des services centraux dans leur langue, l'administration a envoyé à Paris une équipe composée de quatre Anglophones

unilingues et d'un seul bilingue, en vue de mettre au point un système de contrôle financier informatisé.

Les proportions globales d'Anglophones et de Francophones s'établissent à 71 pour cent et 29 pour cent respectivement. Les Francophones représentent 21 pour cent des 156 membres de la catégorie Gestion. Par ailleurs, ils ne forment que 15 pour cent des 200 agents de commerce. Pour ce qui est de ce dernier groupe, le Ministère se propose de porter à 25 pour cent en l'an 2003 le taux de participation des Francophones. La situation s'est améliorée dans le groupe des agents du Service extérieur, la proportion des Francophones passant de 22,5 à 24 pour cent par rapport à l'an dernier. On constate par ailleurs une tendance à la polarisation, les Francophones étant regroupés dans les programmes socio-culturels et administratifs, tandis que les Anglophones dominent dans les secteurs techniques, économiques et commerciaux. Cette situation constitue assurément un obstacle à l'usage équitable des deux langues au travail.

Le Ministère a fait l'objet de sept plaintes en 1984. Quatre d'entre elles portaient sur l'unilinguisme de l'accueil téléphonique. Si le Ministère s'empresse de régler les problèmes ponctuels, il met par contre beaucoup de temps à résoudre les dossiers mettant en cause sa politique même.

Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien

La réforme linguistique au ministère des Affaires indiennes et du Nord canadien n'a pas encore atteint sa vitesse de croisière. Néanmoins, le Ministère a fait de modestes progrès en 1984 et se dit persuadé que la récente restructuration de son réseau de langues officielles lui permettra dorénavant d'en accomplir d'importants.

La capacité du Ministère de servir le public dans les deux langues demeure à peu près inchangée. En 1984, le nombre de postes bilingues a très légèrement diminué (il est maintenant de 1 200 sur un total de 5 600 environ), mais la proportion de titulaires satisfaisant aux exigences linguistiques est passée de 80 à 83 pour cent. Très peu de bureaux offrent des services dans les deux langues puisque seulement 8 des 2 660 postes à l'ouest de l'Ontario sont désignés bilingues et dotés de titulaires linguistiquement compétents. Quoique seulement 10 bandes du Québec et du Nouveau-Brunswick aient manifesté le désir d'être servies en français, le Ministère devrait également prévoir les besoins de ses autres clients de langue minoritaire.

Le Ministère estime qu'environ 96 pour cent de sa clientèle préfère être servie en anglais. Par contre, aucune enquête sérieuse n'a été menée pour mesurer la demande de services en français. Plus d'un an après l'installation d'une ligne téléphonique INWATS à l'échelle du pays, le Ministère a fait très peu pour en faire vraiment connaître l'existence, se contentant d'en inscrire le numéro dans quelques annuaires téléphoniques. Mis en place à titre d'essai, le service existe toujours, mais ni sa fréquence d'utilisation ni la satisfaction des clients n'ont fait l'objet d'une évaluation.

Règle générale, les employés des régions du Québec et de la Capitale nationale peuvent travailler en français, mais des vérifications internes récentes ont révélé

divers problèmes à cet égard, même dans cette dernière. Les services centraux et du personnel ne sont toujours pas offerts dans les deux langues dans tous les bureaux régionaux et la plupart des réunions, y compris celles du comité de gestion, sont tenues en anglais seulement. De plus, la formule d'évaluation de rendement ne permet toujours pas aux employés d'indiquer leur préférence linguistique.

Pour ce qui est de la participation, où la situation n'a pas bougé (84 pour cent d'Anglophones et 16 pour cent de Francophones), le Ministère soutient que la décentralisation poussée de ses activités, l'abolition éventuelle de certains bureaux régionaux et la faible demande de services en français rendent à la fois difficile et superflu l'accroissement de son personnel francophone. À nos yeux, de telles justifications sont contestables. Les Francophones sont particulièrement sous-représentés dans les catégories Exploitation (4 pour cent), Techniciens (12 pour cent) et Scientifiques et spécialistes (9 pour cent), dans les bureaux de l'Ontario (2 pour cent) et du Nouveau-Brunswick (13 pour cent) de même qu'aux échelons supérieurs de la hiérarchie (16 pour cent).

Des quatre plaintes reçues en 1984, trois portaient sur l'accueil unilingue, au téléphone ou en personne : elles ont été réglées. La quatrième concerne la non-utilisation de la presse minoritaire en Saskatchewan pour la publication d'appels d'offres. Elle n'a pas été réglée non plus qu'une plainte semblable reçue en 1983.

Agence canadienne de développement international

La réforme linguistique est incontestablement entrée dans les moeurs de l'Agence canadienne de développement international et nous n'hésitons pas à applaudir à ses succès. Véritable chef de file, elle a su exploiter ses impressionnantes ressources bilingues et, tout à la fois, élargir et raffiner la gamme de ses rouages administratifs destinés à assurer la bonne marche de sa machine linguistique.

Sont venus s'ajouter cette année au système de « freins et contrepoids », un contrôle mensuel du processus de dotation afin d'assurer que les exigences linguistiques des postes soient bien définies ; un examen systématique des demandes de traduction de courts textes pour établir leur conformité à la politique ; des mini-vérifications ou sondages constituant, dans bien des cas, le suivi de l'étude d'un problème linguistique.

En 1984, le pourcentage de postes classés bilingues est passé de 80 à 78 pour cent. Cependant, tous les postes de gestionnaires continuent d'exiger la connaissance des deux langues et 91 pour cent des employés rencontrent les exigences linguistiques de leur poste, comparativement à 89 pour cent l'an dernier. En outre, les niveaux de compétence exigés — généralement élevés — renforcent la capacité bilingue de l'Agence : 25 pour cent des postes requièrent un niveau « supérieur » de connaissances en langue seconde et 65 pour cent un niveau « intermédiaire ». L'ACDI effectue régulièrement des contrôles pour s'assurer que sa clientèle est servie, à son gré, en français ou en anglais. Mentionnons à ce chapitre les vérifications mensuelles de l'accueil téléphonique et, mesure nouvelle, l'examen

de la documentation afin de voir si la disponibilité d'un texte dans l'autre langue officielle y est mentionnée.

Les taux de participation des deux groupes linguistiques demeurent stables. Les Francophones et les Anglophones représentent respectivement 54 et 46 pour cent des 1 209 employés. Nous encourageons fortement l'Agence à prendre les mesures nécessaires pour recruter du personnel de langue anglaise pour le Soutien administratif, tel que souligné dans notre rapport de l'an passé.

En ce qui a trait à la langue de travail, la situation demeure satisfaisante et quelques initiatives valent d'être mentionnées. Une séance d'information sur les langues officielles a été tenue pour les employés et ces derniers recevront sous peu un document les renseignant sur leur droit de travailler dans leur langue. Un cours de perfectionnement en langue seconde, axé sur l'emploi, est offert aux membres anglophones du groupe de la gestion des programmes et le sera dans un proche avenir aux Francophones. Cette année, l'ACDI s'est penchée sur la qualité linguistique des services dispensés aux futurs employés à l'étranger et à leur famille et a constaté qu'on leur offrait l'information nécessaire dans la langue officielle appropriée. En dernier lieu, l'Agence a mis au point une nouvelle formule d'appréciation du rendement qui invite les employés à faire connaître leurs préférences linguistiques et permet d'évaluer le rendement du personnel d'encadrement en matière de langues officielles.

En 1984, nous avons reçu une plainte contre l'Agence. Elle avait trait à un avis de concours n'ayant pas paru dans la presse minoritaire anglophone de Montréal. La plainte a été vite réglée et des mesures prises pour éviter qu'un tel incident ne se répète.

Agence d'examen de l'investissement étranger

À la suite de notre vérification de 1983, l'Agence d'examen de l'investissement étranger s'est penchée sur ses problèmes linguistiques et a entrepris de mettre en oeuvre certaines de nos recommandations. Elle a notamment distribué aux employés un résumé de son plan en matière de langues officielles, établi un plan d'action pour la réévaluation des exigences linguistiques de ses postes et pour la formation linguistique, traduit certains documents internes et corrigé des anomalies touchant la disponibilité de services internes en français.

Avec 64 postes bilingues, dont 50 sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés, l'Agence est, en règle générale, capable d'assurer des services bilingues à sa clientèle. De plus, elle a corrigé les accrocs signalés au chapitre de l'accueil téléphonique.

Bien que l'anglais continue de prédominer comme langue de travail, les employés reçoivent leur appréciation de rendement dans la langue appropriée, et on les invite à s'exprimer dans la langue de leur choix au cours des réunions. Il n'en demeure pas moins que 6 des 23 surveillants occupant des postes bilingues ne satisfont pas aux exigences linguistiques, ce qui compromet assurément le libre choix de la langue de travail.

La participation francophone se situe cette année à 25 pour cent (33 employés sur 130), mais cette élégance des proportions n'est qu'apparente : des 15 cadres, un seul est francophone.

Cette évaluation constitue, en fait, un post-mortem puisque l'Agence s'est maintenant métamorphosée en « Investissement Canada ». Nous espérons que le nouvel organisme s'inspirera de nos louanges et saura s'organiser dès le départ pour éviter nos critiques.

Agriculture

En 1984, le ministère de l'Agriculture s'est contenté de marquer le pas. Il a intégré son programme des langues officielles à sa planification des ressources humaines et à sa planification opérationnelle, mais il n'a pas enregistré de progrès appréciable sur les autres fronts.

Le Ministère compte 9 815 employés dont 2 283 (23,3 pour cent) occupent un poste exigeant la connaissance des deux langues officielles. Nous avons noté une amélioration dans le pourcentage d'employés satisfaisant aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste, qui est passé de 77,6 à 81 pour cent. Le Ministère offre des services bilingues dans la Capitale nationale, dans le nord et l'est de l'Ontario, au Québec et au Nouveau-Brunswick, mais ailleurs, avec seulement 34 employés bilingues disséminés ici et là, le service en français laisse beaucoup à désirer.

Le taux de participation des Francophones ne s'est guère amélioré et tourne toujours autour de 22 pour cent (2 200 employés sur 9 815). De plus, en dépit d'une hausse de près de 60 pour cent du nombre de gestionnaires (ce nombre est passé de 97 à 160), le Ministère ne compte que trois gestionnaires francophones de plus que l'année précédente. Le pourcentage de Francophones a ainsi chuté par rapport à l'ensemble des gestionnaires au taux inacceptable de 13,7 pour cent et demeure faible dans la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes (20,1 pour cent). Si leur participation s'est légèrement accrue au Nouveau-Brunswick et dans l'Ouest du pays, elle reste insuffisante, soit à 18,4 et 0,6 pour cent respectivement. En Ontario, en dehors de la Capitale nationale et des régions du Nord et de l'Est, les Francophones ne sont que 9 sur 1 392 employés. De même, la participation anglophone au Québec stagne encore à environ 5 pour cent. Espérons que les dispositions que le Ministère a prises concernant la planification des ressources humaines et la planification opérationnelle viendront à bout de ces déséquilibres chroniques.

L'anglais reste la langue de travail partout, sauf au Québec. Les documents de travail d'usage courant sont bilingues, mais ceux de nature technique et scientifique sont en majorité de langue anglaise. Les réunions se déroulent presque exclusivement en anglais et, bien que 702 des 968 surveillants du Ministère soient bilingues, la surveillance et les évaluations de rendement des Francophones se font surtout en anglais. Le Ministère encourage ses employés à améliorer leur connaissance de la langue seconde et, dans ce but, il a intégré le calendrier des cours de formation linguistique à son *Manuel de formation professionnelle*. Il devra toutefois faire preuve d'un peu plus d'imagination s'il compte améliorer la place du français au travail.

Nous avons reçu 15 plaintes cette année contre le ministère de l'Agriculture. Quatorze étaient liées à la langue de service et plus particulièrement à l'absence de service en français au téléphone et de service en personne, à la non-disponibilité de publications de langue française, et à la qualité ou à l'absence de publicité dans les journaux de langue française. Une plainte concernant la langue de travail avait trait à une note de service unilingue anglaise adressée à tout le personnel. Onze de ces plaintes ont été résolues.

Air Canada

En 1984, malgré une réorganisation administrative importante, la situation des langues officielles à Air Canada est restée stable. Les améliorations essentielles que nous réclamons depuis des années ne se sont pas réalisées. Les systèmes mis en place pour assurer le respect de la Loi ne fonctionnent pas comme prévu, le manque chronique de personnel bilingue créant des difficultés majeures pour la Société en ce qui a trait aux services en français et au respect des droits linguistiques de tous ses employés.

Air Canada a révisé sa politique linguistique cette année et l'a enrichie d'éléments substantiels, notamment d'exigences quant à l'accueil et à l'offre active de service dans les deux langues officielles de la part des agents bilingues. Relativement au service au sol, ces exigences ne s'appliqueront cependant que dans certaines régions. Deux autres lacunes sont à souligner : la politique permet encore l'unilinguisme des panneaux-réclame dans des régions à demande minoritaire importante, comme Montréal ou Toronto, et l'installation d'affiches publicitaires en une langue seulement dans les deux tiers des agences urbaines.

Les normes de la Société fixant les capacités bilingues minimales pour chacun de ses points de service au sol sont respectées dans seulement 13 cas sur 72 au Canada, un net recul par rapport à l'an dernier (28 sur 72). Plus encore, dans certaines agences urbaines, dont celles de Régina, Saskatoon, Windsor et Saint-Jean (N.-B.), on ne retrouve aucun agent bilingue. Et bien sûr, les voyageurs francophones ne peuvent toujours pas obtenir de services en personne dans leur langue à l'aéroport de Timmins. De même, aucun règlement satisfaisant n'est venu corriger les anomalies que nous avions soulignées l'an dernier quant à l'utilisation du comptoir bilingue à l'aéroport de Winnipeg.

Le voyageur qui désire se faire servir en français à l'étranger a avantage à s'envoler vers l'Europe plutôt que vers les États-Unis ou le Sud. Dans ces deux derniers cas, 12 points de service au sol sur 34 sont dépourvus d'employés bilingues.

Les annonces faites dans les aéroports le sont généralement, mais non systématiquement, dans les deux langues officielles. La Société a même distribué aux agents bilingues une série de petites cartes «aide-mémoire» afin de leur faciliter cette tâche. On peut également communiquer avec les réservations dans l'une ou l'autre langue habituellement sans difficulté, et dans la plupart des cas, les renseignements enregistrés sur les arrivées et les départs des vols ne posent plus de problème.

Notre étude sur la langue de service à l'aéroport de Toronto a permis de constater que, comme presque partout ailleurs, les agents bilingues y sont peu nombreux (95 sur 470), ce qui constitue une faiblesse majeure. Les gestionnaires misent principalement sur la formation linguistique pour combler cette lacune, mais les effets de cette mesure ne se feront sentir qu'à long terme. La Société devrait donc veiller scrupuleusement, entre autres, à ce que les voyants lumineux qui indiquent la présence d'agents bilingues soient utilisés systématiquement. Selon Air Canada, la solution de plusieurs des problèmes observés à cet aéroport dépend des résultats des négociations en cours avec l'un de ses principaux syndicats. Tout se passe comme si l'application d'une loi vieille de 15 ans était encore négociable.

Seulement 56,6 pour cent de son personnel navigant est bilingue (1 877 sur 3 311), alors que l'objectif de la Société se situe à 80 pour cent. C'est d'abord le service en personne, plus que les annonces, qui souffre de l'unilinguisme du personnel ; le nombre de plaintes reçues en témoigne. S'il suffit en effet d'un seul agent bilingue pour faire les annonces en français et en anglais, il en est autrement pour fournir le service dans les deux langues d'un bout à l'autre de l'avion. La Société a cependant cherché à améliorer l'offre active de services bilingues : elle a décidé d'annoncer au début de chaque vol le nombre d'agents de bord bilingues.

Enfin, en matière de langue de service, on ne peut passer sous silence la nécessité d'un changement d'attitude chez un certain nombre d'agents, souvent peu courtois avec les voyageurs désirant se faire servir en français ; ce problème perdure et la Société devrait s'y attaquer plus énergiquement.

Notons, d'autre part, l'excellente initiative qu'a prise cette année Air Canada en organisant des rencontres avec des associations de groupes de langues officielles minoritaires : il est à espérer que ces échanges auront d'heureux effets sur les services.

Peu de changements du côté de la langue de travail, que ce soit au siège social ou dans le district d'Ottawa. L'unilinguisme d'un bon nombre de surveillants rend toujours difficile l'usage quotidien du français dans les communications verbales. Par ailleurs, la préférence linguistique des employés est généralement respectée dans les communications écrites. Les documents de travail sont pour la plupart disponibles dans les deux langues et on a publié cette année un nouveau lexique bilingue destiné au personnel de piste.

Les Francophones représentent 21,8 pour cent des employés de la Société. À la maintenance, ce taux se situe à 39 pour cent, mais il n'est que de 18,8 pour cent dans le groupe des cadres. En fait, aucun changement sensible par rapport à l'an dernier.

En 1984, nous avons reçu 152 plaintes à l'endroit d'Air Canada. Trente-six d'entre elles concernaient les communications écrites avec le public (dont 33 touchaient la publicité) ; 39 mettaient en cause le service en vol et 48 le service aux aéroports. Les réservations ont fait l'objet de neuf plaintes, les services du fret de quatre. Enfin, 16 plaintes ont été enregistrées au chapitre de la langue de travail. De tous ces cas, 51 étaient encore à l'étude à la fin de l'année.

Approvisionnements et Services

Le rendement linguistique du ministère des Approvisionnements et Services est pour le moins inégal. Si ses efforts pour respecter les préférences linguistiques de sa clientèle méritent d'être soulignés, force nous est de constater que le français n'est toujours pas utilisé comme il devrait l'être en milieu de travail, et ce malgré que plus de 4 000 de ses 10 400 employés soient francophones. Les solutions bureaucratiques courantes s'étant révélées inefficaces, nous incitons le Ministère à faire appel à ses experts-conseils en gestion pour trouver de nouvelles initiatives susceptibles de remédier à la situation.

Certaines des mesures administratives adoptées durant l'année ont touché tant l'administration des Approvisionnements que celle des Services. Les exigences linguistiques de certains postes de cadres supérieurs, jugées insuffisantes, ont été relevées. Les titulaires de postes bilingues sont soumis à de nouveaux tests afin de vérifier leur compétence en langue seconde. Des dispositions ont également été prises pour régler le débit des documents acheminés au service de traduction et supprimer les demandes non justifiées. Les communications avec les bureaux du Québec et la langue de travail ont fait l'objet de nouvelles lignes de conduite. Enfin, le bulletin des employés a publié une série d'articles portant sur le programme des langues officielles.

L'administration des Approvisionnements compte un peu plus de 4 800 employés, dont 59 pour cent environ sont anglophones et 41 pour cent francophones. La vaste majorité de ses clients étant de langue anglaise, les communications internes se font principalement en anglais. Le nombre de postes bilingues (2 028) et de titulaires satisfaisant aux exigences prescrites (1 771) est légèrement plus faible qu'en 1983. Contrairement à ce que nous laissions entendre l'année dernière, le Centre d'approvisionnement pour l'exportation avait bel et bien déterminé les exigences linguistiques de ses postes.

Nous avons reçu sept plaintes contre cette administration en 1984. L'une mettait en cause un contrat stipulant qu'un chercheur d'une université francophone était tenu de soumettre ses rapports en anglais ; le Ministère a expliqué l'origine de l'erreur et a précisé que les documents pouvaient être rédigés dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. Les autres visaient des annonces n'ayant pas paru dans la presse minoritaire, une formule unilingue et l'absence d'accents sur des imprimés d'ordinateur. Quatre de ces plaintes sont déjà réglées.

L'administration des Services emploie un peu plus de 5 600 personnes, dont près de 62 pour cent sont anglophones, et 38 pour cent francophones. Aux échelons supérieurs, la proportion de Francophones atteint tout juste 20 pour cent. Le total des postes bilingues (1 886) et celui des titulaires linguistiquement compétents (1 657) se sont accrus respectivement de 72 et de 94 durant l'année.

C'est à regret que nous avons appris en fin d'année que pour des raisons budgétaires, on avait fermé les bureaux du Centre de service au public. Nous souhaitons toutefois que le Service de référence téléphonique saura répondre aux besoins des minorités de langues officielles en assurant un service bilingue de qualité comparable.

Notre vérification de l'administration des Services a révélé qu'en général, les organisations gouvernementales et le public étaient servis dans leur langue d'élection.

Au chapitre des communications internes, toutefois, la situation est moins rose : les activités liées à la planification, à l'élaboration des lignes de conduite, à la conception des systèmes et à la production des manuels se déroulent généralement en anglais, et les décisions importantes se prennent avant que les textes français ne soient disponibles. Dans plusieurs secteurs de l'Administration, l'absence de glossaires techniques bilingues et la rareté des cours de formation technique en français font obstacle à un usage accru du français au travail. Bien qu'un sondage sur la langue de travail effectué en 1983 ait mis en lumière des lacunes dans plusieurs services internes, les correctifs n'ont été apportés qu'à la fin de 1984.

Il nous faut par ailleurs signaler certains progrès, en particulier les efforts de la Direction de la gestion bancaire et de la comptabilité du gouvernement du Canada pour mettre le français et l'anglais sur un pied d'égalité. Nous sommes également très satisfaits de la révision approfondie des normes linguistiques des postes de la Division des pensions de retraite à Shédiac en 1983, révision qui a ouvert la voie à un usage plus équitable du français au travail ; cette initiative devra cependant faire l'objet d'un suivi rigoureux, afin de produire des résultats concrets.

Nous avons reçu cinq plaintes contre l'administration des Services en 1984. Deux touchaient la qualité de la langue et trois concernaient l'insuffisance des services en français au téléphone. Trois de ces plaintes sont réglées.

Archives publiques

En 1984, les Archives publiques du Canada ont continué d'offrir leurs services en français et en anglais avec la même facilité. Elles ont par ailleurs modifié la formule d'évaluation du rendement afin de permettre aux employés d'y indiquer leur préférence linguistique et pris les dispositions nécessaires pour qu'ils puissent être supervisés dans leur langue d'élection. Les Archives n'ont pas encore remédié à la sur-représentation générale des Francophones (38 pour cent) qui se réflète dans quatre des six catégories professionnelles. La représentation anglophone-francophone dans les deux autres catégories est équilibrée.

Assurances

Le Département des Assurances n'a aucune difficulté à offrir ses services dans les deux langues officielles. Un sondage maison effectué auprès de la clientèle du Département a révélé d'ailleurs que cette dernière était très satisfaite de la qualité linguistique des services. Sur le front de la langue de travail, des progrès sont à signaler. Soucieux de promouvoir l'usage du français au travail, le Département a remis le français à l'honneur lors des réunions du mercredi matin, introduit l'interprétation simultanée à l'assemblée générale des directeurs et des agents régionaux et veillé à ce que les Francophones soient autant que possible évalués dans leur langue maternelle. Au chapitre de la participation, les Francophones

représentent toujours 26 pour cent des 209 employés, ce qui est fort bien. Sauf parmi les cadres supérieurs, qui sont tous sept d'expression anglaise, on les retrouve en nombre suffisant dans toutes les autres catégories professionnelles.

Banque du Canada

La Banque du Canada occupe cette année encore l'un des premiers rangs au palmarès de la réforme linguistique. Le service au public ne pose aucun problème et un excellent programme de formation linguistique, axé sur les fonctions, a largement contribué à favoriser l'usage du français comme langue de travail. La participation des Francophones demeure élevée, puisqu'ils forment 34 pour cent d'un effectif de 2 250 personnes. Par contre, un meilleur équilibre a été atteint dans certains secteurs, notamment aux échelons supérieurs et dans le groupe des spécialistes et des analystes (comprenant respectivement 27 et 22 pour cent de Francophones).

Banque fédérale de développement

Poursuivant le régime amaigrissant entrepris en 1983, la Banque fédérale de développement a vu fondre cette année un autre 15 pour cent de son effectif, qui n'est plus que de 1 400 employés, dont quelque 250 bilingues (15 pour cent). Cette cure n'est pas sans affecter la santé linguistique de l'organisme : par exemple, les succursales de Sault-Ste-Marie, de Mississauga, de Scarborough et de Toronto, en Ontario, ainsi que celle de Saint-Jean, au Nouveau-Brunswick, ne sont plus en mesure d'offrir des services en français. La Banque doit par conséquent se rabattre sur un système de renvoi. Il faut toutefois noter qu'elle réussit la plupart du temps, malgré ces difficultés, à offrir à sa clientèle des régions bilingues du pays des services en français et en anglais.

Après avoir sondé le coeur et les reins linguistiques de son administration centrale à Montréal, la Banque s'emploie présentement à déterminer les aptitudes linguistiques de son personnel de la région du Québec. Elle a également revu son programme de vérification interne afin d'y insérer des dispositions plus contraignantes en matière de langues officielles.

En dehors de la région du Québec et du Nord du Nouveau-Brunswick, le français est peu utilisé au travail. Au siège social, 36 des 76 surveillants sont unilingues — une situation regrettable. Notons cependant que les employés disposent de documents de travail bilingues et que les services centraux et du personnel sont assurés dans les deux langues officielles.

Les Francophones constituent 27,6 pour cent de l'effectif, et sont bien répartis dans les diverses catégories professionnelles. Au siège, à Montréal, on dénombre 175 Anglophones (61 pour cent) sur un total de 287 employés, mais on n'en compte que 9 parmi 244 employés des bureaux du Québec.

Des 21 plaintes déposées contre la Banque en 1984, 13 portaient sur l'absence d'annonces dans la presse minoritaire, six sur le service unilingue et deux sur l'unilinguisme d'un dépliant. La Banque a réglé ces cas consciencieusement.

Bibliothèque du Parlement

En 1984, la Bibliothèque du Parlement a élaboré une politique formelle des langues officielles jugée nécessaire depuis longtemps ; il ne manque plus que la ratification de la haute direction. Elle continue à offrir un service satisfaisant au public et 30 pour cent des titres acquis en 1984 sont de langue française.

Les Francophones représentent 53 pour cent d'un effectif de 223 personnes. Ils comptent par ailleurs 73 pour cent des employés de la catégorie du Soutien administratif. La Bibliothèque devra s'employer à recruter davantage d'Anglophones bilingues.

La Bibliothèque du Parlement a fait l'objet de deux plaintes. L'une promptement réglée, portait sur une note de service rédigée partiellement en anglais seulement ; l'autre, toujours à l'étude, concernait une annonce qui n'a paru que dans la presse anglophone.

Bibliothèque nationale

Cette année encore, la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada a montré sa bonne volonté en améliorant les services et contrôles linguistiques, pourtant déjà fort adéquats. Par exemple, elle a relevé le niveau des exigences linguistiques de quelque 30 postes comportant des contacts avec le public. La Bibliothèque a également effectué un sondage auprès de ses correspondants afin de mesurer leur degré de satisfaction concernant la qualité linguistique des services. Elle a communiqué avec les employés qui n'avaient pas été évalués dans leur première langue officielle pour les sensibiliser à leurs droits linguistiques. Les taux de participation demeurent inchangés (64 pour cent d'Anglophones et 36 pour cent de Francophones). Les Anglophones continuent d'être sous-représentés dans la catégorie Soutien administratif, et les Francophones dans celle des Scientifiques et spécialistes.

Bureau des relations fédérales-provinciales

Le Bureau des relations fédérales-provinciales a consolidé ses positions sur le front des langues officielles et son rendement a été cette année encore satisfaisant.

Le Bureau a désigné 48 (94 pour cent) de ses 51 postes bilingues et 43 titulaires satisfont aux exigences prescrites. Il s'est également engagé à tenir ses employés au fait en matière de langues officielles. Il entend respecter cet engagement en publiant un *Guide de l'employé sur les langues officielles*.

Les deux langues servent pour les rapports et les réunions. Cependant, seulement 46 pour cent des Francophones ont demandé que leur appréciation de rendement soit faite en français. Étant donné que le Bureau a invité ses employés à indiquer leurs préférences linguistiques à la fois pour l'évaluation et l'entrevue, cette faible proportion nous laisse songeurs.

Quatre des 20 surveillants du Bureau ne satisfont pas aux exigences prescrites. Cette situation est attribuable au fait que le Bureau a pour politique que le niveau

de compétence requis pour les agents et les cadres passe d'« intermédiaire » à « supérieur » après leur nomination. Cette politique a été appliquée dans le cas de 6 des 11 employés embauchés en 1984.

La participation des deux groupes linguistiques demeure sensiblement la même par rapport aux années précédentes, soit 25 Anglophones et 26 Francophones. Si ces derniers occupent 6 des 21 postes de la catégorie Gestion, seulement 3 des 18 employés de la catégorie Soutien administratif sont anglophones. Le Bureau devrait s'employer à redresser ce déséquilibre.

Bureau du Conseil privé

Le Bureau du Conseil privé continue d'accorder une très grande attention à la question des langues officielles. Malgré cela, les Francophones sont toujours trop peu nombreux aux échelons supérieurs, et ils restent surreprésentés parmi le Soutien administratif. Ces déséquilibres ternissent un tableau par ailleurs intéressant.

Les gestionnaires du Bureau participent activement à la planification et au contrôle des fonctions liées au programme des langues officielles. Tous les secrétariats préparent un rapport trimestriel comprenant une étude des profils linguistiques et des taux de participation. En règle générale, les employés sont au courant de leurs droits et obligations, mais le seront davantage après la distribution du document intitulé *Guide de l'employé sur les langues officielles*. Le Bureau a également élaboré des lignes directrices officielles pour les nouvelles commissions d'enquête.

Sa clientèle qui se compose principalement de ministres, de sous-ministres et de sous-ministres adjoints, a participé à un sondage maison visant à déterminer le degré de satisfaction linguistique : 100 pour cent des Anglophones et 87 pour cent des Francophones interrogés se déclarent satisfaits des services offerts par le Conseil privé.

De ses 377 employés, 313 (83,2 pour cent) occupent des postes bilingues. De plus, 259 (82,7 pour cent) répondent aux exigences prescrites. Il est encourageant de noter que les 10 gestionnaires supérieurs et agents recrutés cette année ont une connaissance « intermédiaire » de leur langue seconde. Conformément à la politique de dotation du Bureau, ces employés ont deux ans pour atteindre le niveau « supérieur ».

Le Bureau continue d'encourager l'emploi du français au travail, et tous les services centraux et du personnel sont offerts dans les deux langues. La notation du personnel se fait généralement dans la langue d'élection des employés, depuis que le Bureau leur a demandé de préciser leurs préférences en cette matière.

L'effectif comprend 196 Anglophones (52,1 pour cent) et 180 Francophones (48 pour cent). La représentation élevée de ces derniers s'explique par la présence d'un trop fort contingent d'employés de langue française dans la catégorie du Soutien administratif, où ils occupent 155 des 269 postes (58 pour cent). Par ailleurs, les Francophones sont toujours légèrement sous-représentés aux échelons supérieurs (5 sur 23).

Le Bureau a réglé deux plaintes cette année. L'une concernait la présence de commissionnaires unilingues à l'entrée de l'Édifice Langevin. Les correctifs apportés ne constituent cependant, à notre avis, qu'un palliatif. Compte tenu de son importance symbolique et stratégique et en dépit des arrangements en place, nous continuons de croire qu'il devrait y avoir des commissionnaires bilingues en tout temps. L'autre plainte, qui a été réglée de façon satisfaisante, portait sur l'usage irrégulier des deux langues officielles dans les décrets.

Nous avons également fait part au Bureau de deux plaintes contre la **Commission royale sur l'union économique et les perspectives de développement du Canada**. Dans un cas, la Commission avait omis d'annoncer ses audiences dans la presse minoritaire ; dans l'autre, elle avait négligé d'envoyer la version française de son rapport *L'Enjeu*. Les deux cas ont été réglés à notre satisfaction.

Bureau du Directeur général des élections

La tenue d'élections générales en 1984 a causé une grande effervescence au Bureau du Directeur général des élections. Il lui a fallu en effet mettre en branle les mesures nécessaires pour permettre aux millions de Canadiens de voter. Attachant une grande importance au droit des citoyens de voter dans leur langue, le Bureau avait raffiné ses procédures touchant les questions linguistiques. Malgré tout, quelques grains de sable se sont glissés dans l'engrenage.

Deux innovations mises en place lors des dernières élections valent la peine d'être soulignées : le Bureau avait fait placer dans les bureaux de vote des 92 circonscriptions sur 282 classées comme bilingues, soit le tiers, des affiches indiquant aux électeurs qu'ils pouvaient être servis dans leur langue ; de plus, le personnel d'Élections Canada portait des macarons permettant de les distinguer des représentants des partis politiques.

Les 36 plaintes que nous avons reçues de personnes n'ayant pu être servies dans leur langue au moment du recensement ou du vote témoignent des imperfections du système. Une quinzaine d'entre elles, provenaient des régions bilingues d'Ottawa et de Moncton, où les présidents d'élection avaient embauché du personnel unilingue. Nous avons manifesté au Bureau notre étonnement face à un tel état de choses.

Pour éviter que de tels faits ne se reproduisent, le Bureau prévoit de mettre en place des mesures additionnelles. Ainsi, les présidents d'élection signaleront à l'avenir aux représentants des partis politiques — qui fournissent des listes de candidats aux fonctions de recenseur et de scrutateur — la nécessité de faire appel le plus possible à du personnel bilingue pour ces postes temporaires. De plus, le Bureau veillera à sensibiliser davantage le personnel affecté aux élections (présidents d'élection, recenseurs, réviseurs et scrutateurs) à leurs obligations en matière de langues officielles au cours des sessions de formation qui leur sont offertes. Il cherchera également à déterminer les secteurs des circonscriptions unilingues présentant une forte concentration de membres du groupe minoritaire afin d'y affecter du personnel bilingue.

Soixante-dix pour cent des 71 postes de l'organisme exigent la connaissance des deux langues et un seul titulaire ne satisfait pas aux exigences prescrites. Les employés peuvent sans problème utiliser leur langue dans les communications internes. Les documents de travail, l'encadrement et les services centraux sont disponibles dans les deux langues. Cependant, la proportion des Anglophones s'est encore amenuisée, passant de 20 pour cent l'an dernier à 18 pour cent cette année. Cette situation nécessite de toute évidence une intervention énergique de la part de la haute direction.

En plus des plaintes ci-haut mentionnées, nous en avons reçu une autre déplorant la sous-représentation des Anglophones parmi le personnel du Bureau.

Centre canadien d'hygiène et de sécurité au travail

En matière linguistique, le Centre canadien d'hygiène et de sécurité au travail se porte très bien depuis quelques années. Même établi à Hamilton, il a su améliorer et sa capacité bilingue et la participation francophone. Quelque 30 de ses 126 employés sont maintenant bilingues, et tous les secteurs clés sont en mesure d'offrir un service dans les deux langues. L'anglais demeure la langue de travail, bien que les services internes soient offerts dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. On trouve 15 Francophones parmi les employés. En 1984, nous avons reçu quatre plaintes au sujet du Centre. Elles concernaient toutes des offres d'emploi qui, au Québec, avaient été placées uniquement dans des quotidiens de langue française. La question a été promptement réglée.

Centre de recherches pour le développement international

Le Centre de recherches pour le développement international a accéléré le rythme de sa réforme linguistique. Cependant, le Centre s'obstine à ne pas publier simultanément ses ouvrages techniques et scientifiques dans les deux langues officielles.

Le programme de formation linguistique du Centre est toujours aussi populaire. Vingt-cinq pour cent des 361 employés suivent des cours en vue d'accroître leurs compétences en langue seconde. Les vérificateurs internes ont étendu leurs activités au dossier des langues officielles et la proportion des surveillants bilingues s'est accrue de 5 pour cent. Malheureusement, la proportion de Francophones dans les catégories Gestion (21,5 pour cent) et Scientifiques et spécialistes (17 pour cent) reste faible.

Les trois plaintes dont le Centre a fait l'objet cette année portaient toutes sur ses pratiques en matière d'appel de candidatures. Il revoit présentement sa politique en cette matière.

Centre national des Arts

La Corporation du Centre national des Arts mérite encore une fois nos félicitations pour avoir réussi à offrir ses services aux spectateurs de sa myriade de spectacles et concerts dans leur langue officielle préférée. Même si la situation s'est améliorée dans les coulisses, il n'en demeure pas moins qu'environ le tiers des surveillants occupant des postes bilingues n'ont pas la compétence voulue dans la langue seconde. Le taux de participation globale des Francophones est trop élevé, ces derniers occupant 59,5 pour cent des 267 postes permanents. Le Centre devra adopter une politique de dotation qui lui permettra de corriger progressivement ce déséquilibre. Dans l'ensemble, le programme des langues officielles du Centre national des Arts semble répondre aux besoins du public. Nous n'avons reçu qu'une plainte contre le CNA et elle a été promptement réglée.

Chambre des communes

La performance linguistique de la Chambre des communes a perdu un peu de son lustre en 1984 par rapport aux années précédentes. L'Administration semble se contenter des acquis, et néglige de s'attaquer aux problèmes qu'elle n'a toujours pas résolus en matière de langue de travail et de participation.

La gestion du programme des langues officielles présente les mêmes éléments positifs que par le passé, mais aussi les mêmes faiblesses. Ainsi, l'Administration dispose d'une bonne politique et les responsables des trois principaux secteurs établissent des plans d'action annuels ; cependant, elle n'a pas encore donné suite à nos suggestions de l'an dernier de se doter de méthodes de contrôle plus rigoureuses et d'informer davantage ses employés sur leurs droits et obligations linguistiques.

Plus de 70 pour cent des 1 713 postes de l'Administration sont classés bilingues et 66 pour cent d'entre eux sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés. C'est dans le secteur du Sergent d'armes que le pourcentage d'employés ne satisfaisant pas aux exigences de leur poste est le plus élevé (48 pour cent). Il s'agit là d'une augmentation de 4 pour cent par rapport à l'an dernier. Cette situation est sans doute attribuable au fait que les exigences linguistiques de 20 pour cent des postes bilingues ont été rehaussées. Dans le secteur du Greffier, le pourcentage des titulaires linguistiquement compétents s'est accru de 14 pour cent depuis l'an dernier.

L'Administration s'efforce d'augmenter le nombre des gardes de sécurité bilingues, dont la proportion s'établit à 68 pour cent. De plus, elle tient compte des connaissances linguistiques de ces derniers dans la composition des équipes de travail. Les plaintes reçues cette année montrent cependant que tout n'est pas au point. Qui plus est, la Chambre a fait preuve d'une grande lenteur dans leur examen.

Les Anglophones sont toujours sous-représentés dans l'ensemble du personnel de la Chambre (37 pour cent), même si leur participation est plus élevée dans les catégories supérieures de la Gestion (54 pour cent) et de l'Administration (42 pour cent). Il semble qu'un premier pas ait été franchi en vue de redresser cette

situation — du moins l'espérons-nous — puisque le Comité de gestion de la Chambre a donné son aval à l'élaboration d'un plan d'action en la matière.

Le français n'est pas employé aussi couramment qu'on pourrait le croire dans le milieu de travail, l'unilinguisme anglais de 26 pour cent des quelque 250 surveillants constituant toujours un obstacle important à cet égard. La Chambre a poursuivi la traduction des documents de travail dans les secteurs du Sergent d'armes et de l'Administration. Elle s'est aussi assurée que son nouveau service électronique de communications internes fonctionne dans les deux langues.

La Chambre des communes a fait l'objet de sept plaintes en 1984. Les quatre premières concernaient l'unilinguisme anglais des gardes de sécurité. Une se rapportait à l'accueil téléphonique unilingue anglais dans le secteur du Sergent d'Armes. Les deux autres, reçues en fin d'année, touchaient les méthodes d'évaluation des connaissances linguistiques des candidats à des concours. Elles sont toujours à l'étude.

Chemins de fer nationaux

Les Canadiens qui s'attendaient à ce que les Chemins de fer nationaux du Canada augmentent cette année la vitesse de croisière de leur train linguistique et établissent de nouvelles voies et de nouvelles liaisons auront encore une fois été bien déçus.

Si le CN a atteint cette année la plupart des objectifs qu'il s'était fixés en matière de langues officielles, il faut bien dire que ceux-ci étaient souvent vagues et peu ambitieux. Qui plus est, aucune mesure n'est venue corriger les lacunes qui sont les leitmotive de nos rapports annuels : le CN ne dispose toujours pas de données sur la première langue officielle et sur les compétences linguistiques de tous ses employés ; sa politique se montre encore trop restrictive en matière de langue de travail, notamment en ce qui concerne la région de l'Atlantique où seul l'anglais est reconnu ; et les pourparlers patronaux-syndicaux achoppent toujours sur la question du service dans les deux langues.

Si les relations épistolaires avec le grand public se font généralement dans la langue appropriée, il en va tout autrement du service en personne. Les efforts du CN à cet égard se limitent le plus souvent à mettre en place des palliatifs ; au mieux, le client francophone devra patienter pendant qu'on cherche un préposé bilingue pour le servir dans sa langue. Le CN devra rajuster son tir en cette matière et offrir au grand public des services de même qualité en français et en anglais.

Exception faite de l'Hôtel Newfoundland, où le CN éprouve, semble-t-il beaucoup de difficultés à recruter du personnel linguistiquement compétent, le service bilingue dans les hôtels et à la **Tour du CN** continue de s'améliorer. Quelques anomalies persistent néanmoins à ce chapitre (qu'il s'agisse du service offert par la Société elle-même ou par ses concessionnaires) et à celui de la signalisation.

Les 29 plaintes que nous avons reçues au sujet de **CN Marine** témoignent clairement de la piètre qualité des services en français. Elles touchent toute une gamme

de sujets, allant de reçus de caisse unilingues à l'absence généralisée de services en français, tant du côté de l'organisme lui-même que de celui de ses concessionnaires. Même au chapitre de la signalisation — question facile à résoudre s'il en est — on trouve encore nombre d'écriteaux unilingues anglais sur les quais d'embarquement et à bord des traversiers. CN Marine devra sans tarder corriger cette situation.

Dans l'ensemble, le CN a continué de bien s'acquitter de ses obligations linguistiques en ce qui a trait aux documents, aux instruments de travail (y compris les systèmes informatisés) et aux cours internes de formation. Cependant, même au siège social à Montréal, le français est loin d'avoir un statut égal à l'anglais comme langue de travail.

Côté participation, les taux sont demeurés sensiblement les mêmes que l'an dernier. Le pourcentage de Francophones parmi les 300 postes les plus élevés du réseau s'est accru légèrement, passant de 19,3 pour cent à 20,7 pour cent. Malgré de légers progrès, la participation francophone chez les cadres supérieurs est encore trop faible au siège social (17,2 pour cent) et dans la région de l'Atlantique (12,5 pour cent) ; dans ce dernier cas, elle est également faible au niveau des cadres intermédiaires (16,6 pour cent).

Outre les plaintes déjà signalées au sujet de CN Marine, nous avons reçu 23 plaintes visant le CN, dont six mettaient en cause les hôtels et trois la gare centrale de Montréal.

Commissaire à la magistrature fédérale

La clientèle du Commissaire à la magistrature fédérale demeure assurée d'un excellent service, mais des anomalies persistent sur le plan de la langue de travail ; ainsi, les employés ne sont pas tous encadrés dans leur langue première et 19 des 22 Francophones ont été évalués en anglais cette année.

Côté participation, le Bureau devra s'employer à recruter plus d'Anglophones. Même si le seul employé permanent embauché cette année est de langue anglaise, cela ne porte qu'à 7 leur nombre total, sur un effectif de 29.

Commission canadienne des droits de la personne

La Commission canadienne des droits de la personne a pris des initiatives louables en 1984 pour corriger certaines lacunes notées dans notre rapport de l'an dernier. Cependant, elle éprouve toujours des difficultés à établir un juste équilibre dans l'utilisation des deux langues sur le plan interne.

Nous avions demandé à quelques reprises à la Commission de raffermir la gestion de son programme des langues officielles. Des déblocages méritent d'être soulignés : elle travaille à l'élaboration d'une politique en la matière et met en place des

mécanismes de contrôle plus rigoureux pour s'assurer que les objectifs définis dans son plan des langues officielles — au demeurant bien fait — soient atteints.

Bonne nouvelle aussi au plan du service au public : la Commission dispose maintenant d'une capacité bilingue satisfaisante dans ses sept bureaux régionaux et le service dans les deux langues y est offert spontanément. La capacité bilingue globale de l'organisme reste bonne. Soixante-quatre pour cent (84 sur 132) des postes sont bilingues et 91 pour cent d'entre eux sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés. La Commission exige une compétence « supérieure » pour plusieurs de ses postes d'enquêteurs. Elle a en outre émis une directive rappelant aux agents leur obligation de respecter les préférences linguistiques de toutes les personnes interrogées dans le cadre des enquêtes.

La situation au chapitre de la langue de travail est moins reluisante. Même si la Commission rappelle périodiquement aux employés qu'ils ont le droit de travailler et d'être supervisés dans leur langue, elle admet que l'anglais prédomine largement comme langue de travail. Malheureusement, elle n'a rien fait pour aller à la racine du mal. Elle entend cependant donner suite à notre suggestion de faire un sondage auprès de ses employés à ce sujet. La Commission continue de se préoccuper de la question de la documentation de travail ; les rapports informatisés sur les plaintes seront préparés dans les deux langues à compter de 1985. En matière de participation, les Anglophones forment les deux tiers du personnel et les Francophones l'autre tiers.

Nous n'avons reçu aucune plainte contre la Commission en 1984. Nous avons cependant porté à son attention une situation qui, à nos yeux, n'était pas conforme à la *Loi sur les langues officielles* : un Tribunal des droits de la personne constitué par la Commission a émis, en français seulement, une décision portant sur les pratiques d'embauche des femmes au Canadien national. Comme cette décision, largement diffusée dans les médias, présentait à nos yeux « de l'intérêt et de l'importance pour le public en général », (selon l'article 5(1) de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*) nous avons fait valoir qu'elle aurait dû être publiée simultanément dans les deux langues. Nous avons également indiqué que cette exigence devrait s'appliquer à toutes les décisions des tribunaux constitués par la Commission. Cette dernière s'est engagée à agir ainsi, sauf dans les cas où un retard dû à la traduction causerait un préjudice sérieux aux parties. Nous suivrons de près l'application de cette nouvelle politique. Il nous semble cependant que des mécanismes de traduction efficaces permettraient à ses tribunaux de publier toutes leurs décisions, simultanément et sans délai, dans les deux langues.

Commission canadienne des transports

La Commission canadienne des transports se rapproche de plus en plus de l'excellence en matière de langue de service. Si des lacunes importantes persistent au chapitre de la langue de travail, elle a fourni en 1984 de sérieux efforts en vue de les corriger.

L'unilinguisme des signaux de passages à niveau à l'extérieur du Québec disparaîtra enfin, huit ans après le dépôt d'une première plainte à ce sujet. Un

amendement à la *Loi sur les chemins de fer* a en effet permis à la Commission d'émettre de nouveaux règlements établissant pour l'ensemble du pays une signalisation basée sur l'emploi de pictogrammes.

La Commission a fait l'objet de deux plaintes en 1984. L'une mettait justement en cause l'unilinguisme des signaux de passages à niveau et l'autre, qui fut promptement réglée, la non-parution d'une annonce dans la presse écrite de langue française.

Commission canadienne du blé

La condition linguistique de la Commission canadienne du blé est demeurée à peu près inchangée. La plupart des services qu'elle dispense, de même que plusieurs de ses publications, sont disponibles dans les deux langues officielles. Par ailleurs, avec un taux de participation francophone d'environ 3 pour cent (sur un total de 529 employés permanents) et une très forte clientèle de langue anglaise, il n'est pas étonnant que l'anglais soit la langue de travail.

La Commission se refuse toujours à traduire en français le carnet de livraison des producteurs, le formulaire de renouvellement et la brochure explicative qui les accompagne.

Par ailleurs, en réponse à une plainte reçue en 1984, la Commission s'est dite disposée à traduire la documentation de base utilisée lors de réunions d'information publiques lorsque la demande se manifestera.

Commission de contrôle de l'énergie atomique

Dans l'ensemble, la performance linguistique de la Commission de contrôle de l'énergie atomique demeure satisfaisante. Règle générale, la Commission sert ses clients industriels et le grand public en français ou en anglais, au gré de la demande. Si elle n'a pas encore donné suite à notre recommandation de l'année dernière d'élaborer une politique globale des langues officielles, la Commission n'en est pas moins vigilante pour ce qui est de la langue de service.

Tous les postes bilingues (105 sur 264) exigent une compétence « intermédiaire » en langue seconde. À l'heure actuelle, 70 pour cent des titulaires satisfont aux exigences linguistiques. Le français sert, dans une certaine mesure, pour les réunions, mais la Direction des études normatives, le Bureau d'information publique, la Division du personnel, le Bureau régional de Montréal et le personnel affecté à la Centrale de Gentilly (Québec) en font un usage beaucoup plus courant.

Vingt-quatre nouveaux employés sont venus se joindre à l'équipe de la Commission, ce qui a permis d'accroître sensiblement la participation francophone qui est passée de 22,5 à 25 pour cent. Le nombre d'employés de langue française laisse néanmoins à désirer dans la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes (32 sur 181).

Cette année, la Commission a fait l'objet d'une plainte qui portait sur la langue de travail. Elle a été lente à nous fournir les détails que nous avons demandés.

Commission de la Capitale nationale

La Commission de la Capitale nationale a continué de suivre, en 1984, le layon qu'elle s'est tracé dans la forêt du bilinguisme. Bien qu'elle ait fait l'objet de quatre plaintes portant sur des erreurs dans l'affichage, la Commission est en mesure d'offrir au public des services de qualité dans les deux langues. Elle doit néanmoins veiller à accroître sa capacité bilingue au sein du groupe des surveillants (elle s'établit présentement à 72 pour cent) et à recruter un plus grand nombre d'Anglophones, lesquels n'occupent que 53 pour cent de ses 850 postes permanents.

Commission de la Fonction publique

D'entrée de jeu, soulignons que la Commission de la Fonction publique a marqué des points en 1984, surtout en ce qui a trait à la langue de service et à la langue de travail. Toutefois, il lui reste encore un défaut important à corriger : la participation des Anglophones, qui demeure faible et qui, dans quelques catégories, a même diminué.

La Commission compte près de 2 500 employés, dont 80 pour cent travaillent à Ottawa, les autres étant répartis entre 15 bureaux régionaux. Quand on sait que 89 pour cent de ses 2 000 postes bilingues sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés, on ne s'étonne pas qu'elle soit partout en mesure de servir le public dans les deux langues. Elle l'a fait d'autant plus facilement cette année que la proportion de postes exigeant une connaissance « supérieure » de la langue seconde a crû sensiblement, et que, dans la plupart des bureaux situés dans les régions bilingues, plus de postes désignés bilingues sont comblés par des titulaires qui en rencontrent les exigences linguistiques. À Montréal, par exemple, le nombre de ceux-ci est passé de 76 à 108, ce qui représente 86,4 pour cent des effectifs. Tous les bureaux qui desservent les groupes minoritaires disposent de ressources bilingues. Parmi les autres réalisations de cette année, signalons l'établissement d'un mécanisme servant à contrôler la qualité du service au public dans l'une et l'autre langue, et la publication d'une brochure sur l'accueil téléphonique. La Commission s'est également affirmée en tant qu'organisme central. Elle a notamment émis aux ministères une directive confirmant le principe de la publication bilingue des appels de candidature et des avis d'appel, précisant qu'il s'appliquait à toutes les régions où la demande de service dans les deux langues s'avérait « importante » ; Toronto et Winnipeg ont donc été ajoutées à la liste des régions concernées. De plus, le nombre de cours de formation professionnelle donnés en français a augmenté de 25, ce qui porte à 21,8 pour cent la proportion de cours dans cette langue.

Les documents de travail et les services centraux sont disponibles dans les deux langues, et il semble que les employés des régions bilingues puissent travailler dans leur langue. Les formules d'appréciation, telles que révisées l'an dernier, permettent désormais aux employés d'indiquer leur préférence linguistique ; cependant, aucun mécanisme n'a encore été prévu pour s'assurer que les surveillants en tiennent compte. Signalons à ce sujet que la Commission a publié à l'intention des superviseurs un dépliant portant sur leurs responsabilités en matière de langues officielles.

Le principal reproche que nous ayons à faire à la Commission est de n'avoir pas amélioré la participation des Anglophones. Même en excluant les employés chargés de la formation linguistique et du Programme d'orientation des carrières pour les professeurs de langue, qui sont en majorité francophones, les Anglophones ne représentent que 44 pour cent des effectifs. Les gains plutôt modestes de ces derniers dans les catégories Soutien administratif et Techniciens (où ils sont passés à 33 et 46 pour cent respectivement) ont été annulés par des pertes dans les catégories Gestion et Scientifiques et spécialistes, dont ils forment respectivement 51 et 24 pour cent du personnel. Bien que consciente de ces déséquilibres, la Commission n'a pas encore arrêté sa stratégie en la matière.

Nous avons reçu cette année 11 plaintes au sujet de la Commission (la moitié moins que l'an dernier), et sept d'entre elles ont déjà été réglées. Dans quatre cas, on déplorait que des appels de candidature n'aient été publiés ou diffusés qu'en anglais. Les autres doléances portaient notamment sur l'unilinguisme anglais de l'accueil téléphonique à deux directions d'Ottawa, le fait qu'une section de dotation de la capitale n'ait pas activement offert ses services en français et l'envoi d'une lettre de Régina en anglais à une association francophone.

Commission de réforme du droit

À peu de choses près, le temps continue d'être au beau fixe à la Commission de réforme du droit du Canada, sauf en ce qui a trait au taux de participation. Quatre-vingt pour cent des 45 employés permanents sont bilingues, et le même pourcentage vaut pour la vingtaine de contractuels qu'elle emploie.

L'anglais et le français se côtoient sans problème dans le milieu de travail. Pour polir encore davantage sa performance, la Commission devrait toutefois rehausser la représentation des Anglophones parmi les employés permanents (17 sur 43). Chez les contractuels, on compte 12 Anglophones et neuf Francophones.

Commission des relations de travail dans la Fonction publique

Cette année encore, la Commission des relations de travail dans la Fonction publique doit être félicitée pour son excellente performance linguistique. Elle n'a toutefois pas encore donné suite à notre recommandation de 1981 de publier simultanément toutes ses décisions dans les deux langues officielles. Les données de 1984 démontrent que pour une période de neuf mois, seulement 51,6 pour cent des décisions ont été diffusées simultanément en anglais et en français, et 80,9 pour cent des traductions ont mis plus de quatre semaines à parvenir aux parties intéressées. En 1985, la Commission devra s'attaquer en priorité à améliorer ces délais.

Le rehaussement des exigences linguistiques de 13 des 165 postes a contribué à renforcer sa capacité bilingue, déjà très satisfaisante. En effet, la Commission compte 149 postes bilingues et 115 employés linguistiquement compétents. Cette

année, 33 pour cent des évaluations de rendement des employés (contre 11 pour cent l'an dernier) ont été faites en français ; cette amélioration s'imposait compte tenu de la composition du personnel de la Commission — 83 Anglophones et 82 Francophones. Les employés de langue française demeurent en trop grand nombre dans les catégories Soutien administratif et Techniciens, où ils représentent respectivement 61 et 71 pour cent.

Commission du tarif

La Commission du tarif a commencé à mettre en oeuvre les recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1983 : elle a établi un comité interne chargé d'examiner les questions d'ordre linguistique, et a mis à jour son système d'information sur les langues officielles. Il lui reste cependant à revoir la désignation linguistique de certains postes et à prendre des mesures concrètes pour favoriser le libre emploi du français au travail. Espérons que la Commission fera preuve d'imagination créatrice dans ces deux dossiers.

Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles

En 1984, la Commission nationale des libérations conditionnelles a maintenu sa bonne performance en matière de langues officielles.

Les deux langues sont toujours d'usage à l'administration centrale et les taux de participation demeurent les mêmes qu'en 1983 (soit 60 pour cent d'Anglophones et 40 pour cent de Francophones). La Commission devrait chercher à accroître la représentation des Anglophones.

La moitié des 260 postes de l'organisme sont occupés par des employés bilingues. La Commission a réussi au cours de l'année à embaucher une personne bilingue à son bureau de Saskatoon ; en revanche, elle ne dispose plus de personnel bilingue à Burnaby. Dix-sept des 23 commissaires sont en mesure d'entendre les demandes de libération dans l'une et l'autre langue.

Nous avons reçu deux plaintes contre la Commission. La première faisait état d'une lettre en français envoyée à un détenu anglophone. L'autre concernait un document de travail qui avait été distribué en anglais seulement à des employés de langue française. La Commission a pris rapidement les mesures nécessaires pour éviter la répétition de ces erreurs.

Commission sur les pratiques restrictives du commerce

La Commission sur les pratiques restrictives du commerce a cette année encore obtenu des résultats linguistiques enviables. Elle est en mesure d'offrir un service

bilingue ; ses employés ont le loisir d'y travailler en français ou en anglais ; et 4 de ses 13 employés sont francophones.

Communications

La situation linguistique du ministère des Communications s'est améliorée en 1984, notamment au chapitre de la langue de service et de la langue de travail. Cependant, nous avons noté un léger recul de la participation francophone dans certaines catégories tandis que la participation anglophone au Québec demeure anémique.

Le Ministère offre des services dans les deux langues officielles grâce à 905 employés bilingues, qui représentent 39,8 pour cent de son effectif. Un sondage annuel sur la satisfaction de la clientèle a démontré que près de 98 pour cent de ceux qui ont répondu étaient satisfaits de la qualité linguistique des services offerts. Cependant, une des composantes du Ministère, l'**Agence des télécommunications gouvernementales**, semble éprouver des difficultés à faire respecter ses ententes avec les compagnies privées de téléphone visant à assurer en tout temps des services téléphoniques gouvernementaux dans les deux langues officielles.

Devant l'influence grandissante de la télévision de langue anglaise sur la culture francophone, nous sommes heureux de constater que le Ministre s'est fixé comme objectif de favoriser l'extension des services de radiodiffusion et de télédiffusion de langue française et l'élargissement de la gamme de distribution d'émissions de langue française au Canada. Il est à souhaiter que cette révision des services de diffusion de langue française au Québec et dans le reste du Canada aura des effets bénéfiques à long terme pour la survie du français là où il est le plus menacé. Cela est d'autant plus important que de sérieuses coupures budgétaires ont dû être pratiquées à l'automne touchant le réseau de Radio-Canada dans les deux langues, comme on peut le voir plus loin sous la rubrique Radio-Canada.

Le Ministère s'efforce d'accroître l'usage du français au travail dans le domaine de la technologie et des télécommunications, là où l'anglais exerce toujours son emprise. En 1984, il a produit un plus grand nombre de documents de recherches et de publications en français. Il a organisé un colloque national dont plus du tiers des 50 conférences furent prononcées en français devant un auditoire bénéficiant d'un service d'interprétation simultanée. Il a aussi mis sur pied un comité de concordance qui étudie la terminologie scientifique courante au sein du Ministère, et il favorise l'utilisation de termes scientifiques appropriés dans les deux langues officielles.

La participation anglophone et francophone s'établit respectivement à 70 pour cent et à 30 pour cent. On ne trouve que 59 pour cent d'Anglophones dans la catégorie du Soutien administratif. Par ailleurs, les Francophones constituent moins de 2 pour cent des effectifs dans les provinces de l'Ouest, et à peine 3 pour cent dans les bureaux régionaux de l'Ontario. La participation anglophone au Québec stagne encore à 1,3 pour cent.

En 1984, nous avons reçu six plaintes relativement à l'accueil téléphonique, une au sujet de la qualité du français de directives publiées dans un répertoire téléphonique gouvernemental, et une dernière portant sur la désignation unilingue du Ministère dans une annonce publicitaire. Sept d'entre elles ont déjà été réglées de façon satisfaisante.

Conseil canadien des normes

Le Conseil canadien des normes s'est rangé sous la bannière du bilinguisme cette année en promulguant une politique en matière de langues officielles et en donnant suite aux autres recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1982. Trente de ses 71 employés sont bilingues et les taux de participation sont bons : 72 pour cent d'Anglophones et 28 pour cent de Francophones. Malheureusement, le Conseil a fait paraître ses appels de candidatures pour doter cinq postes à Mississauga et deux à Ottawa dans les seuls journaux de langue anglaise.

Conseil canadien des relations du travail

Le Conseil canadien des relations du travail surpasse en mérite bien d'autres organismes : il offre en effet à sa clientèle un service en français et en anglais sans anicroche, et ses employés travaillent dans leur langue officielle d'élection. Par contre, on ne dénombre que 33 Anglophones parmi ses 87 employés, proportion nettement trop faible si l'on s'arrête aux exigences de l'équité en matière de participation.

Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes

Comme toujours, le Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes n'a ménagé aucun effort pour satisfaire aux exigences linguistiques de sa clientèle. Les décisions et avis sont publiés au même moment en français et en anglais et, un service d'interprétation simultanée est normalement offert lors des audiences. Le Conseil compte 233 employés qui répondent aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste et tous ses bureaux sont en mesure de dispenser leurs services dans les deux langues. Le CRTC a encore à faire au chapitre de la langue de travail, mais les employés peuvent maintenant indiquer leurs préférences linguistiques sur les formules d'évaluation du rendement. Le français et l'anglais sont d'usage courant lors des réunions aux échelons supérieurs. Le taux de participation des Francophones demeure trop élevé, ces derniers représentant un peu plus de 50 pour cent des 416 employés. En 1984, le CRTC a fait l'objet de deux plaintes. La première, qui portait sur l'accueil téléphonique unilingue, a été réglée sans problème. La deuxième, reçue en fin d'année, concernait une décision qui n'avait pas été placée dans la presse minoritaire.

Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines

Le Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines a continué d'offrir un bon service au public dans les deux langues et a réussi à corriger quelques problèmes

linguistiques. Néanmoins, deux ombres au tableau persistent : les Anglophones sont toujours sous-représentés dans la catégorie Soutien administratif (12 sur 42) et certains documents de travail sont unilingues anglais. Les quatre plaintes déposées contre le Conseil concernaient une note de service rédigée en anglais seulement et une session de formation qui n'a pas été offerte en français.

Conseil de recherches en sciences naturelles et en génie

Le Conseil de recherches en sciences naturelles et en génie continue à se distinguer dans la prestation de services dans les deux langues officielles grâce à un nombre élevé d'employés bilingues (99 sur 129). L'anglais et le français sont utilisés couramment comme langues de travail dans les communications orales, mais l'anglais reste la langue privilégiée des communications écrites. Les Francophones occupent 74 de ses 129 postes, dont 52 dans la catégorie Soutien administratif, qui ne compte par ailleurs que 16 Anglophones. De toute évidence, une représentation plus forte d'Anglophones s'impose.

Conseil de recherches médicales

Le rendement linguistique du Conseil de recherches médicales a été plus qu'honorable en 1984. Le Conseil a publié sa politique des langues officielles et a entrepris une réévaluation des exigences linguistiques de ses 49 postes afin d'assurer un meilleur service à sa clientèle ainsi qu'à ses employés. La participation anglophone continue de progresser et s'établit maintenant à 63 pour cent. Les employés peuvent travailler dans leur langue et disposent pour ce faire de documents de travail bilingues.

Conseil des Arts

Cette année encore, le Conseil des Arts du Canada a obtenu des résultats plus qu'enviables en ce qui concerne le service au public. Il devrait toutefois s'employer à améliorer d'autres aspects de son programme des langues officielles. Bien qu'il ait disposé de huit mois pour ce faire, le Conseil ne s'est toujours pas attaqué à certains des problèmes soulevés dans notre dernier rapport de vérification touchant la langue de travail et la participation.

Le Conseil offre un excellent service à la clientèle dans les deux langues. Un peu plus de 200 de ses 236 employés occupent des postes bilingues et sont linguistiquement compétents. En outre, ses documents publicitaires et ses publications d'intérêt général sont bilingues. Les demandes de subventions sont traitées dans la langue du requérant et le Conseil surveille de près ce programme afin de s'assurer que les partis pris linguistiques n'interviennent pas dans l'acceptation des demandes.

Le Conseil est un adepte du bilinguisme passif, c'est-à-dire que chacun peut utiliser la langue officielle de son choix en ayant la certitude d'être compris. En outre, les services centraux et du personnel sont offerts dans les deux langues. Quant aux communications internes écrites, le Conseil s'est inspiré de certaines de nos recommandations : les employés peuvent maintenant indiquer sur les formulaires appropriés dans quelle langue ils préfèrent être évalués et toutes les notes de services sont bilingues. Néanmoins, il n'a pas encore donné suite à nos suggestions touchant la distribution simultanée dans les deux langues des résolutions du Conseil, des rapports internes et des énoncés de politique ; cette question est d'autant plus importante que 11 des 17 membres du Conseil sont unilingues, ajoutant ainsi une contrainte additionnelle dans le milieu de travail.

Depuis 1980, nous incitons le Conseil à s'attaquer au problème de la faible participation anglophone dans la catégorie Soutien administratif. Cette année encore, nous avons été déçus de voir que la situation demeure inchangée : on ne retrouve dans cette catégorie que 18 pour cent d'employés de langue anglaise. Bien que le Conseil prétende que le bassin de main-d'oeuvre local est majoritairement francophone, nous persistons à dire que la proportion d'Anglophones dans cette catégorie est beaucoup trop faible et que le problème exige une attention particulière. Comme en 1983, les taux de participation sont de 37 pour cent pour les Anglophones et de 63 pour cent pour les Francophones.

Dans le dessein d'améliorer sa planification, nous avions recommandé que la direction administrative du Conseil revoie sa politique des langues officielles et rende les chefs de service comptables de l'atteinte des objectifs du Conseil en matière de langues officielles. Dans le but d'aider les gestionnaires à assumer cette nouvelle responsabilité, le programme des langues officielles de 1984 leur a été distribué et un examen partiel des réalisations du programme a été effectué.

Conseil des Sciences

La situation linguistique du Conseil des Sciences du Canada a peu évolué en 1984. Avec 22 employés bilingues sur 52, le Conseil est en mesure d'assurer le service à sa clientèle dans les deux langues officielles. Il fait paraître simultanément toutes ses publications en français et en anglais, et encourage ses employés francophones à utiliser le français au travail. Les taux de participation francophone et anglophone sont respectivement de 46 et 54 pour cent, un déséquilibre qui persiste.

Conseil du Trésor

Cette année, le Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor a pris au sérieux son rôle de chef de file linguistique en perfectionnant plusieurs de ses rouages administratifs et en améliorant sa performance à titre d'organisme central.

Le Secrétariat a distribué une version revue et corrigée de sa politique des langues officielles à tous ses employés. Une de ses grandes qualités tient à l'obligation qu'elle leur fait de communiquer avec les ministères et organismes

gouvernementaux qui constituent son public dans la langue d'élection de ces derniers. Les sous-ministres ont été officiellement avisés de cette ligne de conduite et les employés ont été informés de leur devoir à cet égard.

Les ressources linguistiques du Secrétariat, qui sont demeurées stables, lui permettent de bien s'acquitter de ses responsabilités : 72,1 pour cent des 769 employés occupent des postes bilingues et 87,8 pour cent satisfont aux exigences prescrites. La situation pourrait cependant être améliorée, car seulement 9 pour cent de ces postes nécessitent une compétence « supérieure » en langue seconde. Entre-temps le Secrétariat s'est efforcé de corriger les faiblesses chroniques dont souffre son accueil téléphonique en offrant des cours de langue à ses réceptionnistes unilingues.

Pour la troisième année consécutive, la participation des deux groupes linguistiques est restée stationnaire (34 pour cent francophone et 66 pour cent anglophone) tandis que les éternels déséquilibres sectoriels persistent. Le Secrétariat s'est fixé l'exercice 1985-1986 comme date limite pour redresser cette situation. À ce jour cependant, la proportion de Francophones est la même qu'en 1983 dans au moins deux catégories : ils sont trop nombreux dans la catégorie du Soutien administratif (54 pour cent) et sous-représentés à la Gestion (19 pour cent). Deux autres groupes doivent également faire l'objet d'une attention immédiate, soit les agents financiers, où les Francophones ne représentent que 15 pour cent des employés, et les Scientifiques et spécialistes, où ils ne sont que 3 sur 32 (9,5 pour cent). Il est plus que temps de poser des gestes concrets dans ces secteurs, ce qui aiguillonnerait sans doute les autres retardataires.

L'enquête sur la langue de travail menée par le Secrétariat montre un accroissement encourageant de l'usage du français chez les Francophones occupant des postes bilingues ; 41 pour cent maintenant, contre 29 pour cent en 1980. Elle démontre aussi qu'un nombre assez considérable de Francophones (35 pour cent) et d'Anglophones (46 pour cent) souhaiteraient se servir du français plus souvent. Les employés de langue française ont clairement indiqué de quelle manière cet objectif pouvait être atteint : 40 pour cent en favorisant une utilisation accrue de leur langue lors des réunions et 34 pour cent dans la rédaction de documents. Ironiquement, la nouvelle politique se montre timide sur ce dernier point. Elle prévoit en effet que seule la version finale des documents de travail destinés aux comités interministériels sera établie dans les deux langues.

Cette année, nous avons reçu quatre plaintes contre le Conseil du Trésor. Deux avaient trait à la piètre qualité du français de l'accueil téléphonique et une autre soulignait l'unilinguisme anglais d'un cours sur les mesures d'urgence. La dernière touchait un point particulièrement vulnérable du Secrétariat : une séance d'information interministérielle s'était déroulée presque exclusivement en anglais.

Terminons sur une plainte de 1983 toujours en suspens : elle concerne l'unilinguisme d'un agent de sécurité. Même si nous avons fait valoir que ce problème touche de nombreux ministères, nous attendions toujours à la fin de 1984 que le Secrétariat apporte des changements aux procédures régissant les contrats de service de sécurité de l'ensemble des ministères, afin de préciser les exigences de bilinguisme et d'en assurer un contrôle plus rigoureux.

Conseil économique du Canada

Excellente performance du Conseil économique du Canada en ce qui concerne le service au public, et nette amélioration au chapitre de la langue de travail. L'anglais continue de prédominer, mais le français sert désormais dans une proportion de 30 à 40 pour cent lors des réunions. Par ailleurs, tous les services de soutien sont accessibles au personnel dans les deux langues. Les Anglophones représentent 59 pour cent des 130 employés, hausse de 2 pour cent par rapport à l'année dernière. Le taux de participation des Francophones est élevé dans toutes les catégories sauf la plus importante, Scientifiques et spécialistes, où 9 des 40 employés sont francophones. Le Conseil ne doit pas perdre de vue la nécessité de corriger ces déséquilibres.

Conseil national de recherches

En 1984, le Conseil national de recherches du Canada a marqué le pas sur le plan linguistique. Les services bilingues ont été élargis pour prévoir l'aide à l'industrie dans six bureaux régionaux, mais le Conseil ne dispose toujours pas d'une capacité bilingue proportionnelle à son vaste champ de spécialisations techniques. Les Francophones constituent 19,9 pour cent des 3 346 employés; ils continuent d'être sous-représentés dans les catégories Gestion et Scientifiques et spécialistes (11,5 et 9,7 pour cent respectivement). Cette année, nous avons reçu trois plaintes au sujet du Conseil ; toutes concernaient le service au public et ont été réglées de façon satisfaisante.

Consommation et Corporations

Bien cotées à la bourse du bilinguisme, les actions du ministère de la Consommation et des Corporations n'ont cependant connu cette année que de très faibles fluctuations. Mis à part quelques difficultés mineures, il est en mesure d'offrir ses services dans les deux langues officielles. Par contre l'utilisation du français au travail se heurte encore à des obstacles importants. Enfin, aucun progrès notable n'a été accompli au chapitre de la participation des Francophones et des Anglophones.

Quarante-huit pour cent des 2 618 employés du Ministère occupent des postes bilingues et 90 pour cent d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences linguistiques. Le Ministère a d'ailleurs augmenté le nombre d'employés bilingues dans l'Ouest, où l'on en dénombre maintenant 30 sur 326. Il semble donc être en meilleure posture pour fournir des services en français dans cette région, mais il doit encore s'assurer que ceux-ci sont activement offerts. Notons à cet égard que les représentants du Bureau de la consommation remettent maintenant aux clients une carte-réponse leur permettant d'exprimer leur opinion sur l'aspect linguistique de ses services.

Quelque 84 pour cent des 393 surveillants occupant des postes bilingues satisfont aux exigences prescrites, et les services centraux et du personnel sont régulièrement assurés en français et en anglais. Toutefois, le français n'est toujours pas uti-

lisé aussi fréquemment qu'il pourrait l'être au travail (communications internes et surveillance) et le Ministère en recherche présentement les causes. Il pourrait à cet égard examiner de près la question de la langue des communications entre les bureaux régionaux et les bureaux de district situés dans les régions bilingues.

Le nombre de Francophones au sein du Ministère est élevé — 1 005 (38,5 pour cent) en 1984. On les trouve en proportions équitables dans toutes les catégories professionnelles sauf dans celle du Soutien, où ils sont trop nombreux (505, soit 51,9 pour cent), et chez les Scientifiques et spécialistes, où il n'y en a que 49 (15,9 pour cent).

La participation anglophone au Québec est faible à 6,5 pour cent (4 sur 214). Comme le Ministère n'a doté qu'une dizaine de postes dans cette province en 1984 et n'a recruté qu'un seul Anglophone, le revirement attendu n'est pas pour demain. Le Ministère doit tout mettre en oeuvre pour redresser ce déséquilibre.

Le Ministère a fait l'objet de sept plaintes cette année. Trois concernaient l'absence d'annonces dans la presse minoritaire et deux avaient trait à l'unilinguisme de l'accueil téléphonique. Une portait sur des erreurs dans le choix de la langue de correspondance et une dernière signalait l'unilinguisme de placards publicitaires sur des autobus à Winnipeg. Le Ministère a réglé ces cas diligemment.

Construction de Défense (1951) Ltée

La société de Construction de Défense (1951) Limitée accorde toujours beaucoup d'attention aux besoins de sa clientèle et poursuit l'amélioration de ses services dans les deux langues.

Ainsi, elle s'est engagée à servir ses clients dans les deux langues officielles dès qu'elle reçoit trois demandes de service ou de renseignements en langue officielle minoritaire. Un rappel a été fait à tous les employés concernant leurs obligations en matière de service et on prévoit d'effectuer un sondage pour mesurer la satisfaction du public.

Aucun progrès n'a été réalisé au chapitre de la langue de travail ; le siège social envoie encore certaines directives techniques en anglais seulement aux bureaux régionaux. La participation francophone (49 sur 259) est passée de 18 à 19 pour cent.

La seule plainte que nous ayons reçue touchait la non-utilisation d'un hebdomadaire de langue minoritaire. Pour montrer sa bonne volonté, la Société a accepté, à titre d'essai, de faire paraître ses prochaines annonces dans l'hebdomadaire en question.

Contrôleur général

En raison de faiblesses en matière de langue de travail et de participation équitable, la réforme linguistique au Bureau du Contrôleur général a connu un certain recul.

Certes, le Bureau a publié une version révisée de sa politique des langues officielles préconisant des mesures énergiques pour assurer à sa clientèle gouvernementale un service bilingue efficace. Cependant, ses énoncés de politique touchant la langue de travail sont beaucoup moins prometteurs. En tant qu'organisme central, le Bureau est appelé à présider ou à coordonner de nombreux comités interministériels, lesquels se penchent sur des ébauches de directives et des documents de travail trop souvent en langue anglaise seulement. La révision de sa politique linguistique aurait donc été l'occasion rêvée d'établir des normes rigoureuses favorisant l'égalité des langues officielles. Le document semble accorder la préférence au *statu quo*, surtout en ce qui a trait aux lignes directrices portant sur les communications écrites. En effet, ces dernières ne doivent être bilingues que si on prévoit d'en faire « un usage à long terme ou une vaste distribution ».

La capacité bilingue du Bureau nous apparaît adéquate. Des 160 employés, 118 (73,7 pour cent) occupent des postes bilingues et 108 (91,5 pour cent) satisfont aux conditions prescrites. Le Bureau n'a cependant pas tenu ses promesses faites en 1983 de rehausser le niveau des exigences linguistiques de certains postes. À l'heure actuelle, seulement trois postes requièrent une compétence « supérieure », ce qui est nettement insuffisant.

La représentation globale des Francophones et des Anglophones est convenable, s'établissant à 26,9 et 73,1 pour cent respectivement. Cependant, sous l'angle de leur répartition, on observe un déplorable recul : plus de la moitié des postes (54,3 pour cent) de la catégorie Soutien administratif sont de nouveau occupés par des Francophones, qui ont par ailleurs perdu du terrain aux échelons supérieurs passant de 22 à 15,9 pour cent. Nous espérons que 1985 verra le redressement de ces déséquilibres.

Les résultats du sondage annuel du Bureau sur la langue de travail indiquent clairement qu'il y a lieu de s'interroger sérieusement sur les pratiques linguistiques internes. Soixante-trois pour cent des Francophones communiquent avec leur surveillant immédiat en anglais seulement, et, fait inquiétant, 94 pour cent d'entre eux ont été évalués dans cette langue. Sans doute, 73 pour cent des employés de langue française avaient-ils choisi d'être évalués en anglais, mais ces chiffres soulèvent d'épineuses questions. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, l'anglais continue de prédominer au cours des réunions internes : seulement 21 pour cent des Francophones interrogés se sont servis de leur langue maternelle à ces occasions.

Nous avons reçu trois plaintes contre le Bureau du Contrôleur général en 1984. Elles portaient sur l'unilinguisme anglais d'une publication et l'absence de cours de formation en français. Deux d'entre elles ont été réglées de façon satisfaisante, et la troisième est toujours à l'étude.

Corporation commerciale canadienne

La Corporation commerciale canadienne a fait progresser quelque peu son dossier linguistique en 1984. Réagissant favorablement aux recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1983, elle a formulé une politique en matière de langues officielles et l'a fait connaître à ses 21 employés ainsi qu'au personnel de la

direction des Approvisionnements pour l'exportation, organe opérationnel de la Corporation rattaché au ministère des Approvisionnements et Services. Ce geste, assorti de contrôles appropriés, devrait lui permettre d'aplanir les quelques difficultés qu'elle éprouvait en matière de service bilingue à la clientèle. Comme la participation francophone se situe maintenant à 28,6 pour cent, il ne lui reste qu'à régler l'épineuse question de la langue de travail.

Cour canadienne de l'impôt

La Cour canadienne de l'impôt a versé cette année quelques pièces intéressantes à son dossier des langues officielles. Par exemple, elle a réduit à trois semaines le délai moyen de traduction des décisions. D'autre part, elle a pris en délibéré notre recommandation de 1983 relative au libellé d'un article de ses règlements définissant les droits linguistiques des contribuables. Le lecteur trouvera dans le chapitre 2 de la Partie II du présent rapport un compte rendu de l'unique mais grave affaire impliquant la Cour à cet égard. Notons par ailleurs que 25 des 37 employés sont bilingues et que ses services sont habituellement offerts dans la langue appropriée.

Cour fédérale

En 1984, l'Administration de la Cour fédérale du Canada n'a ménagé aucun effort pour remédier au problème que pose la traduction simultanée des jugements qui présentent de l'intérêt ou de l'importance pour le public. D'autres aspects de la réforme linguistique cependant y sont laissés pour compte.

Certaines des recommandations de notre vérification de 1983 n'ont pas encore été mises complètement en oeuvre. L'Administration n'a toujours pas fixé d'objectifs précis ni déterminé les domaines de responsabilité en matière de langues officielles. Notons cependant qu'elle s'est dotée d'une politique linguistique, ce qui constitue manifestement un pas dans la bonne direction.

Notre vérification a incité l'Administration de la Cour à intégrer les questions liées aux langues officielles à ses réunions du personnel. Elle a également adopté des mesures lui permettant d'établir les préférences linguistiques des plaideurs. Elle n'a toutefois pas donné suite aussi promptement à notre demande de réviser les ententes avec les cours supérieures provinciales afin d'y inclure une clause prévoyant la prestation de services bilingues. Nous lui suggérons donc de mener à terme les négociations entreprises à cet égard avec le Nouveau-Brunswick, et ce dans les meilleurs délais.

Quatre-vingt-dix-sept des 152 postes sont classés bilingues et tous les titulaires, sauf trois, satisfont aux exigences prescrites.

Au chapitre de la participation, il existe des déséquilibres quant aux pourcentages globaux et aux catégories professionnelles. Le personnel compte 77 Anglophones et 75 Francophones. Les Anglophones n'occupent que 35 des 81 postes des catégories Soutien administratif et Exploitation, et que 42 des 71 postes aux échelons supérieurs.

Malgré le pourcentage élevé de Francophones, l'anglais prédomine comme langue de travail. Les employés sont néanmoins encouragés à rédiger les rapports et tenir les réunions dans la langue de leur choix. Certains documents de travail n'ont pas été traduits, bien que la nouvelle politique linguistique le prescrive de façon explicite.

La Cour a consulté le Bureau des traductions du Secrétariat d'État dans le but d'établir des lignes directrices visant l'ordre de priorité pour la traduction des jugements. De concert, ils ont examiné la possibilité d'affecter un certain nombre de traducteurs-réviseurs à la Cour. Bien que le Secrétariat d'État ne soit pas tout à fait convaincu de l'opportunité d'une telle initiative, la Cour, de même que notre Bureau, est d'avis que les avantages seraient de loin supérieurs aux inconvénients. Cette mesure à tout le moins réduirait ou peut-être même éliminerait les délais de traduction des jugements.

Cour suprême

Le rendement linguistique de la Cour suprême du Canada a été inégal en 1984. L'Administration a certes maintenu, voire consolidé ses acquis dans le domaine du service au public ; par contre, elle s'est montrée plutôt lente à donner suite aux recommandations de notre vérification portant sur la gestion de son programme des langues officielles et sur la langue de travail.

La Cour continue à bien servir le public dans les deux langues officielles. Elle applique maintenant de façon rigoureuse sa politique de publication simultanée de tous ses jugements et des motifs afférents, et continue également d'offrir l'interprétation simultanée pour l'audition de toutes les causes.

L'Administration de la Cour dispose d'une capacité bilingue satisfaisante : 34 des 40 postes (sur un total de 63) qui exigent la connaissance des deux langues sont occupés par des bilingues. L'Administration a commencé à élaborer une politique interne concernant les langues officielles. Nous l'incitons à mener cette tâche à terme dans les plus brefs délais et à profiter de la diffusion de cette politique pour informer davantage ses employés de leurs droits et devoirs, en particulier sur le plan de la langue de travail. L'unilinguisme de certains gestionnaires ainsi que de vieilles habitudes de travail font que les communications entre les employés et leurs superviseurs ont souvent lieu dans la langue de ces derniers, notamment dans les services du personnel et de l'administration et à la bibliothèque. Les appréciations du rendement des Francophones sont également faites en anglais dans la plupart des cas. Par contre, tous les services centraux sont maintenant accessibles dans les deux langues.

Les Francophones forment 57 pour cent des effectifs et leur proportion excède 50 pour cent dans toutes les catégories d'emploi. Pourtant, aucun objectif n'a été fixé pour viser à un plus juste équilibre.

La Cour a fait l'objet de deux plaintes en 1984. La première se rapportait au nombre insuffisant d'écouteurs pour l'interprétation simultanée lors de l'audition du Renvoi sur les droits linguistiques au Manitoba ; la Cour a ainsi pris conscience de

la nécessité de prévoir un plus grand nombre de ces appareils pour des causes de cette importance. La deuxième, qui portait sur l'unilinguisme d'une partie du *Bulletin des procédures devant la Cour suprême*, a été rapidement corrigée.

Défense nationale

Au ministère de la Défense nationale, l'année 1984 aura davantage été marquée par l'élaboration de nouvelles tactiques que par une avance réelle sur le terrain linguistique.

Le Ministère a supprimé le niveau inférieur de bilinguisme chez les militaires, clarifié deux ordonnances touchant les langues officielles, précisé les exigences des postes à cet égard et pris des dispositions pour accélérer la traduction ; de plus il a revu sa politique de publicité pour le recrutement et résolu d'utiliser systématiquement la presse minoritaire. Mais ces mesures, aussi valables soient-elles, n'auront pas toutes un effet immédiat sur l'amélioration des services dans les deux langues.

Bien que 16,3 pour cent des militaires soient bilingues (13 200 sur 80 760), on n'en retrouve que 6,5 pour cent (5 220) parmi les titulaires des 10 480 postes bilingues.

Chez les civils, la proportion se maintient à 11 pour cent, avec 3 710 titulaires bilingues sur une possibilité de 4 450, l'effectif global s'établissant à 33 440. D'autre part, le Ministère a reconnu la présence d'une demande importante de services dans les deux langues pour le grand public dans 12 de ses 77 établissements (16 pour cent) et pour la communauté militaire dans 49 de ceux-ci (64 pour cent). Quand on considère l'écart entre les besoins linguistiques et les ressources bilingues, les faiblesses dans le domaine des services n'ont rien d'étonnant, particulièrement au chapitre des communications orales. Le Ministère tente de combler ces lacunes avec une escouade d'ADA (Autres Dispositions Administratives), mais seul un accroissement des ressources d'une part, et des contrôles d'autre part, permettra un rendement satisfaisant. Signalons toutefois que la situation dans les centres de recrutement de plusieurs villes est meilleure et que le candidat à une vie imbattable y sera généralement servi dans sa langue.

Bon an, mal an, quelque 3 500 militaires reçoivent une formation linguistique, mais seulement la moitié de ceux-ci sont mutés à des postes bilingues à la suite de réaffectations annuelles.

Contraste marqué entre militaires et civils en matière de participation francophone : chez les premiers, on est passé de 26,9 à 27,1 pour cent (21 900 sur 80 760) ; cela s'explique principalement par la proportion élevée de caporaux (29,8 pour cent) et de soldats francophones (32,7 pour cent), alors qu'ils sont peu nombreux chez les officiers (22,3 pour cent). Les armes et spécialités présentent elles aussi des disparités : 35 pour cent de Francophones dans l'infanterie, 17 pour cent dans la marine et 23 pour cent dans l'aviation.

Chez les civils, la participation des Francophones stagne à 19,9 pour cent (6 700 sur 33 440). Leur présence est faible partout, en particulier dans la catégorie

Gestion (12,8 pour cent). Seule fait exception la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes où elle se situe à 27,6 pour cent. La proportion des Anglophones au Québec est de 11,9 pour cent et celle des Francophones au Nouveau-Brunswick de 14,2 pour cent. Dans la région de la Capitale nationale, ces derniers représentent 23,1 pour cent de l'effectif. La répartition hiérarchique n'est guère meilleure : les civils de langue française occupent 20,2 pour cent du niveau inférieur de toutes les catégories, 18,4 pour cent du groupe intermédiaire et seulement 13,7 pour cent des échelons supérieurs.

L'absence de documents de travail techniques et de formation militaire spécialisée en français continue d'être un obstacle à un usage accru de cette langue au travail. À cela s'ajoutent la carence de surveillants bilingues (28 pour cent chez les civils) et les contraintes linguistiques des opérations militaires — réelles dans certains cas ou perçues comme telles dans d'autres. Quand on pense que les deux unités de langue française de la Marine, malgré de remarquables progrès, comptent encore une certaine proportion d'unilingues anglophones, on comprend que la langue de Jacques Cartier soit souvent confinée à la cantine. Même si ces problèmes se posent à un degré moindre au Québec, il est essentiel que le Ministère prenne dans les plus brefs délais des mesures énergiques pour redresser cette situation.

Les résultats préliminaires de la vérification que nous avons effectuée à l'automne aux collèges militaires de Saint-Jean (Québec) et de Kingston (Ontario) font ressortir la bonne participation des deux groupes linguistiques. Le régime d'alternance français-anglais (pour toutes les questions touchant la vie courante, sauf les cours) contribue à la formation d'officiers bilingues en plus grand nombre ; notons toutefois que leur compétence en langue seconde est meilleure à Saint-Jean qu'à Kingston.

Des 45 plaintes reçues cette année, 36 portaient sur la langue de service. Quinze ans après la promulgation de la Loi, une question aussi simple à régler que la signalisation a encore fait l'objet de 12 plaintes. Ce manque de rigueur dans une institution dont tous les membres doivent savoir marcher au pas étonne. Treize autres plaintes touchaient l'usage de la presse minoritaire à des fins publicitaires ; on peut espérer que cela ne se reproduira pas à la suite de la nouvelle politique de la Défense à cet égard. L'accueil téléphonique et direct a été mis en cause huit fois. Le règlement des cas demeure lent et les contrôles pourraient être améliorés.

Eldorado Nucléaire Limitée

Sensiblement le même qu'en 1983, le rendement linguistique de l'Eldorado Nucléaire Limitée devra manifestement s'améliorer au cours des prochaines années. Les Francophones représentent 19,1 pour cent des 152 employés au siège social à Ottawa, où se trouve aussi une petite unité de langue française qui travaille en géologie. Le cas de la raffinerie de Blind River (Ontario) est particulièrement préoccupant. En effet, même si 35 des 177 employés sont d'expression française, l'anglais y est la seule langue de travail et d'affichage. Cette société de la Couronne exploite également une raffinerie à Port Hope (Ontario) et des mines

d'uranium en Saskatchewan. Règle générale, la Société est en mesure de satisfaire aux rares demandes de service en français.

Emploi et Immigration

Au fil des ans, la Commission de l'emploi et de l'immigration du Canada s'est acquise une réputation enviable en matière de langues officielles. Si elle peut s'enorgueillir d'initiatives louables en 1984, elle n'a toutefois pas su garder le même rythme qu'au cours des années précédentes.

La Commission continue d'accorder une grande importance à la gestion de son programme des langues officielles. Chaque année, les directeurs régionaux et ceux de l'administration centrale prennent des engagements précis — des protocoles d'entente, dans le jargon de la Commission — à l'endroit de la haute direction.

Sur le plan du service au public, la Commission a amélioré ses services en français dans les principales villes de l'Ouest et à Hamilton. Signalons aussi qu'elle étend graduellement son réseau de bureaux qui sont en mesure d'offrir des services bilingues en dehors des régions « à demande importante », ce qui est tout à son honneur. Il faut toutefois signaler une lacune à cet égard : malgré plusieurs plaintes dénonçant comme inacceptables les arrangements pour servir la clientèle francophone de St-Jean (Terre-Neuve), la Commission hésite toujours à établir une capacité bilingue sur place.

La Commission a finalement réglé l'épineuse question des centres de main-d'oeuvre agricole dans la vallée de l'Okanagan en acceptant de doter chacun d'eux d'une capacité bilingue adéquate à partir de 1985. Elle procède actuellement au développement d'un nouveau système informatisé pour les offres d'emploi ; nous espérons qu'elle fera le nécessaire pour que ce service soit offert dans les deux langues officielles.

Afin de déterminer le mieux possible les besoins de formation professionnelle en français de la main-d'oeuvre ontarienne, la Commission a créé, dans plusieurs endroits de l'Ontario, des comités consultatifs lui permettant de travailler de concert avec les associations francophones locales. Ces comités ont soumis leur rapport à la fin de l'année, et la Commission prépare actuellement sa réponse.

Près du quart des 25 350 postes de l'organisme sont classés bilingues et 88 pour cent d'entre eux sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés. La Commission dispose d'une bonne capacité bilingue au Nouveau-Brunswick, au Québec et dans l'est et le nord de l'Ontario. Nous l'invitons à poursuivre ses efforts afin d'accroître ses effectifs bilingues dans les autres régions, en particulier à Terre-Neuve, où il n'y a que trois employés bilingues sur 734, à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard (6 sur 197) et en Colombie-Britannique (21 sur 2 613).

La Commission a terminé l'analyse de son deuxième sondage sur la langue de travail dans les régions bilingues et à l'administration centrale. Quarante-deux pour cent des Francophones, comparativement à 37 pour cent en 1979, ont déclaré pouvoir travailler en tout temps dans leur langue. Chez les Anglophones, ce taux

s'est maintenu à 66 pour cent. C'est au chapitre de la supervision que la situation laisse le plus à désirer : 40 pour cent des répondants francophones ne bénéficient pas d'un encadrement dans leur langue. La Commission a demandé récemment aux cadres supérieurs de préparer des plans d'action pour mettre en oeuvre les recommandations de son étude.

Les Anglophones ne constituent que les deux tiers du personnel ; les Francophones sont surreprésentés dans la plupart des catégories d'emploi. Il en va de même, fait rare, au Nouveau-Brunswick (43 pour cent) et au Manitoba (7 pour cent). Par contre, la participation des Anglophones au Québec stagne à 2 pour cent depuis plusieurs années. Plutôt que d'adopter des mesures énergiques afin de redresser la situation, la Commission consacre le gros de ses forces à des études sur le bassin de la main-d'oeuvre anglophone au Québec. De plus, elle laisse filer les occasions de changement qui se présentent à elle : ainsi, sur un total de 77 personnes embauchées récemment dans huit centres d'emploi au Québec (Gaspé, Sherbrooke, Québec et Montréal), une seule était de langue anglaise. Les Anglophones représentaient 2,5 pour cent des candidats. C'est maintenant à la haute direction de prendre les choses en main.

La Commission a fait l'objet de 75 plaintes au cours de l'année. Environ 60 pour cent de celles-ci mettaient en cause l'absence de services bilingues au téléphone ou direct au public aux bureaux de la Commission ; d'autres portaient sur l'absence de publicité dans les journaux de langue minoritaire. On a aussi porté à notre attention des cas d'affichage unilingue et de cours de formation disponibles dans une seule langue. La collaboration de la Commission dans le règlement des plaintes a continué d'être très bonne dans l'ensemble. Soulignons notamment que des plaintes répétées provenant d'une région ou d'une ville donnée entraînent la visite d'une équipe de vérificateurs linguistiques de la Commission.

Énergie atomique du Canada Limitée

En matière linguistique, la qualité des communications d'Énergie atomique du Canada Limitée avec le public constitue sans contredit son principal atout. Ceux et celles qui visitent ses diverses installations n'ont aucun problème à se faire servir dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. Le français s'est imposé comme langue de travail au bureau de Montréal et sert dans de petites unités du siège social d'Ottawa ainsi qu'à l'usine de l'EACL dans la région de la Capitale nationale. Les Francophones ne représentent que 6,2 pour cent des 6 500 employés surtout concentrés en Ontario. Conséquemment, l'anglais domine dans le secteur de la recherche. En 1984, nous avons reçu trois plaintes concernant deux annonces placées dans des journaux. Elles ont été réglées de façon satisfaisante.

Énergie, Mines et Ressources

Cette année, le ministère de l'Énergie, des Mines et des Ressources a surtout fait porter ses efforts sur le service au public. Le Ministère offre maintenant à sa clientèle de meilleurs services dans les deux langues officielles et le fait largement

savoir. La mise en oeuvre de sa nouvelle politique sur les publications scientifiques devrait lui permettre d'accroître le nombre d'ouvrages qu'il publie en langue française. Le Ministère compte 5 083 employés dont 1 583 satisfont aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste soit 95 de plus que l'an dernier. Il a aussi intégré à son programme d'initiation des nouveaux employés un volet portant sur leurs droits et obligations en matière de langues officielles.

Malgré certaines améliorations, l'usage du français au travail demeure l'exception plutôt que la règle. Certes, les documents de travail de même que les services centraux et du personnel sont disponibles dans les deux langues officielles, et les évaluations de rendement peuvent se faire dans la langue de l'employé, mais l'anglais domine toujours dans les communications internes et au cours des réunions, partout sauf au Québec.

La participation francophone est demeurée stable à 23,4 pour cent des effectifs. Elle reste faible dans la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes (13,0 pour cent), mais plus particulièrement dans la catégorie Gestion, où un maigre 11.1 pour cent de Francophones est loin d'assurer la promotion du français comme langue de travail. Les Francophones sont sous-représentés dans les provinces de l'Ouest, avec seulement 12 employés sur 429, alors que les Anglophones ne forment que 6 pour cent des effectifs au Québec.

Nous avons reçu 10 plaintes en 1984 : six concernaient la langue de service (notamment dans l'affichage et la publicité) et quatre la langue de travail. Une de celles-ci portait sur la qualité du français d'une note de service, une autre remettait en cause les modalités de dotation d'un poste bilingue, et les deux dernières, la distribution d'une note de service unilingue anglaise. La collaboration du Ministère dans le règlement de ces plaintes a été satisfaisante.

Environnement

Le ministère de l'Environnement a su maintenir, en 1984, le rythme plus rapide qu'il s'était imposé depuis quelques années en matière de réforme linguistique. Il lui reste toutefois plusieurs obstacles à surmonter s'il veut se voir attribuer la cote d'excellence.

De son côté, **Parcs Canada** a su consolider ses acquis dans le domaine du service et s'est engagé à revoir sa politique linguistique sur la signalisation routière ainsi que sa nomenclature des accidents géographiques, les deux étant encore, hélas! trop souvent unilingues. Ainsi, nous osons croire que la signalisation à l'intérieur des parcs nationaux respectera éventuellement le statut d'égalité des deux langues officielles.

Par ailleurs, si les services ont été offerts dans les deux langues durant l'été, c'est grâce au grand nombre d'occasionnels bilingues embauchés pour cette période. Tant et aussi longtemps qu'il n'y aura pas plus d'employés permanents bilingues, la prestation des services dans les deux langues demeurera problématique d'une année à l'autre.

Le **Service de l'environnement atmosphérique** a continué pour sa part d'étendre ses services téléphoniques bilingues de prévisions météorologiques dans les principales villes des Maritimes et des provinces de l'Ouest. Il y a donc lieu d'espérer que ces excellents services seront bientôt disponibles dans les deux langues d'un océan à l'autre.

Le pourcentage des 12 830 employés occupant des postes bilingues est resté inchangé à 22 pour cent, mais un plus grand nombre des intéressés sont maintenant considérés comme bilingues (ce nombre est passé de 80 à 82 pour cent). Pourtant, l'offre active de service dans les deux langues au téléphone laisse à désirer dans l'ensemble du Ministère et un effort accru en ce sens paraît souhaitable.

Le nombre d'employés francophones s'est peu amélioré au cours de l'année et s'établit maintenant à 20,5 pour cent. Le Ministère devra consentir des efforts accrus pour arriver à une participation plus équitable dans la catégorie Gestion où la présence de seulement 14,8 pour cent de Francophones ne stimule en rien l'utilisation du français au travail. Ces efforts pourraient également porter sur les catégories Exploitation (16,1 pour cent), Scientifiques et spécialistes (18,8 pour cent) et Techniciens (18 pour cent). La participation francophone reste également faible dans les régions du nord et de l'est de l'Ontario (9 pour cent), ainsi qu'au Nouveau-Brunswick (15,5 pour cent). Les Anglophones, de leur côté, ne représentent que 6 pour cent des effectifs au Québec.

L'anglais constitue toujours la langue de communication interne, sauf au Québec et dans de rares unités de l'administration centrale. Cette situation est attribuable à l'absence d'une participation équilibrée des deux groupes linguistiques et à des habitudes langagières solidement ancrées.

Nous avons reçu 33 plaintes contre le Ministère, dont 17 concernaient l'affichage et la publicité, tandis que 16 autres avaient trait à l'accueil et aux services unilingues. Dans l'ensemble, la collaboration du Ministère dans la résolution de 23 de ces plaintes a été bonne.

Expansion industrielle régionale

La réorganisation du ministère de l'Expansion industrielle régionale est maintenant terminée et son programme de réforme linguistique en est, pour ainsi dire, sorti indemne. Le Ministère est généralement en mesure d'offrir un service bilingue à sa clientèle ; il devra cependant consentir de sérieux efforts à la promotion du français comme langue de travail à l'extérieur du Québec. La représentation globale des deux groupes est bien équilibrée, sauf au Québec où la participation anglophone est trop faible.

L'accueil téléphonique constitue toujours un problème et nous avons reçu plusieurs plaintes à ce sujet depuis la création du Ministère. En 1984, on s'est penché sur la question et la réception téléphonique fait l'objet de suivis périodiques. En outre, les bureaux régionaux ont pris contact avec divers groupes de la minorité linguistique, les invitant à se prononcer sur la qualité linguistique des services offerts.

L'anglais continue de prédominer comme langue de travail. Soucieux de promouvoir l'emploi du français, le Ministère offre à ses employés un programme souple de formation linguistique. Il a également distribué un dépliant pour les éclairer sur leurs droits et responsabilités en matière de langues officielles.

Les Francophones représentent toujours 32 pour cent des 2 655 employés, pourcentage attribuable à une forte participation à la catégorie Soutien administratif (39 pour cent d'un effectif de 941 personnes). Au Québec, seulement 25 des 341 employés sont anglophones.

Notre vérification de l'**Office de tourisme du Canada**, qui relève du Ministère, nous a démontré qu'il n'avait guère de difficultés à assurer un service bilingue. Il arrive cependant que le service téléphonique soit unilingue à Winnipeg, Toronto, Montréal et Frédéricton. L'anglais est la principale langue de travail, sauf à la direction du Développement des marchés (Canada) et dans la division du Développement du Tourisme (Est) où l'emploi du français est courant. Les notes de service à l'intention des employés ou des bureaux régionaux sont parfois rédigées en anglais seulement, comme le sont la plupart des télex envoyés aux ambassades et consulats canadiens à l'étranger.

Le ministère de l'Expansion industrielle régionale a fait l'objet de neuf plaintes en 1984. Une concernait une affiche unilingue française dans un centre commercial à Montréal, deux portaient sur l'unilinguisme de l'accueil téléphonique et quatre nous parvenaient de Francophones qui avaient reçu des documents en anglais ou dans un français fautif. Les deux dernières traitaient d'annonces qui n'avaient pas paru dans des hebdomadaires de langue minoritaire. Le règlement de ces plaintes a été prompt grâce à la collaboration empressée du Ministère.

Finances

Le ministère des Finances semble avoir résolu les quelques problèmes que lui posait le service au public. Mais on ne peut en dire autant de la langue de travail qui devrait davantage solliciter son imagination. La participation des Francophones demeure élevée, phénomène attribuable à leur forte présence dans les secteurs administratifs.

Par le passé, l'accueil téléphonique et la présence de supports promotionnels unilingues pour les campagnes d'obligations d'épargne du Canada (surtout dans les institutions financières de la région de Montréal) constituaient les deux faiblesses majeures de son service au public.

Le Ministère a fait circuler des directives précises touchant l'accueil téléphonique, et des contrôles subséquents ont permis de constater qu'il se faisait maintenant dans les deux langues.

Pour ce qui est des campagnes d'obligations, le Ministère a recouru en 1984 à un large éventail de supports publicitaires en français et en anglais : affiches dont un côté était en français et l'autre en anglais ; présentoirs et cartes comptoir bilingues ; dépliants unilingues. Le résultat en est que la campagne n'a suscité qu'une seule plainte.

Des 840 postes du Ministère, 64 pour cent sont classés bilingues et 88 pour cent sont occupés par des employés qualifiés. Cependant, une proportion élevée de ces postes (71 pour cent) suppose un niveau de compétence « intermédiaire ». Plutôt que de hausser les exigences linguistiques de ces postes, le Ministère a préféré mettre davantage à contribution ceux de ses employés qui ont atteint le niveau « supérieur ». Cette décision n'influera vraisemblablement pas sur la qualité du service au public, mais elle constituera sans doute une entrave au chapitre de la langue de travail.

Selon la plus récente enquête maison du Ministère, le taux d'utilisation du français au travail par les Francophones est toujours de 35 pour cent. Espérons que les nouvelles mesures visant la langue de travail porteront fruit en 1985. Mais cela exigera des efforts concertés et soutenus de la part de tous les intéressés.

Les Francophones représentent 34 pour cent des 840 employés. Ils constituent près de la moitié des 278 employés de la catégorie Soutien administratif et 36 pour cent des 202 agents de la catégorie Administration et service extérieur. Par contre, ils ne forment que 21 pour cent de celle des Scientifiques et spécialistes, catégorie professionnelle clé, et sont carrément sous-représentés dans la catégorie Gestion (7 employés francophones sur 62). Le Ministère devra multiplier ses efforts pour corriger ces déséquilibres.

Nous avons porté à l'attention du Ministère une plainte mettant en cause une note de service unilingue envoyée par le sous-ministre à tous les employés. Nous avons également reçu une dizaine d'autres plaintes portant sur l'absence de publicité dans la presse minoritaire. Ces cas sont encore à l'étude.

Gendarmerie royale du Canada

Notre récente vérification de la Gendarmerie royale du Canada — région du Québec et administration centrale — a confirmé nos soupçons. Si elle a amélioré ses services au public, elle se fait tirer l'oreille quant à la langue de travail.

Son système de contrôle en matière de langues officielles a du mal à suivre l'évolution de la situation linguistique dans ses 18 directions générales de l'administration centrale et dans ses 16 divisions ailleurs au pays. La communication entre les 34 agents des langues officielles de la Gendarmerie et l'administration centrale est à la fois irrégulière et non structurée. En outre, l'efficacité de ses mécanismes de contrôle laisse à désirer. La GRC compte améliorer la situation en effectuant des vérifications linguistiques sur place et en demandant aux agents des langues officielles de présenter des rapports trimestriels.

La Gendarmerie a classé bilingues 19,4 pour cent de ses 16 900 postes de policiers, et 60 pour cent des titulaires satisfont aux exigences prescrites. Chez les civils, 25 pour cent des 3 791 postes sont bilingues et 83,3 pour cent des titulaires sont linguistiquement compétents.

En règle générale, le service au public est satisfaisant dans toutes les régions. Toutefois, on a porté à notre attention un certain nombre d'incidents qui se sont

produits en Alberta, au Manitoba et en Nouvelle-Écosse, où des policiers étaient réticents à offrir un service bilingue, en patrouille ou en détachement. Dans ces provinces, il y aurait lieu de rappeler périodiquement aux intéressés qu'ils sont tenus de servir les citoyens dans leur langue officielle.

Au chapitre de la langue de travail, la Gendarmerie ne consent toujours pas les efforts nécessaires pour conférer aux deux langues officielles un statut d'égalité. L'anglais prédomine toujours à l'administration centrale, et seulement 31 pour cent des surveillants sont bilingues. De plus, la capacité bilingue de la plupart des unités est faible ; ainsi la responsabilité de la prestation de services bilingues incombe à une ou deux personnes linguistiquement compétentes. Si les services centraux et du personnel sont disponibles dans les deux langues, ils ne sont pas spontanément offerts en français. Autre problème : 20 pour cent des communications entre l'administration centrale et la région du Québec se déroulent en anglais seulement. Relevons cependant un bon point : la Gendarmerie s'est employée à accroître l'usage du français au travail au Nouveau-Brunswick. Le français y sert plus souvent pour les réunions et la rédaction des rapports.

Les taux respectifs de participation des Anglophones et des Francophones demeurent à peu près les mêmes, soit 84,8 et 14,8 pour cent chez les policiers, et 77,2 et 22,8 pour cent chez les civils. La grande proportion d'Anglophones parmi les policiers pourrait être en partie expliquée par la forte représentation de la GRC dans les provinces de l'Ouest, où elle sert comme police provinciale. Plus de la moitié des effectifs policiers (8 073 sur 15 296) sont en effet concentrés dans ces provinces et les Francophones ne comptent que 5 pour cent d'entre eux. Au siège social, les Francophones représentent 16 pour cent des policiers. Même si la Gendarmerie doit composer avec des restrictions budgétaires, et par conséquent ne fait pas beaucoup de recrutement, nous pressons ses dirigeants de maintenir fermement leur engagement d'améliorer la représentation des deux groupes linguistiques.

Nous avons reçu 14 plaintes contre la Gendarmerie. La plupart soulignaient l'absence de services en français dans les détachements des provinces de l'Ouest. Plusieurs plaintes mettaient aussi en question ses procédures de promotion compte tenu de sa politique des langues officielles. Quatre plaintes sont toujours à l'étude.

Harbourfront

La Société Harbourfront, qui relève du ministre des Travaux publics, a pour mission de créer à Toronto un secteur urbain qui allie aires publiques et activités récréatives à l'habitation, au commerce de détail et aux immeubles commerciaux. La Société accueille quelque deux millions de visiteurs chaque année et dessert une population francophone locale qui dépasse en nombre celle de Moncton et de Winnipeg.

La vérification que nous avons effectuée en 1984 nous a permis de constater que sa situation linguistique n'était malheureusement pas très reluisante : absence de

raison sociale en français, absence de politique et de programme en matière de langues officielles et sérieuses lacunes dans la prestation de services bilingues.

Bien qu'elle n'ait pas établi d'exigences linguistiques pour ses 175 employés, la Société estime qu'une dizaine d'entre eux sont bilingues. Malheureusement, ils ne sont pas répartis de façon à assurer un service bilingue à tous les points de contact. La signalisation et la publicité ne sont que très rarement bilingues et la plupart des programmes éducatifs, récréatifs et culturels ne sont offerts qu'en anglais.

Selon la Société son effectif compterait trois ou quatre Francophones. La langue de travail de l'organisme — faut-il le préciser — est l'anglais.

Nous avons recommandé à la Société d'adopter une raison sociale en français et d'élaborer un programme de réforme linguistique qui comprenne, entre autres choses, la création de postes bilingues, la prestation de services en français et la bilinguisation de la signalisation, des imprimés et des documents publicitaires et d'information. Nous avons également incité l'organisme à resserrer ses liens avec la communauté francophone et à lui faire connaître les perspectives d'emploi.

Justice

La vérification que nous avons effectuée au ministère de la Justice nous a permis de constater que la haute direction attache une grande importance à la question linguistique, mais qu'elle n'a pas su insuffler le même dynamisme à ses gestionnaires. Ainsi, le français éprouve toujours de sérieuses difficultés à se tailler une place convenable dans le milieu de travail.

Le programme des langues officielles jouit d'un bon appui de la part de la haute direction, et un comité supérieur est chargé d'en coordonner l'application. Malgré tout, deux obstacles importants entravent son efficacité : les gestionnaires n'ont pas d'objectifs précis, et les moyens de contrôle sont plutôt fragmentaires.

Cinquante-quatre pour cent des quelque 1 400 postes du Ministère sont classés bilingues et 90 pour cent des titulaires satisfont aux normes établies. Un peu plus de 50 pour cent des 209 postes d'avocats, qui assurent des services juridiques aux ministères et organismes dans la région de la Capitale nationale, sont bilingues et 90 pour cent d'entre eux ont des titulaires qualifiés. Signalons toutefois que seuls 15 pour cent des postes bilingues exigent un niveau de compétence «supérieur» en langue seconde, et que plus du tiers des chefs de contentieux sont unilingues anglais. Compte tenu des répercussions importantes que peut avoir le travail des avocats sur l'emploi des deux langues dans les ministères, ces deux situations, déjà signalées dans notre rapport de l'an dernier, devraient être améliorées sans tarder.

À l'administration centrale, 47 pour cent des postes d'avocats exigent la connaissance des deux langues et 50 pour cent la connaissance de l'anglais seulement. Il y a trois avocats bilingues au bureau régional d'Edmonton et un avocat à Winnipeg qui suit des cours de langue. Par ailleurs, le Ministère, qui a souvent recours à des

avocats de pratique privée, ne précise pas dans les lettres d'engagement les règles du jeu linguistiques à suivre à l'égard des tiers.

Un sondage effectué auprès du personnel dans le cadre de notre vérification a fait ressortir la nette prédominance de l'anglais au sein de l'administration centrale et des contentieux. Ainsi, 80 pour cent des réunions se déroulent à toutes fins utiles en anglais. Environ 40 pour cent des Francophones sont supervisés et évalués en anglais, ce qui n'est pas surprenant si l'on considère que 22 pour cent des surveillants sont unilingues. Le taux d'insatisfaction des Francophones à l'égard des services centraux et du personnel est aussi très élevé : près de 50 pour cent d'entre eux ont indiqué qu'ils ne recevaient pas tous ces services dans leur langue.

Le Ministère mérite des éloges pour les efforts qu'il déploie en vue d'assurer un statut égal au français dans la rédaction des lois. Un plus grand nombre de lois sont rédigées d'abord en français et on s'assure que le texte français des lois rédigées en anglais soit de la plus haute qualité. Il en va autrement dans le domaine de l'examen des règlements où l'on accorde beaucoup moins d'importance à la version française.

Les Anglophones constituent 65 pour cent du personnel et les Francophones 35 pour cent. Dans le groupe des avocats, ces derniers constituent 27 pour cent du total. La participation des Francophones dans la catégorie Gestion est passée de 20 à 26 pour cent par rapport à l'an dernier. La proportion des avocats francophones n'est cependant que de 2 pour cent dans les provinces à majorité anglophone.

Nous avons reçu cinq plaintes contre le Ministère. Les quatre premières touchaient le service au public. La dernière mettait en cause la question de la langue des documents préparés à l'attention du Ministre. Le Ministère a réaffirmé clairement le droit des fonctionnaires de rédiger ces documents dans la langue de leur choix, tout en prenant les dispositions nécessaires pour servir le Ministre dans sa langue.

Avant d'être démantelé, le **Centre d'information sur l'unité canadienne** avait fait l'objet de 13 plaintes concernant des annonces qui n'avaient pas été publiées dans les hebdomadaires des groupes minoritaires.

Monnaie royale canadienne

À la Monnaie royale canadienne, les langues officielles se portent assez bien. La Corporation mène régulièrement des sondages auprès des visiteurs de ses établissements afin de voir s'ils sont servis dans la langue de leur choix. Dans l'ensemble, sa capacité linguistique est satisfaisante : 63 des 67 postes en contact direct avec le public sont occupés par des employés bilingues. La Corporation n'a pas encore résolu son problème du faible taux de participation des Anglophones dans toutes les catégories. En effet, les Anglophones représentent un peu moins de 50 pour cent de l'effectif (314 sur 630 employés). Le nombre de locuteurs francophones aidant, le français sert couramment comme langue de travail, surtout dans la région de la Capitale nationale, et la plupart des réunions sont tenues dans les deux langues.

En 1984, la Monnaie royale canadienne a fait l'objet de trois plaintes concernant l'absence de publicité dans la presse minoritaire. Ayant mis beaucoup de temps à donner suite aux griefs, la Corporation s'est engagée à respecter la politique du gouvernement préconisant l'utilisation des médias minoritaires.

Musées nationaux

Malgré qu'ils n'aient restauré que partiellement leur tableau linguistique, les Musées nationaux du Canada ont quand même marqué des progrès en 1984. Les postes bilingues exigeant une compétence « intermédiaire » ou « supérieure » se sont faits plus nombreux, et certains secteurs sont plus en mesure de servir le public dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. Malheureusement, certaines lacunes persistent ; l'anglais continue de prédominer comme langue de travail et les taux de participation sont déséquilibrés dans presque toutes les catégories professionnelles. Les Francophones sont sous-représentés à la Gestion (16 pour cent) et chez les Scientifiques et spécialistes (12 pour cent) de même que parmi les Techniciens (17 pour cent) ; les Anglophones sont pour leur part en nombre insuffisant au Soutien administratif et à l'Exploitation (53 pour cent). Nous avons reçu cinq plaintes mettant en cause la Corporation en 1984. La première soulignait des erreurs dans la version française d'une publication du Musée canadien de la guerre. Une deuxième concernait l'unilinguisme du message paraissant sur un sac d'emballage et les autres, l'absence de service bilingue de la part des gardes de sécurité au Musée de l'Homme. Un précis de ces dernières est donné dans le chapitre sur les plaintes.

Office canadien pour un renouveau industriel

L'Office canadien pour un renouveau industriel, créé en 1981, a été investi d'un triple mandat : revitaliser les industries du textile, du vêtement et de la chaussure; renforcer et diversifier l'économie des régions tributaires de ces industries ; aider les travailleurs à s'adapter aux changements. Les 54 employés de l'Office travaillent soit au siège social de Montréal, soit dans les petits bureaux régionaux d'Ottawa et de Winnipeg.

Notre vérification de 1984 a révélé une situation qui, au plan de la langue de services est généralement satisfaisante. En effet, 80 pour cent de l'effectif est bilingue. L'Office peut donc servir sa clientèle dans sa langue d'élection.

Nous avons néanmoins recommandé de combler certaines lacunes relevées au cours de notre vérification. L'Office ne s'est pas doté d'une politique linguistique et les employés ne sont pas tenus au courant de leurs droits et obligations en la matière. Quelques chargés de portefeuille anglophones et francophones ne sont pas suffisamment compétents en langue seconde pour assurer un service efficace. Une partie du matériel publicitaire distribué (mais non produit) par l'Office est unilingue, et il arrive que les réceptionnistes du siège social de Montréal accueillent le public en français seulement. Les employés sont portés à rédiger les documents

en anglais, certains des membres du conseil d'administration n'ayant aucune connaissance du français. Par contre, les services internes ne sont pas toujours disponibles en anglais. Les Anglophones ne représentant que 30 pour cent de l'effectif, nous avons recommandé également à l'Office d'en accroître le nombre.

Office national du film

Il est encore trop tôt pour mesurer les répercussions de la nouvelle politique nationale du film et de la vidéo sur le mandat traditionnel de l'Office national du film, qui lui impose de refléter la réalité bilingue, multiculturelle et régionale du Canada, à l'intention des Canadiens et des autres nations. Nous ne pouvons que souhaiter que les réductions imposées à l'ONF ne toucheront pas de façon significative sa capacité de satisfaire les besoins culturels et sociaux distincts des minorités de langue officielle. En 1984, l'Office a maintenu son engagement envers les langues officielles et, encore une fois, sa performance a été excellente.

Une vérification nous a permis de constater que sa réputation de chef de file linguistique n'est pas surfaite, notamment en ce qui a trait au service au public. Près de la moitié de ses 863 employés occupent des postes bilingues. Comme 96 pour cent des titulaires de ces postes rencontrent les exigences prescrites, il n'est pas étonnant que les six bureaux régionaux soient en mesure de servir la clientèle dans les deux langues officielles. Soucieux d'améliorer sa capacité bilingue, l'Office a relevé les exigences de nombreux postes, réduisant à 8 pour cent ceux nécessitant des connaissances linguistiques minimales. En outre, toutes ses publications d'intérêt général sont disponibles dans les deux langues. Une lacune soulignée l'année dernière n'a toujours pas été comblée : il arrive que, même avec un personnel bilingue, l'accueil téléphonique soit unilingue au siège social de Montréal et dans l'un des bureaux régionaux.

Grâce à l'esprit de coopération dont font preuve les Anglophones et les Francophones de tous les échelons, les employés des bureaux de Moncton, Montréal, Ottawa et Winnipeg peuvent travailler dans leur langue. À l'exception des manuels techniques provenant de l'étranger, tous les rapports, documents et notes de service sont bilingues. En règle générale, les employés sont encadrés et notés dans leur langue d'élection. Notre vérification a cependant fait ressortir que la formule d'évaluation annuelle ne permet pas aux employés d'y indiquer leurs préférences linguistiques et que leur degré de satisfaction à ce chapitre n'aurait pas été mesuré. Sensibilisée à ces lacunes, la Division du personnel a promptement adopté les correctifs nécessaires.

Malgré le départ d'une centaine d'employés, les deux groupes linguistiques continuent d'être à peu près également représentés au sein de l'ONF. La forte participation des Francophones s'explique par le fait que le siège social est situé à Montréal et qu'il existe des équipes de production distinctes pour les films français et anglais. Ce même équilibre se retrouve dans nombre de bureaux régionaux. L'Office devrait néanmoins améliorer la représentation des groupes minoritaires à ses bureaux du Québec et de l'Ontario, et redresser les déséquilibres marqués dans les catégories Scientifiques et spécialistes et Soutien Administratif (comprenant respectivement 80 et 60 pour cent de Francophones).

En 1984, nous avons reçu huit plaintes au sujet de l'Office national du film, dans l'ensemble mineures et réglées avec empressement. Ces plaintes soulignaient l'unilinguisme d'invitations, de circulaires, de tampons et de l'accueil téléphonique aux bureaux de Montréal et de Halifax.

Office national de l'énergie

Cette année encore, l'Office national de l'énergie s'est distingué par la qualité de ses services bilingues au public. L'Office a enfin établi une nouvelle politique linguistique et entrepris d'encourager l'usage du français au travail. La participation des Francophones laisse encore à désirer, notamment aux échelons supérieurs.

Les deux langues sont couramment utilisées au cours des audiences publiques. L'interprétation simultanée est disponible à la salle des audiences d'Ottawa ; ailleurs, ce service est fourni à la demande des parties ou lorsqu'il y a des participants des deux langues. Les décisions sont publiées en français et en anglais tandis que les débats sont enregistrés dans la langue des intervenants.

Des 431 employés, 174 (40,4 pour cent) occupent des postes bilingues. Le nombre de titulaires satisfaisant aux exigences prescrites s'est légèrement accru comparativement à l'année dernière (82,5 contre 80,7 pour cent). Toutefois, une connaissance supérieure du français n'est requise que dans six cas.

L'introduction récente de l'interprétation simultanée lors des réunions du conseil d'administration de l'Office a eu l'effet d'entraînement escompté : certains rapports internes qui auraient été automatiquement rédigés en anglais le sont maintenant en français. Des cours intensifs de français à l'intention des gestionnaires et l'utilisation d'un matériel didactique audiovisuel pour familiariser le personnel avec la terminologie technique en français, contribueront à promouvoir l'usage de cette langue au travail.

La participation des Francophones s'établit maintenant à 18,3 pour cent (79 employés sur 431), une augmentation de 5 pour cent par rapport à 1983. Cependant, il n'y a toujours pas un seul Francophone à la haute direction, et ils ne sont que deux parmi les 56 cadres supérieurs de l'Office. Pareil état de choses ne favorisera certes pas l'usage du français.

Pêches et Océans

Bien que le tableau d'ensemble au ministère des Pêches et Océans dénote une certaine amélioration, en particulier du côté du service au public, le Ministère doit relever le défi d'accroître la participation francophone ainsi que l'utilisation du français au travail.

Une augmentation de près de 12 pour cent des employés satisfaisant aux exigences linguistiques de leurs postes, de 835 à 937, aura permis au Ministère d'offrir de meilleurs services en langue française, dans l'Est du pays et dans la région de la Capitale nationale où se trouve son plus fort bassin de clientèle francophone. Les

publications, les communiqués et la publicité sont bilingues, et les nouveaux employés qui ont à traiter avec le public sont bien informés de leur obligation d'offrir leurs services dans les deux langues officielles. Le Ministère se prépare aussi à dispenser sur place dans les provinces de l'Atlantique des cours de français mieux adaptés aux conditions du milieu.

Le Ministère a fait des progrès importants au regard de la participation des deux groupes linguistiques. La participation francophone a augmenté de 2,5 pour cent en 1984, mais elle n'a atteint que 14,7 pour cent de l'effectif (970 sur 6 618). Les Francophones sont sous-représentés dans toutes les catégories professionnelles, mais surtout dans celles de la Gestion (11 pour cent), Techniciens (13 pour cent) et Scientifiques et spécialistes (9 pour cent). Ils constituent 13,6 pour cent des 3 089 employés dans les Maritimes et se retrouvent essentiellement au Nouveau-Brunswick (252 sur un effectif de 607). Au Québec, les Anglophones ne représentent que 8 pour cent des 447 employés.

La faible participation francophone a de toute évidence une influence directe sur la langue de travail. En dépit d'une série de mesures visant à favoriser une plus grande utilisation du français, soit des journées désignées de travail en français, des cours adaptés aux unités de travail et l'application du principe de l'alternance de la langue des réunions, le français est peu utilisé en milieu de travail en dehors du Québec et du Nouveau-Brunswick.

Nous avons reçu huit plaintes contre le ministère des Pêches et Océans en 1984. Deux concernent l'accueil téléphonique et l'affichage unilingue anglais, deux autres l'envoi de lettres unilingues en anglais et en français respectivement à un groupe de Francophones et à un Anglophone. Les quatre dernières avaient trait à l'absence de publicité dans les journaux de langue officielle minoritaire. Deux de ces plaintes ont été réglées.

Pétro-Canada

Le rendement linguistique de Pétro-Canada a connu des hauts et des bas en 1984. La Société a réalisé des progrès sur plusieurs fronts importants, mais l'impression globale qu'elle nous laisse a été quelque peu ternie par sa réticence à remplir sa promesse de régler la question de l'affichage bilingue et sa lenteur à résoudre les plaintes.

L'année 1985 devrait cependant être marquée de progrès appréciables, maintenant que la Société a parachevé sa réorganisation et a pu digérer notre récent rapport de vérification. Déjà en janvier dernier, la Société a décidé d'accroître le nombre de stations-service qui pavoiseront dans les deux langues.

En 1984, la Société a lancé divers programmes de promotion et de relations publiques, notamment des campagnes de sécurité et des cours d'entretien automobile à l'intention des femmes. Ayant apporté une très grande attention aux aspects linguistiques de ces programmes, elle a obtenu d'excellents résultats à quelques erreurs de parcours près.

L'année précédente Pétro-Canada avait décidé de placer des enseignes bilingues dans 39 des stations-service qu'elle exploite elle-même dans des localités du Québec qui comptent un nombre important d'Anglophones. Cela fait, elle décida d'en rester là. Au cours de 1984, nous l'avons exhortée à bilinguiser l'affichage dans les autres stations-service de la province qui ont une clientèle anglophone importante. Ce n'est qu'en début de cette année qu'elle s'est enfin décidée à passer à l'action. En tout, 127 des 930 stations-service du Québec seront touchées par ce programme. Avec un affichage bilingue dans 152 de ses stations-service en Ontario, 11 dans les provinces de l'Ouest et 48 dans les provinces de l'Atlantique, près de 60 pour cent de ses stations-service dans les régions bilingues du pays auront des enseignes dans les deux langues.

Les bureaux de Montréal, Ottawa et Moncton ont peu de problèmes à assurer un service dans les deux langues. Le siège social de Calgary et le bureau principal de Toronto ont également pris des mesures pour servir le public dans sa langue officielle d'élection, alors qu'un nombre de plus en plus grand de ses autres bureaux ont maintenant une modeste capacité bilingue.

En général, l'anglais est la langue de travail en dehors du Québec, sauf à Ottawa et à Moncton où les deux langues sont utilisées. Au Québec, c'est le français qui prédomine. Signe des temps, le siège social de la division des Produits Pétro-Canada, situé à Montréal, a embauché au cours de l'année un traducteur pour rendre en anglais les documents administratifs qui sont de plus en plus rédigés en français. Par ailleurs, à la raffinerie de Montréal, les Francophones peuvent maintenant utiliser le français pour pratiquement toutes les tâches.

Aux dernières nouvelles, Pétro-Canada employait 6 000 personnes. Quelque 13 pour cent d'entre elles réclament des services internes en français, mais la Société estime qu'un peu plus de 20 pour cent de son personnel est francophone.

Dix-huit des 32 plaintes reçues en 1984 ont été réglées. Toutefois, 11 plaintes antérieures n'ont toujours pas été résolues. Dix-huit des plaintes encore à l'étude concernent l'affichage, et les autres portent sur les imprimés, l'utilisation des médias de langue minoritaire, et la raison sociale. Malgré un bon esprit de collaboration, Pétro-Canada a été plutôt lent à réagir aux plaintes.

Radio-Canada

Nous ne pouvons surestimer le rôle de la Société Radio-Canada dans la vie culturelle de notre pays. Chargée de fournir des services de radio et de télévision aux deux communautés linguistiques, ses réseaux constituent d'indispensables bouées de sauvetage pour les minorités francophones et anglophones à travers le pays. Elle s'acquitte de ses responsabilités de façon méritoire et semble être, linguistiquement parlant, sur la même longueur d'ondes que la majorité de sa clientèle.

En fin d'année, la Société a dû pratiquer des compressions budgétaires importantes, susceptibles d'affecter aussi bien les réseaux nationaux que les stations locales. Les associations francophones hors Québec, quoiqu'elles demeurent inquiètes, seront, croient-elles, moins éprouvées qu'elles ne l'avaient pensé de prime

abord. Pour leur part, les représentants de la communauté anglophone du Québec ont déploré la sévérité des coupures qui pourraient nuire à la qualité de la programmation régionale anglaise. Dans les deux cas, ce sont des situations à suivre de près.

Un suivi récent de notre vérification de 1982 montre que la Société a mis en oeuvre la plupart de nos recommandations. Parmi les progrès réalisés, signalons que Les Entreprises Radio-Canada, qui commercialisent les produits de la Société, ont amélioré leurs services en français aussi bien à Montréal qu'à Toronto, et qu'une ligne Zénith a été mise à la disposition des Francophones de la Nouvelle-Écosse et de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, qui peuvent ainsi obtenir des renseignements sur l'horaire et la programmation dans leur langue. La Société entend examiner la possibilité d'offrir un service semblable aux Francophones de Terre-Neuve qui doivent présentement recourir au réseau anglais pour obtenir des renseignements au sujet des émissions de langue française. La Société devrait par ailleurs remplacer les enseignes unilingues françaises au Québec et anglaises dans le reste du pays.

Bien que l'anglais prédomine au siège social d'Ottawa et à l'Ingénierie à Montréal, la vaste majorité des employés des deux réseaux peuvent être encadrés et évalués dans leur langue d'élection. Les problèmes signalés dans notre dernier rapport relativement à la difficulté pour les équipes de production d'obtenir des services techniques dans leur langue de la part de l'autre réseau n'ont toujours pas été réglés, notamment à Montréal, Toronto, Edmonton et Vancouver. En outre, les Francophones n'ont pas encore accès à des services centraux et du personnel en français là où ces services sont assurés par le réseau anglais et ce, même s'ils sont relativement nombreux, comme à Edmonton ou à Vancouver.

Cinquante-neuf pour cent des 12 300 employés de la Société sont anglophones et 41 pour cent francophones. Il est compréhensible que 98 pour cent des employés du réseau de langue anglaise soient anglophones et que 96 pour cent des postes du réseau de langue française soient occupés par des Francophones. Les deux groupes linguistiques continuent d'être bien représentés dans les diverses régions et aux échelons supérieurs du siège social, où 66 pour cent des gestionnaires sont de langue anglaise et 34 pour cent de langue française.

Cette année, la Société a fait l'objet de cinq plaintes. Elles portaient sur l'unilinguisme des enseignes à la Maison de Radio-Canada à Montréal, la qualité de l'interprétation d'un discours du Premier ministre, l'accueil téléphonique unilingue anglais à Toronto, et la diffusion d'entrevues en langue anglaise, sans traduction, sur le réseau français. Comme par le passé, la Société ne fait guère preuve d'empressement pour régler ces plaintes.

Revenu national (Douanes et Accise)

Le ministère du Revenu national (Douanes et Accise) a décidé de surseoir à l'application des principales recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1983, et ce malgré des faiblesses linguistiques évidentes et maintes fois signalées au chapitre des services offerts aux voyageurs. En effet, sa politique des langues officielles ne traite pas adéquatement de la question de l'offre active et équitable de

services dans les deux langues. De plus, il n'a pas encore adopté de mesures adéquates de contrôle et d'évaluation. Le Ministère n'en a pas moins à son actif des réalisations dignes de mention. Notons, à titre d'exemples, que près de 900 employés ont assisté à des sessions d'information sur le programme des langues officielles, et que les services de terminologie, d'aide à la rédaction et de révision de textes ont été améliorés.

Répartis sur l'ensemble du territoire canadien, les 10 300 employés de Douanes et Accise traitent non seulement avec des milliers et des milliers de voyageurs, mais aussi avec nombre d'entreprises locales. Trente et un pour cent de l'effectif occupent des postes bilingues et 93 pour cent d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences prescrites. Toutefois, cette capacité bilingue se trouve concentrée au Québec et dans la région de la Capitale nationale, alors que les antennes frontalières au Canada anglais ne sont pas toujours en mesure d'offrir un service bilingue convenable. Le Ministère doit donc se rabattre sur des services boiteux de renvoi téléphonique pour se disculper aux yeux des voyageurs. Le fait est qu'à la plupart des postes frontaliers à l'extérieur du Québec, non seulement le Francophone n'est pas accueilli dans sa langue, mais il doit le plus souvent aux caprices des dés le fait de tomber sur un douanier bilingue. D'ailleurs, le refus du Ministère d'inclure les obligations linguistiques dans le *Code de conduite et d'apparence* des douaniers n'aide en rien à leur sensibilisation aux droits linguistiques que garantissent pourtant la Loi et la Constitution. Étant donné l'ampleur des pouvoirs discrétionnaires que ces derniers détiennent, pareille carence peut entraîner de sérieux ennuis pour quiconque aurait le culot d'exiger de se faire servir dans sa langue officielle. Il faut sans plus tarder cesser de demander à ceux et à celles qui font affaire avec les douanes d'être des rhabdomanciens.

En règle générale, les documents de travail existent dans les deux langues officielles et les services centraux et du personnel sont dispensés dans la langue de l'employé. Par contre, des difficultés subsistent en ce qui a trait aux communications internes (notes de service, surveillance) dans certaines régions bilingues. Qui plus est, 29,9 pour cent des dirigeants (catégorie Gestion) dans la région de la Capitale nationale n'ont pas une maîtrise suffisante des deux langues officielles, ce qui nuit certainement au libre choix de la langue de travail.

Les Francophones constituent 26 pour cent de l'effectif du Ministère et leur taux de participation est acceptable dans l'ensemble des groupes professionnels, à l'exception de celui de la gestion supérieure (9 sur 53). Pour ce qui est de la participation des Anglophones au Québec, il y a eu peu de progrès : on n'en recense que 138 sur 1 990 employés (7 pour cent), dont 75 seulement sur 1 327 à Montréal. De toute évidence, des améliorations s'imposent.

Des 16 plaintes reçues cette année, quatre portaient sur la signalisation unilingue, 10 sur divers aspects du service et deux autres sur la langue de travail. Bien que les remèdes apportés au règlement des plaintes n'aient souvent été que topiques, le Ministère s'est comporté avec bonne grâce.

Revenu national (Impôt)

Le ministère du Revenu national (Impôt) reçoit chaque année des millions de déclarations d'impôt. Si nombre d'entre elles relèvent de la pure routine, d'autres

par contre impliquent des échanges pour le moins délicats avec le public. On peut dire que le Ministère tire très bien son épingle du jeu et qu'il assure un service bilingue convenable à l'ensemble des contribuables canadiens. En outre, la majorité des employés peuvent travailler à leur gré en français ou en anglais, et les taux de participation des deux groupes linguistiques sont acceptables dans presque toutes les catégories professionnelles. Le Ministère a entrepris de donner suite à plusieurs de nos recommandations de 1982. Il a également distribué à tous ses employés une brochure sur la langue de service intitulée « En français ou en anglais ? ». Bref, sa performance linguistique est loin d'être mauvaise.

Cependant, certains problèmes persistent. Le Ministère a diffusé par la voix des médias des « tuyaux fiscaux » durant la période de préparation des déclarations en 1984, mais en omettant de recourir à la presse minoritaire de langue officielle. Par conséquent, certaines communautés se sont vu privées de renseignements dans leur langue. De plus, plusieurs bureaux de district et centres fiscaux, surtout dans le sud de l'Ontario et dans l'Ouest, n'ont pas un nombre suffisant d'employés bilingues pour assurer un service convenable dans la langue officielle de la minorité.

Au chapitre de la langue de travail, le rythme de la réforme est plutôt lent. Les divisions techniques de l'administration centrale ne sont pas toujours en mesure de servir le personnel francophone du secteur exploitation dans sa langue maternelle ; dans la région de la Capitale nationale et dans d'autres secteurs bilingues, certains surveillants ne satisfont pas aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste. Conséquemment, nombre d'employés anglophones au Québec et francophones dans les autres provinces sont encadrés et évalués dans leur langue seconde.

Côté participation, deux faits nous préoccupent particulièrement : d'une part, le nombre de Francophones au sein de l'important secteur des services informatiques demeure nettement insuffisant ; d'autre part, le programme de formation à l'intention des stagiaires en analyse des systèmes n'est offert qu'en anglais. Le taux global de participation des Francophones s'établit maintenant à 26,6 pour cent d'un effectif de 16 709 personnes par rapport à 26,2 pour cent en 1983. La proportion d'employés de langue française s'est aussi accrue dans les groupes de la direction et parmi les cadres supérieurs où ils représentent respectivement 25,7 et 22,8 pour cent. Par contre, les résultats sont moins heureux quant à la représentation des minorités de langue officielle dans les bureaux régionaux depuis 1982. Par exemple, la participation anglophone au Québec demeure extrêmement faible, soit 3 pour cent.

En 1984, nous n'avons reçu que 26 plaintes contre le Ministère, chiffre le plus bas depuis cinq ans. La plupart portaient sur l'absence de services bilingues au téléphone ou au comptoir, ou la pénurie de formules de déclaration en langue française dans les bureaux de district et les bureaux de poste des régions majoritairement anglophones. Cinq plaintes soulignaient le fait que le Ministère avait omis de recourir aux hebdomadaires de langue minoritaire ; une autre concernait la langue de travail. En règle générale, le Ministère réagit diligemment à ce genre de plaintes, mais tarde par ailleurs à adopter des mesures préventives.

Santé nationale et Bien-être social

Le ministère de la Santé nationale et du Bien-être social, l'un des plus importants et des plus notoires, est présent dans toutes les provinces et tous les territoires.

Ses 8 200 employés sont répartis entre 500 bureaux régionaux, locaux et de district. En 1984, il s'est acquitté de ses responsabilités linguistiques auprès de sa vaste clientèle de façon satisfaisante. Toutefois, un nombre croissant de plaintes concernant le service, de même que des lacunes persistantes aux chapitres de la langue de travail et de la participation, nous empêchent de lui délivrer un certificat d'excellence.

La Direction générale des Programmes de la sécurité du revenu, celle dont les échanges avec les groupes minoritaires de langue officielle sont les plus fréquents, a adopté quelques mesures destinées à améliorer son service : elle a installé des avis dans ses bureaux dépourvus de toute capacité bilingue pour informer les clients qu'ils peuvent être servis malgré tout dans leur langue grâce à une liaison téléphonique avec un autre bureau ; une cassette a été enregistrée pour enseigner aux réceptionnistes unilingues les rudiments de l'accueil téléphonique dans les deux langues ; et le service libre appel a été étendu aux régions de faible demande par le biais de lignes INWATS.

Bien que 82 pour cent des 2 647 titulaires de postes bilingues — la plupart exigeant un niveau « intermédiaire » ou « supérieur » de compétence — soient qualifiés, nous doutons de la capacité bilingue de certains secteurs. Par exemple, on ne trouve à l'ouest du Manitoba que 15 postes bilingues (1,3 pour cent du total), ce qui est nettement insuffisant même s'ils sont tous occupés par des titulaires linguistiquement compétents ; dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest et au Yukon, les chances de se faire servir en français sont plus que minces, un seul des 600 postes étant classé bilingue (qui plus est, son titulaire ne satisfait pas aux exigences prescrites). Terre-Neuve, pour sa part, n'en compte aucun.

Peu de changements du côté de la langue de travail en 1984 et le français n'a toujours pas la place qui lui revient au bureau central. Aux directions générales des programmes des Services médicaux et de la Protection de la santé, dans la région de la Capitale nationale, les taux d'utilisation du français sont respectivement de 15 et de 10 pour cent. Cela tient peut-être à la composition linguistique de leurs clientèles, situées pour une bonne part dans le Grand Nord où l'anglais et les langues autochtones l'emportent. Le Ministère a cependant tenté d'accroître l'usage du français dans les réunions. La Direction générale des Services médicaux a émis une directive encourageant les employés à se servir de leur langue durant les réunions et, dans les directions plus importantes, les procès-verbaux sont établis dans la langue du locuteur ou encore dans les deux langues. Le Ministère n'a toujours pas donné suite à notre recommandation de l'année dernière de modifier sa formule d'évaluation des employés, de sorte qu'ils puissent y indiquer leurs préférences linguistiques.

Les taux de participation des deux groupes linguistiques demeurent les mêmes : 77 pour cent d'Anglophones et 23 pour cent de Francophones. On note des déséquilibres dans certaines catégories professionnelles. Par exemple, les Francophones ne sont équitablement représentés que dans les catégories Administration et service extérieur et Soutien administratif. Des 2 830 employés des Services médicaux, seulement 12 pour cent sont de langue française. Viennent s'ajouter des inégalités géographiques : en Ontario, les Francophones ne constituent que 2,9 pour cent du personnel et, au Québec, les Anglophones ne comptent que 3,9 pour cent

de l'effectif. Le Ministère explique qu'il y a pénurie de candidats francophones dans certaines disciplines scientifiques, et qu'un pourcentage élevé du personnel des Services médicaux travaille dans des régions unilingues de l'Ouest et du Grand Nord. Néanmoins, le Ministère devra redoubler d'efforts là où il le peut.

À notre grand regret, **Condition physique et sport amateur** est toujours dans un état critique. Malgré l'entente de financement prévoyant que l'organisme tiendrait désormais davantage compte des besoins des deux groupes linguistiques — elle entrait en vigueur en juillet — et que les associations sportives nationales lui soumettraient un plan d'action en matière de langues officielles, moins de la moitié des 22 organisations avaient répondu à l'appel. Par ailleurs, le fonds spécial qui avait été créé pour aider au financement d'activités liées aux langues officielles, la traduction par exemple, n'a pas été utilisé. Condition physique et sport amateur doit collaborer davantage avec les associations afin de leur permettre de remplir leurs obligations linguistiques.

Des 36 plaintes reçues contre le Ministère en 1984, 13 mettaient en cause **Condition physique et sport amateur**. Elles portaient sur des sujets aussi variés que l'absence de publicité dans la presse minoritaire, la correspondance rédigée dans « l'autre » langue et des imprimés unilingues diffusés par les associations sportives nationales. Les 10 plaintes dont a fait l'objet le Programme de la sécurité du revenu, et les quatre reçues contre le programme Nouveaux horizons, soulignaient soit l'absence de service en français, soit sa piètre qualité. Les neuf autres cas concernaient l'unilinguisme de lettres circulaires, d'affiches, d'annonces dans la presse, de l'accueil téléphonique et de la correspondance. Cette année encore, le Ministère s'est empressé de régler ces plaintes, mais nous souhaiterions le voir adopter des mesures préventives.

Sciences et Technologie

Le ministère d'État chargé des Sciences et de la Technologie jouit depuis plusieurs années d'une réputation enviable en matière de langues officielles. En raison de la réorganisation majeure qu'il a connue en cours d'année, il n'a pu nous fournir de statistiques valables sur sa capacité bilingue ou sur la composition linguistique de son personnel.

La seule plainte dont il a fait l'objet en 1984 concernait une annonce publicitaire qui, par erreur, n'avait pas paru dans un hebdomadaire de langue française.

Secrétariat des conférences intergouvernementales canadiennes

Le Secrétariat des conférences intergouvernementales canadiennes s'emploie à mettre en oeuvre nos recommandations de 1983 et à élaborer une politique des langues officielles.

Le Secrétariat, qui compte 24 employés, a une capacité bilingue des plus satisfaisantes. Vingt-deux postes sont classés bilingues et 19 de leurs titulaires satisfont

aux exigences linguistiques. En outre, tous les titulaires de postes d'encadrement sont maintenant tenus d'avoir une connaissance intermédiaire de la langue seconde. Au plan de la participation, il ne compte malheureusement que 7 Anglophones parmi ses 24 employés.

Secrétariat d'État

L'un des chefs de file de la réforme linguistique fédérale, et sans doute l'un des mieux connus du public, le Secrétariat d'État est le grand promoteur du bilinguisme auprès des organisations qui ne relèvent pas du gouvernement fédéral. À ce titre, il négocie et administre les contributions fédérales aux programmes destinés à assurer l'enseignement en langue minoritaire et de la langue seconde au sein des systèmes scolaires provinciaux, appuie la formation des enseignants et apporte son soutien aux programmes d'échange entre étudiants. En plus de leur prodiguer des conseils, le Secrétariat aide financièrement les minorités provinciales à se doter d'institutions ou à renforcer celles qu'elles se sont données. Il encourage aussi les entreprises privées, les organismes et les associations bénévoles à offrir leurs services dans les deux langues. Si un danger guette le Secrétariat d'État, c'est celui d'être considéré au niveau fédéral comme le défenseur attitré des minorités, permettant ainsi à d'autres organismes influents des secteurs économique, social ou de la santé de se limiter à offrir des services bilingues sans se soucier des besoins des groupes minoritaires.

Le Secrétariat met de plus à la disposition de diverses organisations les glossaires et ouvrages de référence de sa banque de terminologie. Il offre d'ailleurs ces mêmes services, ainsi que la traduction et l'interprétation, à l'ensemble de l'administration fédérale. Ses activités de promoteur sont passées en revue à la Partie II du présent rapport.

Le rendement linguistique du Secrétariat d'État mérite d'être souligné. Innovant cette année encore, il a mis au point divers moyens visant à accroître l'efficacité de son programme des langues officielles. Comme toujours, le service au public et la langue de travail ne posent aucun problème. Par ailleurs, l'équilibre entre les deux groupes linguistiques s'y est amélioré dans plusieurs catégories professionnelles.

Côté services, le Ministère a distribué à tous ses bureaux une brochure relative à l'accueil téléphonique proposant diverses formules brèves qui permettent aux employés unilingues de répondre aux demandes de renseignements. Les gestionnaires de l'administration centrale, de même que ceux des bureaux de Toronto et de Winnipeg, ont pour leur part participé à des séances d'information touchant leurs responsabilités en matière de service au public. Le fait que 91 pour cent des titulaires de postes bilingues ont la compétence requise et que 84 pour cent de ces 1 186 postes exigent un niveau « intermédiare » ou « supérieur » de connaissances expliquent que le personnel des bureaux régionaux et locaux puisse assurer sans difficulté un service efficace dans les deux langues.

Deux lacunes importantes sont toujours à déplorer. Premièrement, la faible capacité bilingue parmi les juges de la Cour de la citoyenneté, alors même que le quart

environ des 33 juges maîtrisent très bien les deux langues et que 18 autres ont suivi un cours de français d'une durée de 90 heures. Nous avions pensé que la création d'une « banque » de juges bilingues remédierait au problème, mais les commentaires qui nous sont parvenus cette année nous portent à croire que le nombre de juges bilingues pourrait être insuffisant. Étant donné l'importance symbolique des cérémonies d'enregistrement de citoyenneté, le Ministère doit s'empresser d'apporter les correctifs nécessaires. Deuxièmement, le problème que pose le contrôle de la qualité linguistique des services assurés par les organismes bénévoles subventionnés par le Secrétariat. Malheureusement, les discussions, négociations et énoncés de politique n'ont rien changé à la situation.

Quant à la langue de travail, le français et l'anglais sont d'usage dans la région de la Capitale nationale, au Québec, au Nouveau-Brunswick et au Manitoba. En règle générale, l'encadrement et la notation des employés de ces régions se font dans le respect de leur langue d'élection. Nous avons été heureux d'apprendre que les vérificateurs internes du Ministère obligent les gestionnaires à rester vigilants. En 1984, ils ont effectué des études dans trois bureaux régionaux et trois directions de l'administration centrale afin de déterminer dans quelle mesure les objectifs linguistiques avaient été atteints. Ils ont également recommandé que le Ministère propose des cibles précises en matière de langue de travail et assure la traduction d'un manuel de procédures unilingue anglais.

Exception faite du Bureau des traductions, la proportion globale d'Anglophones et de Francophones à l'emploi du Ministère demeure la même. À 44 pour cent, le taux de participation des employés de langue française demeure trop élevé. Le Ministère devrait y voir. Par contre, la participation anglophone dans la catégorie Gestion s'est accrue de près 6 pour cent pour atteindre 59 pour cent, une nette amélioration. On note aussi qu'elle s'est quelque peu améliorée dans les catégories Scientifiques et spécialistes (63 pour cent) et Administration et service extérieur (64 pour cent), tout en diminuant de deux pour cent dans celle du Soutien administratif (47 pour cent). Mentionnons que la représentation anglophone au Québec s'établit maintenant à 7,8 pour cent (5 sur 64).

Au Bureau des traductions, 82 pour cent des textes sont traduits de l'anglais vers le français. Comme un traducteur traduit généralement dans sa langue maternelle, il n'est pas étonnant que les Francophones y soient nombreux. Mais qu'ils constituent 87 pour cent de l'ensemble de l'effectif — administration et traduction comprises — nous semble excessif.

Cette année, nous avons été saisi de huit plaintes au sujet du Secrétariat. Elles portaient sur des sujets aussi variés que le service téléphonique, la lenteur du bureau de Sudbury à répondre à une demande de service en français, et l'absence de service en français à une agence de recouvrement de Moncton dont le Secrétariat avait retenu les services pour la Direction de l'aide aux étudiants. Dans ce dernier cas, la Direction a effectué une vérification des services et a exigé que l'agence respecte les clauses de son contrat. Voilà un excellent exemple de l'empressement dont fait preuve le Secrétariat d'État pour régler les plaintes.

Sénat

Le Sénat a manifestement fait du sur-place depuis l'an dernier. Les résultats d'une étude que nous avons effectuée vers la fin de l'année montrent que ses employés connaissent bien sa politique des langues officielles, et qu'ils sont de façon générale en mesure d'assurer un service bilingue. Cependant l'ensemble du dossier linguistique souffre d'un manque évident de coordination, sans compter que la participation des deux groupes est mal équilibrée et que le français est peu utilisé en tant que langue de travail.

Le Sénat n'a pas encore entièrement donné suite à sa politique des langues officielles, adoptée en 1983. Les divisions administratives n'ont aucun objectif précis en la matière et la direction se contente d'effectuer un contrôle sporadique de leurs progrès. Des données de base telles que le nombre de postes bilingues et d'employés maîtrisant les deux langues ne sont pas tenues à jour. Les tests destinés à mesurer la compétence linguistique des postulants ne sont ni normalisés ni appliqués uniformément. Les problèmes administratifs découlent principalement du fait que personne n'est effectivement responsable de l'ensemble du dossier des langues officielles.

Le Sénat sert assez facilement les sénateurs et le public dans les deux langues. Selon les statistiques internes, 260 ces 393 employés (66,2 pour cent) sont bilingues. Les employés unilingues ont très peu de contacts avec le public. Chez les agents de sécurité, qui ont le plus affaire avec le public, 46 sur 52 (88 pour cent) ont une connaissance fonctionnelle de la langue seconde. On exige désormais des candidats de l'extérieur qui postulent un poste bilingue qu'ils soient linguistiquement compétents dès le départ. Les employés du Sénat qui sont promus à des postes bilingues ont deux ans pour satisfaire aux exigences requises.

Malgré que l'effectif francophone soit assez important, l'usage du français comme langue de travail n'est pas très répandu. Plus d'un tiers des employés de langue française (85 sur 226) ont demandé que les dossiers du service du personnel les concernant soient établis en anglais. La prédominance de l'anglais au Sénat n'est un mystère pour personne. La majorité des gestionnaires sont anglophones, et l'encadrement se fait habituellement dans leur langue. Les services centraux et du personnel laissent aussi à désirer en français, notamment aux échelons supérieurs.

La participation des deux groupes linguistiques est à peu près la même que l'année dernière. Les Anglophones se retrouvent surtout chez les cadres supérieurs (8 sur 11), tandis que les Francophones sont surreprésentés aux échelons inférieurs. Par exemple, 75 pour cent des agents de sécurité, 81 pour cent des messagers et 66 pour cent des préposés à l'entretien sont de langue française. Le Sénat devrait étudier très sérieusement cette question et adopter des stratégies propres à corriger ces déséquilibres.

Service correctionnel

Faisant suite aux recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de 1983, le Service correctionnel du Canada a pris au cours de l'année diverses mesures louables. Il lui reste cependant beaucoup à faire pour assurer des services adé-

quats aux détenus de langue minoritaire dans la plupart des pénitenciers du pays, et pour donner au français droit de cité dans les communications internes à l'administration centrale.

Le Service correctionnel compte près de 11 000 employés qui s'occupent de quelque 12 000 détenus répartis dans une soixantaine de prisons à travers le pays.

Notre vérification nous avait permis de mettre le doigt sur un problème majeur : l'absence d'objectifs en matière de langues officielles pour les responsables des centres de détention. Les plans d'action qui ont été prévus pour les établissements principaux rendent désormais les gestionnaires responsables de leur mise en oeuvre. Le Service met au point des mécanismes pour en vérifier l'application.

Le principal défi du Service correctionnel est d'assurer aux détenus des services dans leur langue. À cet effet, 14 pour cent de ses postes (1 468 sur 10 431) requièrent la connaissance des deux langues et 92 pour cent d'entre eux sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés. Ce pourcentage nous semble nettement insuffisant, d'autant plus que 83 pour cent de ces postes sont concentrés au Nouveau-Brunswick, au Québec et dans la région de la Capitale nationale. L'Ontario ne compte que 156 employés bilingues sur 2 413, et l'Ouest, 117 sur 3 835. Même si le Service a fait des efforts pour s'assurer qu'il y ait au moins un agent de gestion de cas et un agent d'unité résidentielle bilingues dans chacun des établissements de ces régions, il n'arrive pas encore à fournir aux détenus francophones l'ensemble de ses services en français. Les services qui laissent le plus à désirer sont les soins médicaux et psychiatriques. Par ailleurs, les communications administratives et les échanges entre gardiens et détenus se font presque exclusivement en anglais dans ces régions.

Le Service correctionnel s'est attaqué à l'importante question de la formation des détenus soulevée dans notre rapport de vérification. Cette formation est offerte uniquement en anglais dans les régions anglophones du pays, mais le Service s'occupe maintenant d'établir plus clairement les besoins de formation des détenus de langue française en vue d'y établir un programme de formation dans cette langue. La situation des détenus anglophones au Québec est un peu plus enviable, mais il y a encore des lacunes importantes. Soulignons aussi que le Service s'est engagé à exiger le bilinguisme de 50 pour cent du personnel qui sera affecté aux nouveaux pénitenciers de Drummondville (Québec) et de Renous (Nouveau-Brunswick).

Le Service correctionnel se soucie davantage des communications avec le public. La plupart des établissements en Ontario et dans la région des Prairies disposent maintenant de téléphonistes bilingues. L'accueil des visiteurs continue cependant à se faire en anglais seulement dans un grand nombre de pénitenciers.

Côté langue de travail, peu de choses ont changé par rapport à l'an dernier. L'anglais prédomine toujours largement à l'administration centrale, même si les Francophones comptent plus de 35 pour cent du personnel. Un obstacle important réside dans l'unilinguisme de 25 pour cent des titulaires de postes de surveillance. Le Service s'emploie à dresser l'inventaire des documents de travail unilingues et à établir un plan en vue de leur traduction. Il poursuit toujours son projet

de mettre au point un programme de formation linguistique orienté vers le développement du bilinguisme passif.

Les Anglophones forment 68 pour cent des effectifs et les Francophones 32 pour cent. La représentation élevée des Francophones est attribuable au fait que plus du quart des effectifs du service travaillent dans la région de Québec. Sur le plan régional, les déséquilibres notés l'an dernier persistent. Il n'y a que 10 Anglophones sur plus de 300 employés au Québec, et une cinquantaine de Francophones sur 2 400 en Ontario. Compte tenu du grand nombre d'employés dans ces régions, il est inconcevable que le Service n'ait pas réussi à corriger un tant soit peu ces anomalies. Des directives précises de la haute direction s'imposent pour y faire oouger les choses.

Le nombre de plaintes contre le Service est passé de cinq en 1983 à 40 cette annee. La majorité portait sur l'absence de services dans la langue des détenus. La collaboration du Service dans l'examen de ces plaintes a été inégale. Celles concernant les établissements du Québec ont donné lieu à des mesures précises pour les corriger, alors qu'ailleurs les cas ont été traités de façon moins approfondie.

Société canadienne des brevets et d'exploitation

La Société canadienne de brevets et d'exploitation Limitée a pour mission d'obtenir des brevets et de conclure des ententes en vue de l'exploitation de licences pour des inventions et des nouveautés technologiques mises au point au sein de l'appareil fédéral, d'universités et d'organismes sans but lucratif. La vérification que nous y avons effectuée cette année révèle qu'elle est en mesure d'offrir la plupart de ses services dans les deux langues officielles. Toutefois, nous avons relevé quelques entorses sérieuses à la Loi.

Douze de ses 26 postes nécessitent la connaissance du français et de l'anglais, mais seulement huit des titulaires satisfont aux exigences prescrites. En règle générale, la Société répond aux lettres dans la langue appropriée. Toutefois, lors d'un premier contact avec la clientèle, toutes les directions utilisent des circulaires unilingues : françaises lorsqu'elles sont destinées au Québec, anglaises pour les autres provinces. Nous avons recommandé à la Société de mieux respecter le choix linguistique du destinataire. La Société a cependant refusé d'obtempérer en évoquant le risque de nuire aux transferts de la technologie effectués par la Couronne. Pour des raisons semblables, elle hésite à demander aux inventeurs d'indiquer par écrit la langue dans laquelle ils désirent communiquer. Par contre, l'organisme a accepté nos observations sur d'autres aspects du service : expositions commerciales, textes publicitaires et catalogue d'inventions.

La très grande majorité des documents adressés à la Société étant rédigés en anglais, les employés utilisent surtout cette langue au travail et certains documents internes — un manuel, des formules — n'existaient qu'en anglais au moment de notre vérification. Nous avons recommandé de les rendre bilingues. Les services centraux et du personnel sont habituellement disponibles dans les deux langues officielles.

Des 26 employés, huit sont Francophones, dont deux agents et six employés de soutien ; une assez bonne moyenne.

L'unique plainte déposée cette année portait sur l'unilinguisme anglais du talon d'un chèque émis à un Francophone. Un tampon bilingue fut commandé.

Société canadienne des ports

En 1984, trois autres ports (Québec, Prince-Rupert et Halifax) ont largué leurs amarres et sont devenus comme ceux de Montréal et Vancouver, des organismes autonomes. Il leur faudra donc élaborer leur propre politique en matière de langues officielles. De façon générale, ce changement n'a pas nui à la bonne performance linguistique de la Société canadienne des ports. La représentation anglophone au Québec toutefois demeure faible à 8 pour cent.

Trois des 5 plaintes reçues cette année touchaient l'absence de publicité en langue française dans les hebdomadaires minoritaires ; la quatrième a permis de régler la question des sommations émises en français seulement par les cours provinciales de la région de Montréal, à la suite des contraventions données par les autorités du Port. La dernière déplorait l'accueil téléphonique unilingue français au Port de Montréal, anomalie qui fut rapidement redressée.

Société canadienne des postes

Avec plus de 8 300 points de service à travers le pays — depuis le bureau de poste principal au centre ville jusqu'au petit comptoir postal de la pharmacie du coin — la Société canadienne des postes est appelée à un moment ou à un autre, à servir tous les citoyens. Vu l'importance de son rôle, à la fois symbolique et réel, la qualité du service offert à son public, incluant l'aspect linguistique, constitue pour elle une préoccupation majeure. C'est pourquoi elle s'était dotée d'un plan d'action ambitieux qui permettait d'espérer en un avenir linguistique meilleur. Malheureusement, bon nombre de ses projets ont été contrecarrés par des dispositions de sa convention collective avec le Syndicat des postiers du Canada. Ainsi handicappée, la Société a dû retarder la bilinguisation du service au comptoir dans 9 des 12 localités-cibles de l'année 1984. Elle a donc reformulé ses objectifs pour les quatre prochaines années et espère reprendre le terrain perdu. Nous ne pourrons cependant être optimistes que le jour où la Société pourra, de son propre chef, procéder à l'affectation judicieuse de son personnel.

Il n'est pas étonnant qu'en 1984 peu de bureaux de poste principaux aient été ajoutés à la liste des établissements offrant un service bilingue au comptoir. Parmi les oubliés, on trouve plusieurs centres où la population francophone est assez importante, notamment Windsor et Winnipeg. Dans ces centres, pour servir la clientèle de langue minoritaire, la Société doit se rabattre sur des bureaux auxiliaires qui n'offrent pourtant qu'une gamme incomplète de services. De plus, la Société ne possède pas de données récentes lui permettant de juger sa capacité bilingue. Selon les données les plus récentes qui remontent à mars 1984, il n'y a

que 3 958 employés (6,9 pour cent de l'effectif global) qui occupent des postes bilingues et plus de 40 pour cent de ces postes sont concentrés dans la région de Montréal.

Parmi les quelques améliorations concrètes, mentionnons le rehaussement des exigences linguistiques de certains postes et l'insertion d'un volet linguistique dans un nouveau cours à l'intention des préposés aux guichets. La Société utilise également les publications à l'intention de son personnel pour le familiariser avec sa politique et ses objectifs en matière de langues officielles.

Mis à part quelques bureaux où les employés peuvent travailler en anglais ou en français à leur gré, la présence de surveillants unilingues tant au siège social que dans les régions constitue une entrave sérieuse à ce libre choix. Hors du Québec, le français n'arrive pas à trouver sa place, même dans la région de la Capitale nationale.

Au début de 1984, la participation globale des Francophones s'établissait à un fort taux de 30,4 pour cent. Pourtant, de Winnipeg à Vancouver, on ne dénombrait que 138 Francophones (0,9 pour cent), et au siège social d'Ottawa, on n'en retrouvait que 7 parmi les 40 cadres. En outre, seulement 17,4 pour cent des employés des échelons supérieurs étaient des Francophones. Par ailleurs, seulement 2,9 pour cent du personnel de la région de Montréal était de langue anglaise, une mince amélioration sur l'année précédente. La Société doit sans tarder prendre les mesures qui s'imposent pour corriger ces déséquilibres.

Nous avons reçu 123 plaintes cette année, seulement quelques-unes de plus qu'en 1983. Comme on pouvait le prévoir, les deux tiers des dossiers portaient sur l'absence de services dans une langue — généralement le français — au comptoir, au téléphone, et dans l'affichage. Parmi les autres sujets de doléance, signalons des lettres adressées en français distribuées en retard ou pas du tout, des formules unilingues, et des annonces qui n'ont pas paru dans la presse minoritaire, ce qui est contraire à la politique de la Société. À la fin de l'année, environ 45 pour cent des plaintes avaient été réglées de façon satisfaisante. Le peu d'empressement dont fait preuve la Société à cet égard soulève de plus en plus de mécontentement chez les plaignants. Nous l'exhortons à rendre plus efficace ses procédures administratives afin de réduire au minimum le délai de règlement des plaintes.

Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement

Cette année encore, la Société canadienne d'hypothèques et de logement mérite d'être félicitée pour sa performance dans le secteur de la langue de service. Elle a également cherché à améliorer la situation relativement à la langue de travail. Par contre, les Anglophones sont en nombre nettement insuffisant au Québec.

En règle générale, la Société n'a aucune difficulté à assurer un service dans les deux langues dans les régions bilingues et s'efforce d'en faire autant ailleurs. Cette année, par exemple, Régina et Vancouver ont été ajoutées à la liste des bureaux offrant des services dans la langue de la minorité. Soucieuse de mesurer le degré

de satisfaction linguistique de sa clientèle, la Société a placé des boîtes de cartes-réponses affranchies sur les comptoirs de ses bureaux. Dans l'ensemble, les commentaires reçus étaient positifs.

L'unilinguisme de plusieurs surveillants constitue l'un des principaux obstacles à l'usage du français comme langue de travail. Loin d'être nouveau, ce problème a été soulevé à plusieurs reprises par ceux qui ont répondu à un questionnaire distribué aux Francophones du siège social à Ottawa. La direction s'est engagée à remédier à la situation. Les Francophones représentent 32 pour cent des 3 408 employés. Au Québec, on ne dénombre que 13 Anglophones parmi les 440 employés.

En 1984, la Société a fait l'objet de 16 plaintes. Trois portaient sur l'absence de service en français à divers bureaux régionaux. Les autres semblent sortir tout droit de la comédie. Des communiqués anglais ont été transmis à un hebdomadaire français ; des avis unilingues français ont été remis à des Anglophones, tandis que quatre Francophones recevaient des lettres en anglais. Par ailleurs, la Société, qui avait fait paraître une annonce seulement dans un journal anglophone d'une certaine ville, a racheté son erreur en publiant trois annonces uniquement dans la presse francophone d'une autre ville. Tout compte fait, ce n'est peut-être là qu'une forme inédite de l'équité linguistique. . . La Société, cette année encore, a fait preuve d'une franche collaboration dans le règlement de ces cas.

Société d'assurance-dépôts du Canada

Dix des 12 employés étant bilingues, le service au public et la langue de travail ne posent aucun problème à la Société d'assurance-dépôts du Canada. Par contre, les Anglophones y sont en nombre nettement insuffisant (2 sur 12). La Société devrait donc essayer d'ici quelque temps d'établir un meilleur équilibre.

Société de construction des musées du Canada

La Société de construction des musées du Canada Inc., créée en 1982, est chargée de la construction des nouveaux locaux du Musée des beaux-arts à Ottawa et du Musée national de l'Homme à Hull. Dix-huit des 32 employés de l'administration centrale maîtrisant les deux langues, la Société n'a aucune difficulté à offrir un service bilingue au public. L'accueil téléphonique, l'affichage et la plupart des documents sont dans les deux langues. Cependant, les ouvrages techniques ayant trait à la construction du nouveau Musée des beaux-arts sont unilingues anglais. D'ailleurs, les appels d'offres pour ce projet n'ont pas paru dans la presse de langue française. La Société a donné suite à notre recommandation de placer les appels d'offres dans des publications de langues française et anglaise.

L'anglais prédomine comme langue de travail et les réunions du Conseil d'administration se déroulent dans cette langue. Les employés sont toutefois encadrés dans leur langue d'élection et les services centraux et du personnel sont disponibles en

anglais et en français. Nous avons recommandé à la Société que les offres d'emploi, actuellement rédigées en anglais, soient préparées dans la langue officielle du candidat retenu.

Bien que les deux groupes linguistiques occupent à peu près le même nombre de postes, il est à noter qu'au delà de 80 pour cent des cadres et agents sont de langue anglaise. Par contre, plus de la moitié des employés de soutien sont francophones.

Nous avons reçu deux plaintes contre la Société en 1984. L'une portait sur une affiche unilingue anglaise, l'autre soulignait la piètre qualité de la version française des plans et légendes d'une exposition. Les deux cas ont été réglés.

Société de développement du Cap-Breton

En 1984, la Société de développement du Cap-Breton a connu des difficultés économiques et d'organisation interne. Néanmoins, elle a entrepris de rédiger une politique en matière de langues officielles et s'est engagée à faire paraître sa publicité dans la presse de langue française. C'est un premier pas dans la mise en oeuvre des recommandations formulées dans notre rapport de vérification de 1983. L'unique plainte déposée contre la Société concernait la non-parution d'une annonce dans la presse de langue française. Elle a été réglée rapidement.

Société du crédit agricole

Grâce à son effectif bilingue (toujours 27 pour cent de ses 650 employés), la Société du crédit agricole a pu continuer d'offrir, en 1984, ses services dans les deux langues officielles. Le personnel de la Société peut utiliser le français au siège social et dans les régions bilingues, mais l'anglais domine toujours comme langue de travail. Les taux de participation globaux se situent à 76 pour cent pour les Anglophones et à 24 pour cent pour les Francophones. La participation anglophone au Québec reste beaucoup trop faible : un seul employé sur 90.

Nous avons reçu deux plaintes contre la Société en 1984, l'une concernant l'accueil téléphonique unilingue anglais à Winnipeg et l'autre portant sur l'absence de publicité dans un journal de langue officielle minoritaire. La première de ces plaintes a été résolue.

Société immobilière du Canada

Les trois filiales de la Société immobilière du Canada Limitée que nous avions examinées en 1983 — Le Vieux-Port de Montréal, Le Vieux-Port de Québec et Mirabel — ont cessé presque toutes leurs activités en attendant que le gouvernement se prononce sur leur avenir. Dans le cas des deux premières, très peu d'efforts avaient été consacrés à la mise en oeuvre de nos recommandations. Mirabel avait cependant accompli quelques progrès au cours du premier semestre.

Nous avons reçu six plaintes à l'endroit du Vieux-Port de Montréal. Cinq avaient trait à l'affichage unilingue français et la sixième faisait état du fait que la Société n'était identifiée qu'en français dans l'annuaire téléphonique de Montréal. Le Vieux-Port de Québec a fait l'objet de deux plaintes portant sur des annonces qui n'ont pas paru dans des journaux de langue anglaise. Aucune des deux Sociétés n'a fait preuve de diligence dans le traitement des plaintes.

Société pour l'expansion des exportations

La Société s'est surtout employée en 1984 à mettre en oeuvre les recommandations de notre rapport de vérification de l'an dernier. Par exemple, certains documents de travail unilingues ont été traduits, et le groupe de vérification interne se penchera désormais sur la question du service au public.

La Société compte maintenant 293 employés bilingues sur 577, soit 51 pour cent de l'effectif, et n'éprouve à peu près pas de difficultés à offrir ses services dans la langue de ses clients.

Le français gagne peu à peu du terrain comme langue de travail, quoiqu'il reste encore beaucoup à faire. La Société mise fortement sur la formation linguistique des surveillants : 36 pour cent d'entre eux (45 sur 124) en ont besoin. De plus, les communications écrites entre le siège et le bureau de Montréal se font plus souvent en français. Enfin, les réunions du conseil de gestion se déroulent dans les deux langues officielles. En somme, la Société doit continuer à creuser son sillon.

Les taux globaux de participation sont de 71 pour cent pour les Anglophones et de 29 pour cent pour les Francophones : la même proportion existe aux divers échelons de la hiérarchie.

Solliciteur général

Les mesures énergiques qui s'imposaient pour régler les problèmes du Secrétariat du ministère du Solliciteur général en matière de langue de travail et de participation se font toujours attendre. Nos recommandations de 1981 à cet égard n'ont pas encore reçu toute l'attention nécessaire.

Les choses ont cependant bougé sur d'autres fronts. Le nombre de postes bilingues a été accru dans cinq des six bureaux régionaux. Le Secrétariat élabore également un document d'information sur les langues officielles à l'intention des nouveaux employés. Il prévoit aussi une vérification interne de son programme des langues officielles pour 1985.

Peu de changements du côté de la capacité bilingue : 69 pour cent des 262 postes sont bilingues et 82 pour cent des titulaires répondent à leurs exigences linguistiques. Cependant, le faible niveau de connaissances requis constitue le principal obstacle à l'amélioration du rendement linguistique du Secrétariat. Même si plus de 60 postes exigent une compétence « supérieure » en anglais, ce chiffre tombe à 34 dans le cas du français et aucun n'appartient aux catégories Gestion ou

Scientifiques et spécialistes. Au risque de nous répéter, nous continuons de croire que la complexité des activités du Secrétariat commande un redressement à cet égard.

Le taux de participation global des Francophones se situe à 28 pour cent. Par ailleurs, bien que 5 des 12 personnes embauchées en 1984 étaient des Francophones, les départs, conjugués à l'intégration de divers postes à la catégorie Gestion, ont abouti à des pertes nettes dans les catégories Administration et service extérieur et Gestion, où les taux de participation des Francophones sont passés respectivement de 25 à 21 pour cent et de 28 à 22 pour cent.

À la fin de l'année, les objectifs en matière de langue de travail n'avaient été que partiellement atteints. Les formules d'appréciation du rendement ont été modifiées afin que les employés puissent y faire connaître leurs préférences linguistiques et pour permettre l'évaluation du personnel d'encadrement en matière de langues officielles. Il n'a cependant pas donné suite à ses intentions de publier des énoncés de politique sur les communications écrites internes et sur l'usage des deux langues officielles lors des réunions. Nous espérons que le Secrétariat s'y attaquera sérieusement en 1985.

Nous avons reçu une plainte contre le Secrétariat en 1984 : elle concernait les lacunes du service téléphonique en français à Moncton. Elle a été réglée à la satisfaction de tous.

Statistique Canada

Malgré les graves perturbations qui ont accompagné une réorganisation d'envergure, Statistique Canada s'est montré en 1984 digne de son excellente réputation en matière de langues officielles. Le Bureau continue de bien servir le public dans les deux langues et s'emploie activement à promouvoir le français au travail. Les efforts soutenus qu'il a consentis au cours des années pour redresser certains déséquilibres au chapitre de la participation ont été récompensés. Nous nous en réjouissons et l'encourageons à poursuivre dans cette voie.

Nous avons été très heureux d'apprendre que le Bureau compte se servir de questionnaires bilingues lors du recensement de 1986. Ainsi la détermination de la langue d'élection du destinataire ne se jouera plus à pile ou face.

Près de la moitié des 4 634 postes de Statistique Canada sont classés bilingues et 83 pour cent des titulaires satisfont aux exigences prescrites (comparativement à 80 pour cent en 1983). Tous les bureaux régionaux, sauf celui de Saint-Jean (Terre-Neuve), disposent d'une capacité bilingue.

Au cours des ans, le Bureau a adopté plusieurs mesures spéciales afin de promouvoir l'usage du français au travail, et cette année encore, le Bureau a accordé une attention toute particulière à cette question. Au siège social, à Ottawa, on retrouve quelques unités opérationnelles qui travaillent en français. Le français est la principale langue de travail dans les bureaux régionaux de Montréal et de Sturgeon Falls (Ontario).

Côté participation, certains progrès ont été accomplis au cours de l'année. Les Francophones sont bien représentés dans la catégorie Gestion, où ils forment maintenant 25 pour cent de l'effectif. L'embauche de 7 Anglophones au bureau de Sturgeon Falls (ils sont actuellement 11 sur 34) témoigne aussi de la volonté de l'organisme de mieux refléter les deux collectivités linguistiques au sein de son personnel. Mais il y a encore place à amélioration : la proportion d'Anglophones demeure à 53 pour cent dans la catégorie Exploitation.

En 1984, Statistique Canada a fait l'objet de six plaintes. Trois portaient sur l'accueil téléphonique, une soulignait l'unilinguisme d'un commissionnaire, une autre concernait une lettre rédigée en français, mais dont la référence était en anglais, et la dernière avait trait à une lettre unilingue anglaise adressée à une association de Francophones. À la fin de l'année, cinq d'entre elles avaient été réglées.

Télécommunications CNCP

Les Télécommunications CNCP ont maintenu cette année la qualité linguistique de leurs communications avec le public, en plus d'adopter une politique en matière de langues officielles.

Nous avons constaté avec plaisir que l'organisme a donné suite à la plupart de nos recommandations de l'année dernière. Notamment, il demande maintenant aux clients de ses réseaux informatiques leur préférence linguistique, ce qui contribuera certainement à améliorer ses services. Cependant, la langue de travail au siège social demeure l'anglais, et il n'existe toujours pas de données sur la participation des deux groupes linguistiques parmi le personnel.

Trois plaintes ont mis en cause CNCP cette année ; deux portaient sur les fautes de français d'un télégramme dicté dans cette langue, la troisième sur une enseigne unilingue française. L'organisme a pris des mesures pour corriger ces situations.

Téléfilm

En 1984, la Société de développement de l'industrie cinématographique canadienne, devenue récemment Téléfilm Canada, a assumé de nouvelles responsabilités et presque doublé son personnel (celui-ci passant de 37 à 66) sans que cela ne touche son excellente performance linguistique. Grâce à ses 35 employés bilingues, la Société n'a aucune difficulté à offrir ses services dans les deux langues officielles. En ce qui a trait à la langue de travail et à la représentation des deux groupes linguistiques, la situation demeure des plus satisfaisantes.

Téléglobe

Téléglobe Canada a maintenu en 1984 son excellente réputation linguistique. Un sondage que nous avons fait auprès de sa clientèle spécialisée démontre

clairement que la Société est apte à assurer un service bilingue. La raison de ce succès : l'utilisation à parts égales du français et de l'anglais en milieu de travail, tableau nuancé par la tendance habituelle de l'anglais à prédominer dans les secteurs scientifiques et techniques. Le taux de participation anglophone est demeuré stable à 51 pour cent bien que les trois quarts des 1 304 employés travaillent au Québec.

Transports

Le ministère des Transports s'est engagé sur la bonne voie en 1984 ; entre autres, le contrôle bilingue du vol aux instruments est maintenant de règle partout au Québec, et la traduction des manuels du brise-glace *Pierre-Radisson* est chose faite. Malheureusement, cette année encore, la participation francophone est restée presque stationnaire.

Le programme du Service des aéroports destiné à assurer la qualité linguistique des services offerts par les concessionnaires en est rendu à mi-chemin. Le Ministère a abaissé cette année les exigences linguistiques dans trois grands aéroports (Vancouver, Saint-Jean et Frédéricton) et a annoncé son intention de mener un sondage national sur la demande de services dans les deux langues officielles. Les résultats de cette enquête, qui seront disponibles en 1985, joueront un rôle de premier plan dans la révision de sa stratégie.

En ce qui a trait aux services au cours des vols, nous avons été heureux d'apprendre que le Ministère s'intéresse à l'audiovisuel pour transmettre les consignes de sécurité dans les deux langues officielles. Il lui reste à en discuter avec les représentants des lignes aériennes.

Sur la côte est, une enquête sur la demande de services maritimes en français effectuée l'année dernière a démontré que 15 pour cent de ceux qui ont répondu ignoraient qu'ils avaient la possibilité d'être servis en français. La **Garde côtière** entend mieux renseigner le public sur l'aspect linguistique de ses prestations. Entre-temps, elle s'emploie à améliorer sa capacité bilingue en augmentant le nombre de postes bilingues, en définissant le niveau de service qui devrait être offert dans les régions de Halifax et de Canso, et en rappelant aux gestionnaires leur obligation d'assurer un service d'accueil dans les deux langues.

Le ministère des Transports compte 21 041 employés, dont 21,5 pour cent occupent des postes bilingues. Le nombre de ces postes occupés par des titulaires qualifiés augmente d'année en année (85,6 pour cent en 1984). Nous avons par ailleurs remarqué une diminution soutenue du nombre de postes d'encadrement et de ceux comportant des rapports avec le public qui n'exigent qu'une compétence minimale en langue seconde : ils sont passés de 1 027 en 1983, à 878 cette année.

Le fait qu'on ait imposé au personnel d'encadrement des normes plus élevées en matière de langue seconde est de bon augure pour les Francophones qui désirent utiliser le français au travail. En outre, l'Administration des transports de surface et la Division des services des aéroports ont encouragé leurs employés à rédiger de courts documents dans les deux langues et à tenir des réunions bilingues.

Grâce à la traduction des manuels du brise-glace *Pierre-Radisson*, son équipage, à majorité francophone, a maintenant accès à des documents de travail dans sa langue maternelle. Plusieurs lexiques concernant l'aviation ont également été traduits et homologués à la fin de l'année.

Depuis nombre d'années, le Ministère s'emploie aussi activement à accroître la participation des Francophones. Dans l'ensemble du Ministère elle s'établit maintenant à 22.8 pour cent, mais n'est que de 19 pour cent dans la catégorie Gestion. La participation anglophone au Québec s'est stabilisée à 7,5 pour cent après avoir chuté en 1983 ; dans l'Ouest le taux des Francophones n'atteint pas 1 pour cent (48 sur 5 064). De toute évidence, le Ministère se doit de réexaminer sa stratégie et d'adopter de nouvelles tactiques sur ces questions.

En 1984, le nombre de plaintes à l'endroit du ministère des Transports a sauté à 67 ; c'est qu'un plus grand nombre de voyageurs ont décidé de ne plus passer sous silence les problèmes d'affichage et de service dans les aéroports. À la fin de l'année, 37 dossiers étaient en suspens, tandis que 47 autres avaient été réglés.

Travail

Au fil des ans, le ministère du Travail a réussi à améliorer laborieusement sa situation linguistique. Malheureusement, la vérification que nous y avons menée en 1983 révèle qu'il n'est pas encore au bout de ses peines. Il se doit en effet de consolider ses acquis en augmentant l'imputabilité des gestionnaires en ce qui a trait à la mise en oeuvre du programme, et en procédant, par le biais de la vérification interne, à une évaluation objective des résultats obtenus à ce jour.

Le Ministère est en mesure de dispenser la plupart de ses services dans les deux langues officielles. De ses 835 postes, 438 (53 pour cent) sont désignés bilingues, et 87 pour cent des titulaires satisfont à leurs exigences. Toutefois, le Ministère n'a pas encore mesuré l'importance de la demande de services en français de sa clientèle spécialisée (employeurs, syndicats et associations). Nous lui avons recommandé de ce faire. Puisque les commissions provinciales d'indemnisation des accidents du travail dispensent des services aux employés fédéraux, nous lui avons suggéré également de négocier la prestation de tels services dans les deux langues officielles. Dans cette même perspective, nous avons demandé au Ministère d'ajouter une clause de bilinguisme aux ententes conclues avec les syndicats bénéficiant d'une aide financière pour la formation syndicale. Enfin, nous lui avons souligné l'importance de faire paraître la *Revue de la négociation collective* en même temps que *Collective Bargaining* ; en effet, l'édition française paraît généralement un mois après l'édition anglaise.

Les employés du Ministère travaillent surtout en anglais, mais le français est également utilisé au Québec, à Moncton et dans certaines unités de l'administration centrale. Certains documents internes ne sont pas disponibles en français et les services centraux ne sont pas toujours fournis dans cette langue. Enfin, bien que la plupart des 166 surveillants occupant des postes bilingues répondent aux normes établies, notre vérification a révélé que bon nombre d'entre eux ne seraient pas en mesure d'exercer leurs fonctions dans leur langue seconde. Le Ministère étudie présentement ces problèmes.

Les taux globaux de participation sont demeurés inchangés : 32 pour cent de Francophones et 68 pour cent d'Anglophones. Toutefois, la catégorie Soutien administratif foisonne de Francophones : 136 sur 337, soit 40 pour cent. D'autre part, au Bureau de la main-d'oeuvre féminine, tous les postes d'agents, soit une dizaine, sont occupés par des Anglophones. Enfin, il n'y a que 2 Anglophones parmi les 66 employés du Québec. Le Ministère devra s'efforcer de corriger ces déséquilibres.

Deux des quatre plaintes reçues contre le Ministère en 1984 portaient sur l'accueil téléphonique unilingue ; elles ont été réglées avec célérité. Une troisième concernait une directive de la haute direction invitant les employés du Ministère à joindre aux documents destinés au Ministre une explication ou une traduction dans la langue de Shakespeare. La dernière concernait de la correspondance adressée en français à un fonctionnaire anglophone, victime d'un accident au travail. Ces deux derniers cas sont toujours à l'étude.

Travaux publics

La démarche du ministère des Travaux publics en matière de réforme linguistique est toujours hésitante. Si le service au public s'est amélioré, il reste beaucoup à faire aux chapitres de la langue de travail et de la participation.

Le Ministère a ébauché les grandes lignes d'une politique sur l'usage des deux langues officielles dans les appels d'offre et les contrats. Il a également effectué une étude visant à déterminer les besoins en matière de formation linguistique à l'administration centrale et dans d'autres bureaux de la région de la Capitale nationale. Enfin, il a jeté les bases d'un processus de contrôle, dont nous avions recommandé la mise en place dans notre dernier rapport de vérification. Il nous semblait nécessaire que la direction puisse suivre de près les progrès accomplis, entre autres, dans la prestation de services bilingues aux fonctionnaires dans des édifices fédéraux des régions bilingues.

Dans quelques régions, le Ministère est généralement en mesure de servir le public dans l'une ou l'autre langue officielle. L'année dernière, nous faisions remarquer que l'accueil, tant au téléphone qu'en personne, ne se faisait pas toujours spontanément dans les deux langues. Nous n'avons toutefois reçu aucune plainte cette année à ce sujet. Nous disposerons de plus de données sur l'accueil et sur d'autres aspects du service lorsque le processus de contrôle sera pleinement opérationnel.

Seulement 21 pour cent des 8 489 employés du Ministère occupent des postes bilingues, et 77,5 pour cent d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences prescrites; dans les deux cas, il s'agit d'augmentations légères par rapport à l'année dernière. Pourtant elles n'en sont pas moins appréciables en termes absolus même si elles ne modifient pas grand chose eu égard à l'effectif global du Ministère. En fait, le nombre de titulaires de postes bilingues s'est accru de 80, et celui des employés linguistiquement compétents de 160.

L'usage du français au travail n'est pas répandu à l'extérieur du Québec. Nombre de documents sont unilingues anglais ; certains services internes ne sont pas offerts en français à l'extérieur du Québec.

Les Francophones représentent 26,6 pour cent de l'effectif global (8 489 employés), phénomène principalement attribuable à leur nombre élevé dans la catégorie Exploitation (32,2 pour cent des 3 670 employés). On ne s'étonnera donc pas qu'ils soient sous-représentés dans les catégories Gestion (23 sur 121) et Scientifiques et spécialistes (116 sur 638). Dans la région de la Capitale nationale, le nord et l'est de l'Ontario, de même qu'au Nouveau-Brunswick, la participation des deux groupes linguistiques est généralement bonne. Par contre, on ne retrouve au Manitoba que 2 Francophones sur 236 employés. Au Québec, les Anglophones ne représentent qu'un faible 2,9 pour cent des 1 106 employés.

Le ministère des Travaux publics a fait l'objet de 33 plaintes en 1984. La plupart avaient trait à l'affichage et à la publicité, et 2 portaient sur la langue de travail. Le Ministère a fait preuve d'une bonne collaboration pour régler ces doléances.

Tribunal antidumping

Placé sous l'autorité du ministre des Finances, le Tribunal antidumping reçoit des plaintes et mène des enquêtes relatives à l'écoulement à perte de produits étrangers sur le marché canadien. La vérification que nous avons effectuée en 1984 auprès de cet organisme, a révélé qu'il possède les structures et les ressources humaines nécessaires pour s'acquitter efficacement de ses obligations linguistiques.

Le Tribunal a confié l'administration de son programme des langues officielles à la Direction de l'administration du ministère des Finances. D'une façon générale, l'entente a donné de bons résultats jusqu'à présent, et la politique des langues officielles du Ministère, adoptée par le Tribunal, semble bien répondre à ses besoins.

Les cinq membres et le secrétaire du Tribunal comprennent les deux langues officielles. À la Direction de la recherche, 7 des 12 postes requièrent la connaissance du français et de l'anglais, et 6 des titulaires satisfont à cette exigence. Au Secrétariat, qui regroupe le personnel de soutien administratif, 9 des 13 postes ont été désignés bilingues et ils sont tous occupés par des titulaires qualifiés.

Le Tribunal compte un nombre égal d'employés anglophones et francophones. Il offre un service d'interprétation simultanée aux audiences et il communique avec les fabricants et les importateurs dans la langue désirée. Comme la très grande majorité de la clientèle est anglophone, l'anglais prédomine nettement comme langue de travail. En somme, le Tribunal présente un bon indice de performance.

Vérificateur général

Un certain nombre de lacunes ont fait surface cette année dans le programme des langues officielles du Bureau du Vérificateur général du Canada. Seuls un examen rigoureux du programme et la mise en place de mécanismes de contrôle en assureront le succès.

Voilà, en un mot, les principales conclusions que nous avons tirées de notre dernière vérification. L'absence d'un plan linguistique est une preuve indéniable d'un manque de contrôle. Privés de cet important document, les gestionnaires de même que l'ensemble du Bureau éprouvent de la difficulté à fixer des objectifs, contrôler les progrès accomplis et cerner les lacunes.

Le programme des langues officielles du Bureau du Vérificateur général accorde la priorité à la formation linguistique de ses 594 employés. Si nous applaudissons aux efforts du Bureau en ce sens, nous nous élevons contre le fait que les cours de langue maison n'aient été offerts qu'aux Anglophones. Quatre-vingt-dix des 411 employés de langue anglaise ont suivi ces cours durant l'année.

Le Bureau compte 594 employés, dont 345 (58 pour cent) occupent des postes bilingues ; 307 d'entre eux satisfont aux exigences prescrites. Le Bureau a formé des équipes distinctes de vérification en langue française et en langue anglaise, ce qui explique en partie que 57 pour cent des postes de la catégorie Scientifiques et spécialistes n'exigent aucune connaissance de la langue seconde. Nous reconnaissons que cette façon de procéder comporte des avantages puisqu'elle permet aux employés de travailler dans leur langue d'élection. Nous pensons néanmoins que le Bureau devrait s'assurer qu'il y ait un nombre minimum de vérificateurs de l'autre groupe linguistique dans chaque équipe. Le Bureau doit aussi s'assurer que ce système n'entraîne pas d'inconvénients par rapport à son obligation de communiquer avec les ministères clients dans la langue de leur choix. Les préférences linguistiques des interviewés ne sont pas toujours respectées et le rapport préliminaire de vérification remis au ministère est généralement dans une seule langue. Ceci oblige les ministères, qui veulent distribuer le rapport dans les deux langues, à le faire traduire dans l'autre langue. De plus, lorsque le Bureau retient les services de contractuels, il ne tient pas toujours compte de leur compétence linguistique et le contrat ne stipule pas nécessairement les exigences en matière de langues officielles.

Il y a également d'autres problèmes en matière de langue de travail. Les documents de travail ne sont pas toujours disponibles dans les deux langues et, cette année, 10 des 32 cours et ateliers de perfectionnement professionnel ont été donnés en anglais seulement. De plus, près de la moitié des 106 postes de la Direction des Opérations de vérifications, qui ont à superviser du personnel dans le cadre de vérifications, sont occupés par des employés unilingues. Trente-cinq de ces postes sont unilingues anglais et 14 autres sont occupés par des titulaires linguistiquement non qualifiés. L'appréciation des employés ne tenant pas compte de leur rendement dans le domaine des langues officielles, ces derniers ne sont pas incités à participer à la mise en oeuvre du programme linguistique.

Les taux de participation globaux des deux groupes linguistiques s'établissent à 69 pour cent d'Anglophones et 31 pour cent de Francophones. Cependant, les Francophones continuent d'être sous-représentés dans la catégorie Gestion, où ils ne sont que 22 sur 135 (16 pour cent). Par contre, dans la catégorie Soutien administratif, 65 des 139 employés (47 pour cent) sont de langue française. Le Bureau devrait se fixer des objectifs précis afin de redresser ces déséquilibres.

Via Rail

La société Via Rail poursuit ses efforts pour améliorer sa compétence en matière de langues officielles. Au siège social, à Via Québec et à Via Atlantique, elle a déterminé les exigences linguistiques de tous ses postes non syndiqués et évalué les connaissances en langue seconde de leurs titulaires ; le même processus est en cours à Via Ontario et à Via Ouest. En 1983, Via évaluait les compétences linguistiques du personnel attaché au service à bord des trains à Via Atlantique ; malheureusement, la Société n'a pas étendu cette étude aux autres régions. Dans les gares, la Société a entrepris de corriger les anomalies d'affichage. Toutefois, les passagers francophones se trouvent encore chanceux s'ils réussissent à obtenir les services dans leur langue.

Si, de façon générale, les communications écrites se font dans les deux langues, il n'en va pas de même des communications orales, sauf au Québec. Et encore ! Les Montréalais se rendant à Ottawa sont loin d'être assurés de pouvoir toujours communiquer en français avec les employés sur les quais de la Gare centrale ou à bord des trains. Les Francophones d'Ottawa, faut-il s'en étonner, ne sont guère mieux lotis aux guichets de leur propre gare ou dans les trains en route pour Montréal.

La pénurie de préposés bilingues n'explique pas tout : l'affectation des employés sans égard aux exigences du service au public, surtout à bord des trains, demeure — 15 ans après l'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* — une situation totalement inacceptable.

Nous plaçons un nouvel espoir dans les discussions que Via Rail a eues avec son syndicat au cours de l'année. Il nous semble avoir constaté cette fois-ci une volonté plus marquée de reléguer les problèmes du passé sur une voie d'évitement et d'améliorer concrètement les services à bord en français. Dans cette optique, Via Rail a réaménagé au cours de l'année ses territoires d'affectation ; ce sont maintenant les préposés de Via Québec, majoritairement bilingues, qui assurent la liaison Montréal-Toronto.

Dans les gares, la Société a recours à divers palliatifs pour combler les lacunes linguistiques de ses employés : ligne de libre appel, recours au service des réservations; mais un ersatz ne sera jamais qu'un ersatz.

De tous les secteurs de Via, il en est un qui mérite nos éloges : celui des réservations, *Réservia*. Non seulement le client est-il assuré d'être servi dans sa langue, mais l'accueil se fait dans les deux langues, pratique que la Société devrait étendre à tous ses services.

Les données sur les compétences linguistiques des employés en contact avec le public expliquent les faiblesses du service hors Québec. À bord des trains, 72 pour cent des préposés de Via au Québec sont bilingues ; seulement 15 pour cent en Ontario, et 6 pour cent dans l'Ouest. Quant au personnel des gares et des réservations, les proportions sont de 83, 13 et 7 pour cent respectivement.

Via compte 3 675 employés, dont 26,2 pour cent sont francophones. Ce chiffre global cache toutefois une grande disparité hiérarchique et géographique : 58 pour cent des Francophones appartiennent à la haute direction, 24 pour cent sont

des cadres supérieurs, 34 pour cent des cadres intermédiaires et 43 pour cent des employés du soutien administratif. Parmi les syndiqués hors-trains, 28,5 pour cent sont francophones, mais ces derniers ne représentent que 15,5 pour cent des préposés à bord (même à Via Québec, ils ne sont que 144 sur 312). Globalement, on retrouve 2,4 pour cent de Francophones à Via Ouest, 2,9 pour cent à Via Ontario et 42,5 pour cent d'Anglophones au Québec.

Les premiers résultats de la vérification que nous avons menée à l'automne sur la langue de travail au siège social, à Via Québec et à Via Atlantique, montrent que la Société se fait un devoir de fournir à ses employés des documents de travail bilingues.

Des 28 plaintes que nous avons reçues contre Via Rail, 15 touchaient l'absence de service en français à bord des trains et dans les gares (la gare d'Ottawa à elle seule a fait l'objet de 4 plaintes). Les plaintes qui touchent le service en personne n'ont pas trouvé de solution satisfaisante, mais les questions matérielles (affichage, publicité) ont été réglées rapidement.

Voie maritime du Saint-Laurent

Cette année, l'Administration de la voie maritime du Saint-Laurent a établi sa politique des langues officielles et l'a fait connaître à son personnel-cadre. Cependant, l'organisme n'est toujours pas en mesure de fournir des données précises sur sa capacité bilingue.

L'Administration effectuera un nouveau sondage afin d'évaluer la demande de services bilingues au canal Welland. Cette fois-ci, les services seront activement offerts dans les deux langues pendant le sondage.

Les employés ont maintenant accès à des cours de formation professionnelle dans leur langue. Des cours de français ont été offerts aux surveillants de la Direction du génie. Dans la région de l'Est, où l'on compte 20 ingénieurs, les Francophones sont passés de 4 à 5.

La Voie maritime a fait l'objet d'une plainte portant sur la parution d'une annonce dans un journal de langue anglaise seulement.

Filiale de l'Administration, la **Corporation du pont international de la voie maritime Limitée**, qui compte 19 employés, a son siège à Cornwall. À la suite des recommandations que nous lui avons adressées au cours de l'année, elle s'est fermement engagée à combler les lacunes observées au moment de notre étude. Nous vérifierons en 1985 l'état de la situation. Parmi les réalisations, signalons une politique fort acceptable en matière de langues officielles et un service téléphonique désormais bilingue. Des dispositions ont été prises afin de bilinguiser les reçus et les factures. On devra aussi informer adéquatement les employés de la disponibilité des services centraux et du personnel dans les deux langues officielles.

Accueil et service dans la Capitale nationale

Les immeubles occupés par l'administration fédérale se profilent sur l'horizon d'Ottawa-Hull. Les organismes qu'ils abritent sont au service d'une clientèle très diversifiée ; ils accueilleront, par exemple, des visiteurs de toutes catégories, depuis le résident en quête d'un imprimé administratif, ou telle personne de l'extérieur venue pour négocier un contrat, jusqu'aux touristes fervents d'édifices historiques et de musées. Pour les non-avertis, chaque immeuble est un labyrinthe de couloirs et d'indications. L'aide d'un gardien ou d'un préposé à la réception est indispensable. Le premier contact est d'une grande importance ; c'est à ce moment que s'établit l'impression d'être accueilli favorablement ou non, et la langue y est pour beaucoup.

Aussi sera-t-il intéressant de savoir quel emploi on fait des langues officielles dans ce premier contact. Qui parle le premier, et est-ce en français ou en anglais ? Est-ce que le préposé fédéral prend l'initiative en souhaitant la bienvenue dans les deux langues ? Pour le savoir, nous avons visité quelque 85 points de contact dans la région de la Capitale nationale, des deux côtés de l'Outaouais. À cinq endroits seulement avons-nous observé une offre de renseignements ou de services dans les deux langues, sous forme d'accueil bilingue ou par un écriteau. La moitié du temps, les visiteurs ne pouvaient d'abord savoir à quoi s'en tenir sur les langues connues du préposé, qui attendait qu'on lui adresse la parole. Il n'y aurait là aucun inconvénient, si le visiteur pouvait compter sur le bilinguisme du personnel d'accueil. Et quand le préposé ouvrait la conversation, c'était dans sa langue — l'anglais, ordinairement — et par une salutation du genre « good morning » ou « hi ».

Après ce contact venait la demande de renseignements. Or, ceux-ci étaient toujours accessibles en anglais, mais dans seulement 72 pour cent des cas en français. Parfois on a dû recourir à un autre membre du personnel, sans qu'il en résulte trop d'attente en général.

Deux secteurs méritent une attention spéciale : le centre d'Ottawa et celui de Hull. Dans un rayon de six rues à partir de la colline du Parlement, les vingt établissements fédéraux visités ne comportaient aucune offre active de service bilingue. Partout le service était accessible en anglais, mais non en français dans la moitié des cas. Voilà pour le caractère bilingue de la présence fédérale à l'ombre de la Tour de la Paix. À Hull, les membres de notre équipe se sont fait adresser la parole en anglais seulement dans la plupart des cas, mais les renseignements étaient toujours accessibles dans les deux langues officielles. Cette heureuse situation était propre à Hull. Il faudrait donner au personnel qui ont le premier contact avec le public instruction de présenter sans faute une offre de service dans les deux langues officielles. On doit en outre recourir davantage aux écriteaux indiquant que le service est accessible en français et en anglais.

La machine : cylindrée et puissance

Les obligations fédérales en ce qui a trait à la politique linguistique nationale sont de deux ordres : veiller à la mise en oeuvre des mesures gouvernementales devant permettre l'exécution de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* dans l'ensemble de la fonction publique ; et, au-delà du champ d'application de cette loi, assurer la gestion des programmes fédéraux d'aide directe ou indirecte aux collectivités de langue officielle. Nous examinerons plus loin cette dernière question. Aussi le présent chapitre est-il essentiellement consacré à l'administration fédérale. Avant d'en traiter en détail, nous tenons cependant à rappeler l'interdépendance absolue de ces deux ordres de responsabilités, et la nécessité d'une coordination étroite. Bien sûr, dans l'univers bureaucratique, la coordination parfaite relève de l'utopie. Mais lorsque les rôles de premier plan sont tenus par autant d'acteurs vedettes, comme nous le verrons ci-après, il faut de toute évidence qu'un metteur en scène fasse régner l'ordre sur le plateau et impose le respect de l'oeuvre.

Responsabilités en matière de langues officielles

L'application de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* incombe à toutes les administrations fédérales ainsi, bien sûr, qu'aux ministres qui en ont la charge. Mais il en est certaines qui se sont vu confier des tâches bien précises à cet égard.

Le **Conseil du Trésor** définit les orientations et établit les procédures touchant la mise en oeuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* dans le secteur de la fonction publique pour lequel il fait office d'employeur, et vérifie leur application.

La **Commission de la Fonction publique** veille à ce que l'exécution de la politique linguistique n'entre pas en contradiction avec la *Loi sur l'emploi dans la Fonction publique* et le principe du mérite, et offre des services de soutien dans le domaine de la formation et des tests linguistiques.

Le **Secrétariat d'État** met sur pied des programmes de soutien aux communautés, d'aide à l'éducation et de promotion des objectifs linguistiques dans les secteurs autres que fédéraux, et voit à leur application ; il assure en outre la coordination des programmes de bilinguisme et de multiculturalisme, et offre des services de traduction.

Le **ministère de la Justice** a pour tâche d'assurer la concordance entre la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, la Charte canadienne des droits et libertés et d'autres lois ; il conseille le gouvernement en matière linguistique devant les tribunaux, et offre, le cas échéant, une aide technique aux provinces.

La **Société Radio-Canada** surveille l'application des dispositions linguistiques de la *Loi sur la radiodiffusion*.

Le **ministère des Communications** assure une distribution équitable entre les deux groupes linguistiques des crédits fédéraux dans le secteur des arts et de la culture, et offre une aide technique dans des domaines comme le télé-enseignement.

Les autres **ministères** et les **sociétés de la Couronne** sont soumis aux exigences fondamentales de la Loi et, dans les limites de leur mandat, apportent un soutien aux collectivités de langue officielle. La plupart sont dotés d'une direction des langues officielles qui suit de près leurs réalisations dans ce domaine et conseille leurs dirigeants.

Le **Bureau du Conseil privé** veille à l'harmonisation des divers programmes et lignes directrices, et conseille le gouvernement dans son analyse des rapports que lui soumettent ministères et organismes, et le Commissaire aux langues officielles.

Bien que sommaire, cette esquisse du cadre administratif des langues officielles souligne la complexité des interactions. À notre avis, une coordination et une intégration accrues s'imposent autant en ce qui a trait à l'application de la Loi qu'à ses répercussions sur l'ensemble des grandes orientations linguistiques, et sur les relations entre Francophones et Anglophones. Passons maintenant à la gestion de la Loi au sein de la fonction publique.

Les rouages de l'appareil fédéral

Lorsque le Parlement fixa ses premiers objectifs en matière linguistique au milieu des années 60, il était davantage préoccupé par les résultats à atteindre que par les rouages de la réforme. Mais contenu et méthodes sont indissociables ; aussi le gouvernement s'est-il employé, au fil des ans, à mettre au point ses lignes directrices et ses systèmes.

La capacité institutionnelle

L'enjeu était de créer, dans toutes les composantes de l'administration centrale, une capacité institutionnelle à servir les Canadiens en français et en anglais, et d'offrir des possibilités d'emploi et d'avancement équitables aux membres des deux groupes linguistiques. En 1969, cette capacité — plutôt restreinte — reposait généralement sur des Francophones bilingues. Depuis, pour satisfaire aux exigences nettement plus élevées de la Loi, le gouvernement a exploré différentes voies : recrutement de personnel linguistiquement compétent ; avantages accordés au personnel bilingue ; formation des employés dans leur langue seconde.

Postes et exigences linguistiques

Sa désignation des postes selon leurs exigences linguistiques — bilingues, français essentiel, anglais essentiel, français ou anglais — constitue le coeur du système. Alors qu'il y a quinze ans, moins de 10 000 postes pouvaient être considérés bilingues, leur nombre dépasse aujourd'hui 63 000, soit près de 28 pour cent de tous les postes de la fonction publique. C'est qu'on s'est employé d'une part à satisfaire aux nouvelles exigences en matière de service au public, et d'autre part à offrir aux fonctionnaires francophones et anglophones des possibilités équitables

de travailler dans leur langue. Pour chacun des postes ainsi désignés, on définit la compétence requise en langue seconde. Il y a trois niveaux : le premier (A) exige une connaissance minimale de la langue seconde ; le deuxième (B) demande une capacité fonctionnelle quoique restreinte ; et le troisième (C), une compétence raisonnable, soit une certaine maîtrise de l'autre langue officielle. À l'heure actuelle, quelque 13 pour cent des postes bilingues appartiennent à la catégorie A, 76 pour cent à la catégorie B et 8 pour cent à la catégorie C. Théoriquement, la répartition de ces postes satisfait à toutes les exigences officielles en matière de service au public ou de communication avec les fonctionnaires des deux langues. Il ne reste plus qu'à nommer une personne qualifiée à chacun de ces postes, et le tour est joué ! Comme ce serait simple.....

Droits des fonctionnaires

Tout en s'engageant à effectuer une réforme du régime linguistique de l'administration fédérale, le gouvernement a voulu maintenir, malgré les transformations organisationnelles inhérentes à un tel processus, des possibilités égales d'emploi et d'avancement pour les deux groupes linguistiques. À cette fin, il a adopté les mesures suivantes :

- Exemption des exigences en matière de langue seconde pour les fonctionnaires ayant de longs états de service et qui ne voulaient pas ou ne pouvaient pas devenir bilingues. (Environ 10 pour cent des titulaires actuels de postes bilingues bénéficient de cette clause des droits acquis pour raisons d'ancienneté, d'âge, de santé ou de famille.)

- Cours intensifs de formation linguistique aux frais de l'État. (Sans compter les Forces armées, plus de 30 000 employés, à 85 pour cent anglophones, ont terminé leurs études avec succès.)

- Dispense des exigences de la *Loi sur l'emploi dans la Fonction publique*, qui permet la nomination d'employés unilingues à des postes bilingues à la condition que le titulaire suive des cours de formation linguistique et acquière la compétence requise dans un délai donné. (Des 17 600 nominations permanentes et temporaires à des postes bilingues en 1984, 1 330 étaient « conditionnelles » et 500 ont été faites en vertu du régime d'exemption ; les 15 770 nominations restantes, soit 90 pour cent, concernaient des candidats qualifiés.)

- Par ailleurs, un accord a été conclu, en 1975, avec les syndicats de la fonction publique au titre duquel les titulaires qualifiés de postes bilingues toucheraient une prime annuelle de 800 $. (En 1984, quelque 53 000 fonctionnaires ont touché cette prime, pour un total d'environ 42 millions de dollars.)

Autre composante essentielle de l'appareil fédéral : la traduction et l'interprétation, qui facilitent la prestation de services dans les deux langues officielles, tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de la fonction publique. Lois, règlements, publications, procès-verbaux des audiences publiques et dossiers administratifs internes, autant de documents qui doivent être accessibles dans les deux langues officielles. (En 1983-1984, 256 millions de mots ont été traduits. Au total, les frais de traduction et d'interprétation ont atteint 82 millions de dollars.)

Le gouvernement consacre annuellement quelque 250 millions de dollars à ces programmes et services internes[1]. Bien sûr cette somme n'est pas négligeable, et il faut s'assurer, dans l'intérêt général, qu'elle est utilisée à bon escient ; vu l'importance de ces programmes et services, cependant, on ne peut pas dire que leur coût est exorbitant, à 10 $ par Canadien[2]. Bref, une fois l'inspection du dispositif terminée, deux questions se posent . Fournit-il le rendement attendu ? La disposition de ses divers éléments permet-elle une action bien coordonnée, efficace et rentable ?

Rendement

Le système a déjà produit des résultats appréciables. Le nombre de postes bilingues n'a cessé de croître, passant d'un maigre 18 pour cent en 1974 à un respectable 28 pour cent en 1984 ; au total, quelque 63 000 postes bilingues, dont 54 000 sont occupés par des titulaires qualifiés. Au cours de cette même période, les exigences en matière de langue seconde ont été relevées au point où 75 pour cent des postes bilingues nécessitent aujourd'hui une connaissance « intermédiaire » de l'autre langue officielle, comparativement à 50 pour cent il y a cinq ans.

L'introduction progressive de la « dotation impérative[3] » a fait en sorte que, dans plus de 40 pour cent des cas, on ne peut nommer conditionnellement, pour une « période indéterminée », des employés unilingues à des postes bilingues. Si on ajoute les nominations pour une « période déterminée », ce chiffre passe à plus de 60 pour cent. Par ailleurs, la formation linguistique a permis à de nombreux fonctionnaires de se familiariser avec leur langue seconde, et a favorisé la création d'une réserve d'employés bilingues. La traduction a également connu une très forte hausse, accroissant par le fait même la disponibilité de documents dans les deux langues.

Sans vouloir minimiser la valeur de ces réalisations, il nous apparaît nécessaire d'explorer plus à fond le système afin de déterminer s'il sert véritablement les trois principaux objectifs de la politique — service au public, langue de travail, participation équitable — et, dans le cas contraire, de tenter d'en découvrir la raison.

Ventilation des résultats

D'entrée de jeu, il convient de mentionner que les résultats globaux sont loin d'être équilibrés. Nous exposons ailleurs dans ce rapport les lacunes en matière de service au public à l'extérieur des régions d'Ottawa et du Québec. À elles seules, ces lacunes justifient un réexamen en profondeur. Mais il est aussi bien d'autres questions qu'il nous faut approfondir. Par exemple, pourquoi y a-t-il au Québec autant de postes bilingues que de postes désignés « français essentiel » ? Pourquoi le

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[1] Voir le tableau B.1, en annexe, pour plus de détails.

[2] À titre de comparaison, 200 millions de dollars ont été consacrés à l'achat de pièces de rechange pour les F-18, tandis que les pratiques bancaires du gouvernement font perdre annuellement 100 millions en intérêts.

[3] La dotation impérative d'un poste bilingue signifie que seule une personne linguistiquement qualifiée peut y être nommée. Autrement dit, ces nominations sont désormais pleinement assujetties à la *Loi sur l'emploi dans la Fonction publique*.

taux d'accès aux postes bilingues des deux groupes linguistiques présente-t-il un écart sans cesse croissant ? Pourquoi les exclusions et les exemptions sont-elles plus nombreuses au sommet de la hiérarchie ? Pourquoi si peu de « diplômés » anglophones des cours de langue occupent-ils des postes bilingues ? Et ainsi de suite..... Sans doute y a-t-il des explications à ces anomalies. Nous nous devons d'aller au fond du problème, car il nous faut comprendre pourquoi il est si difficile de répondre aux besoins institutionnels tout en respectant l'intérêt des fonctionnaires.

Des titulaires et des postes

Les tableaux suivants montrent clairement que la répartition globale des employés et des postes ne répond pas vraiment aux exigences institutionnelles que la Loi cherche à satisfaire.

Tableau III.1

	Bilingue		Anglais Essentiel		Français Essentiel		L'un ou l'autre	
	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%	Nombre	%
L'Ouest et le Nord	1 223	1,9	51 374	38,1	23	0,1	31	0,3
L'Ontario	2 552	4,0	33 723	25,0	47	0,3	351	3,0
La région de la Capitale nationale	40 050	63,5	24 412	18,1	914	5,5	10 051	86,0
Le Québec	15 768	25,0	197	0,1	15 648	93,8	501	4,3
Le Nouveau-Brunswick	2 474	3,9	4 715	3,5	40	0,2	469	4,0
Autres provinces atlantiques	1 054	1,7	20 444	15,2	16	0,1	288	2,4
TOTAL	**63 121**	**100,0**	**134 865**	**100,00**	**16 688**	**100,0**	**11 691**	**100,0**

Source: Système d'information sur les langues officielles, décembre 1984.

La région de la Capitale nationale compte à elle seule 64 pour cent de tous les postes bilingues, et le Québec 25 pour cent. À l'extérieur de ces deux régions, la proportion des postes « anglais essentiel » et des postes bilingues est de 15 contre 1. Au Québec, on trouve autant de postes bilingues que de postes « français

essentiel », soit quelque 15 500 dans les deux cas. Ottawa mis à part, les minorités francophones ne peuvent compter que sur 7 000 employés bilingues, dispersés dans neuf provinces, pour les servir dans leur langue. Constituer une capacité bilingue suffisante dans les régions où le besoin s'en fait sentir, telle est manifestement la priorité. Cependant, la répartition ci-haut décrite des postes unilingues par rapport aux postes bilingues laisse supposer que l'application des règles varie considérablement selon les régions. Le gouvernement se doit à tout le moins de chercher à en découvrir la raison. Voilà au moins trois ans que nous soulevons ce problème, sans grand succès ; ou bien le gouvernement n'y voit rien d'anormal, ou alors il ne sait pas comment y remédier.

Nominations aux postes bilingues

Avec un peu de recul, on est amené à découvrir d'autres faits, non moins surprenants, dont un retient particulièrement notre attention : les tendances des dernières années dans les taux d'occupation des postes bilingues par les Francophones et les Anglophones.

Tableau III.2

		Bilingues		Anglais essentiel		Français essentiel		L'un ou l'autre	
	Année	Anglophones	Francophones	Anglophones	Francophones	Anglophones	Francophones	Anglophones	Francophones
L'Ouest et le Nord	1979	75	25	99	1	8	92	100	0
	1984	62	38	99	1	17	83	94	6
Ontario	1979	70	30	99	1	11	89	69	31
	1984	43	57	98	2	6	94	70	30
Région de la Capitale nationale	1979	55	45	92	8	6	94	66	34
	1984	48	52	92	8	3	97	66	34
Québec	1979	11	89	90	10	3	97	30	70
	1984	9	91	86	14	2	98	16	84
Nouveau-Brunswick	1979	52	48	95	5	23	77	64	36
	1984	37	63	94	6	7	93	62	38
Autres provinces atlantiques	1979	75	25	99	1	35	65	77	23
	1984	60	40	99	1	13	87	70	30

Source: Système d'information sur les langues officielles.

Comme nous l'avons souligné, le gouvernement, à l'origine, voulait tout à la fois évoluer vers le bilinguisme institutionnel et assurer un traitement équitable aux deux groupes linguistiques. À cette fin, il prévoyait l'établissement graduel d'exigences réalistes, que viendraient compléter un programme généreux de formation linguistique et d'autres mesures destinées à faciliter la tâche des fonctionnaires unilingues, dont la majorité étaient — et sont toujours — de langue anglaise. Contrairement à l'époque où un petit nombre de Francophones bilingues étaient en mesure de répondre à la demande de service en français, le plan initial du gouvernement prévoyait que les *deux* groupes linguistiques auraient un rôle à jouer dans l'émergence d'une administration fédérale bilingue. Or il semblerait que les efforts en ce sens au cours des dernières années — nonobstant l'accroissement des postes bilingues et le recours à la « dotation impérative » — aient contraint l'administration fédérale à se fier de plus en plus aux fonctionnaires francophones pour atteindre cet objectif. Si, effectivement, la capacité réelle et la présence des Francophones se sont accrus, ce n'est peut-être pas dans le sens qu'on l'avait prévu. Un examen de la situation dans les différentes catégories de postes (tableau III.1) révèle que les Francophones n'auraient jamais atteint un taux de participation global de 26 pour cent, s'ils n'étaient pas si nombreux à occuper des postes bilingues. Autrement, leur taux de participation dans les postes pour lesquels la connaissance du français est essentielle et dans ceux qui exigent la connaissance soit du français, soit de l'anglais (un tiers environ) ne représenterait qu'environ 9 pour cent de tous les postes de la fonction publique. Leur « représentation équitable » repose donc pour une large part sur leur présence dans les postes bilingues.

Tableau III.3

	1979				1984			
TOUTES LES RÉGIONS	**Anglophones Nombre**	**%**	**Francophones Nombre**	**%**	**Anglophones Nombre**	**%**	**Francophones Nombre**	**%**
Titulaires	23 156	44	29 633	56	24 524	39	38 662	61
Nominations	7 048	40	10 703	60	5 915	34	11 624	66
RÉGION DE LA CAPITALE NATIONALE								
Titulaires	18 530	55	15 110	45	19 379	48	20 810	52
Nominations	5 730	50	5 746	50	4 653	40	6 910	60

[1] Comprend les postes déterminés et indéterminés.

Sources: Titulaires : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, 1979 et décembre 1984.
Nominations : Commission de la Fonction publique (les chiffres de 1984 sont préliminaires).

Cette situation (tableau III.3) ne manque pas de soulever des questions de première importance. Jusqu'à quel point allons-nous laisser ces tendances se poursuivre ? À quoi bon consacrer des sommes considérables à la formation linguistique des Anglophones (même si les nominations conditionnelles sont à la baisse) si leur taux de nomination aux postes bilingues ne cesse de diminuer ? La réponse à ces questions se trouve dans une appréciation honnête des *réserves bilingues* pour s'assurer qu'elles sont suffisantes et que rien n'entrave la mobilité professionnelle. Essentiellement, cela signifie mettre en rapport les exigences en matière de service au public et de langue de travail, les catégories d'emplois (leur répartition hiérarchique et géographique) et les cheminements de carrière typiques des fonctionnaires des deux groupes. Calcul des plus complexes qui déborde le cadre de ce rapport, mais qui doit être effectué de façon rigoureuse si nous voulons protéger la fonction publique contre de nouvelles formes de polarisation linguistique.

Formation linguistique

L'idée que la bilinguisation des Anglophones lèverait tous les obstacles doit manifestement être remise en question. Malgré un programme de formation largement accessible — même si, depuis trois ou quatre ans, 15 pour cent des candidats anglophones échouent aux tests d'aptitude[1] —, tous conviennent qu'on est encore loin des résultats recherchés, qu'il s'agisse du rendement effectif dans l'exercice des fonctions ou de l'accès aux postes bilingues. À qui ou à quoi la faute (si faute il y a) ? Les attentes étaient-elles démesurées ? La motivation personnelle était-elle insuffisante ? Le programme de formation était-il adapté aux besoins ? Les postes bilingues sont-ils bien là où un besoin réel existe ? Toutes ces hypothèses recèlent probablement une part de vérité. Hélas, comme en témoigne le tableau suivant, le système continue de ronronner comme si de rien n'était. Ainsi, des quelque 54 000 employés qui satisfont aux exigences linguistiques de leur poste, seulement 9 000 ont suivi 500 heures ou plus de formation aux frais de l'État. Dans le cas des Anglophones qui possèdent le niveau « supérieur » de compétence, ce nombre est de 111. Les organismes centraux étudient la situation depuis plusieurs années, mais aucun correctif n'a été proposé à ce jour.

Repenser le système

La conjoncture actuelle est plus que propice, selon nous, à une réorganisation du système et des rapports entre ses différents éléments, soit l'*identification des besoins*, les *exigences des postes*, les *modes de dotation*, la *formation linguistique*, la *participation équitable*, la *prime au bilinguisme* et même la *traduction*. En vertu de la loi de l'offre et de la demande, un tel système doit reposer sur une juste appréciation des besoins réels, des résultats obtenus à ce jour, de l'apport relatif des

[1] Nous appuyons le principe des tests d'aptitude selon lequel les deniers publics ne doivent pas être utilisés pour la formation linguistique de candidats n'ayant pas le potentiel voulu. Dans la pratique, le système s'est révélé impartial, notamment dans le cas des candidats des catégories Exploitation et Soutien administratif, dont le taux d'échec est nettement supérieur à la moyenne. La Commission de la Fonction publique a annoncé son intention de réexaminer le processus de sélection, particulièrement à cet égard.

Tableau III.4

TOUS LES NIVEAUX DE COMPÉTENCE	Anglophones Nombre	% [1]	Francophones Nombre	% [1]	Total Nombre	% [1]
Aucune	7 676	44,4	31 051	84,1	38 727	71,4
Moins de 500 heures	2 883	16,7	3 577	9,7	6 460	11,9
Total partiel	10 559	61,1	34 628	93,8	45 187	83,4
Plus de 500 heures	6 735	38,9	2 284	6,2	9 019	16,6
TOTAL	**17 294**	**100,0**	**36 912**	**100,0**	**54 206**	**100,0**
POSTES EXIGEANT LE NIVEAU «C»						
Aucune	650	74,8	3 368	91,7	4 018	88,5
Moins de 500 heures	108	12,4	241	6,6	349	7,7
Total partiel	758	87,2	3 609	98,3	4 367	96,2
Plus de 500 heures	111	12,8	62	1,7	173	3,8
TOTAL	**869**	**100,0**	**3 671**	**100,0**	**4 540**	**100,0**

[1] Pourcentage de Francophones et d'Anglophones, selon le nombre d'heures d'études.

Source : Système d'information sur les langues officielles, août 1984.

diverses sources contribuant à la « capacité bilingue », des répercussions prévues sur les deux groupes linguistiques — tant à l'intérieur qu'à l'extérieur de la Fonction publique — ainsi que des étapes et des délais qui seront nécessaires.

Voici donc quelques aspects qui, croyons-nous, devraient faire l'objet d'une attention particulière lors de la révision. Premièrement, on devrait se livrer à une évaluation réaliste des besoins des membres des deux collectivités de langue officielle dans toutes les régions du Canada, non seulement à titre de simples citoyens, mais en tant que fonctionnaires éventuels habilités à travailler dans leur langue. Deuxièmement, il faudrait définir un modèle d'organisation du personnel, des postes et des capacités réelles susceptibles de répondre aux besoins des 10 ou 15 prochaines années. Cela impliquera des décisions cruciales sur l'importance relative des divers impératifs. Par exemple, faut-il d'abord s'employer à offrir un service satisfaisant aux clients francophones du nord de l'Ontario, ou à placer des

titulaires qualifiés dans tous les postes de cadres désignés bilingues de la région d'Ottawa ? Dans l'absolu, ces deux exigences sont d'égale importance ; mais l'état actuel des choses semble indiquer que nos priorités actuelles devraient être revues.

Une réforme intelligente et progressive de l'administration fédérale exige qu'on fasse le point sur les ressources humaines à notre disposition : quel est l'âge des fonctionnaires, quels sont leurs antécédents, leur origine et leurs aptitudes, leur compétence en langue seconde et leur habilité à fonctionner dans les deux langues. La situation actuelle se présente comme suit : les fonctionnaires anglophones sont quatre fois plus nombreux que ceux de langue française chez les plus de 45 ans, alors que cette proportion est d'environ trois contre un chez les moins de 35 ans ; la possibilité qu'on puisse trouver à l'extérieur des candidats anglophones bilingues demeure faible, tout comme le sont les chances des fonctionnaires anglophones les mieux intentionnés de faire usage de leur langue seconde au travail à l'extérieur du Québec ; enfin, la plupart d'entre eux ont bien du mal à atteindre et à maintenir un niveau de compétence supérieur en français. Tels sont les faits, et il est capital de tenir compte de *tous* et de chacun d'eux dans la réorganisation du système.

La vérification

En dernier lieu, le processus même de vérification des programmes devrait faire l'objet d'un examen attentif. À l'heure actuelle, de nombreux organismes y prennent part, chacun selon ses propres critères : le Conseil du Trésor, la Commission de la Fonction publique, le Commissariat aux langues officielles, et tous et chacun des ministères et organismes. On ne saurait donc trop en vouloir au Parlement de se sentir à l'occasion submergé de rapports, surtout que leur contenu varie selon l'expéditeur. Les organismes centraux formulent les lignes directrices et en contrôlent l'application par les ministères et organismes. Ces derniers, qui mettent sur pied diverses activités, tentent à leur tour d'en suivre la mise en oeuvre à l'échelon local, et fournissent sur les résultats des statistiques bien sûr avantageuses. Le Commissariat aux langues officielles pour sa part écoute les doléances du public et tente de comprendre comment un si grand nombre de bévues peuvent se produire malgré tout. La révision devrait donc, entre autres choses et peut-être avant tout, viser à s'assurer que les ministères fournissent des rapports précis et objectifs sur les résultats de leur programme. En 1982, le Conseil du Trésor décidait de rendre les ministères et organismes responsables de la mise en oeuvre des programmes. Nous n'y trouvons rien à redire, mais le Conseil n'en est pas moins tenu de vérifier les résultats, d'en faire rapport et de coordonner l'application des diverses mesures correctives.

Jouer le jeu

En 1977, les maîtres d'oeuvre de la politique révisée des langues officielles ont tenu pour acquis qu'en 1983 les nominations conditionnelles, la formation linguistique de base et la prime au bilinguisme seraient devenus superflus, que le nombre de postes bilingues diminuerait, et même que le besoin de traduction, aux fins internes, se ferait moins sentir. L'année 1983 est passée, mais rien de tout cela ne s'est produit. Pourquoi ? Pour la simple et bonne raison que les fonctionnaires anglophones et francophones — comme dans toute bureaucratie — se sont adaptés au système, au meilleur de leurs intérêts. Ne pouvant se satisfaire des quelques postes exigeant la connaissance du français, les Francophones se tournent vers les postes bilingues. Les Anglophones, eux, qui comptaient peut-être sur

les nominations conditionnelles et la formation linguistique pour demeurer dans la course, découvrent que, en période d'austérité, les gestionnaires évitent d'avoir recours aux nominations conditionnelles même lorsque la « dotation impérative » n'est pas de rigueur et, de surcroît, que les tests d'aptitude mettent leur compétitivité à l'épreuve. Même ceux qui ont suivi avec succès le programme de formation linguistique se rendent compte que leur compétence en langue seconde n'a rien de remarquable. Résultat : les Anglophones qui ne bénéficient pas d'une exemption se dirigent vers les postes, encore très nombreux, exigeant la seule connaissance de l'anglais. Cependant, ces emplois se trouvent pour la plupart à l'extérieur des régions de la Capitale nationale et du Québec ; cette nouvelle polarisation ne servirait les intérêts de personne.

Tant et aussi longtemps qu'un nombre important de postes de haute direction seront bilingues (et il doit en être ainsi), il faudra encourager les employés à apprendre leur langue seconde. Et jusqu'à ce que notre système d'éducation produise un nombre suffisant de diplômés authentiquement bilingues — et il faudra sans doute pour cela attendre la fin du siècle[1] — nous devrons composer avec une variété de bilingues qui mettra sûrement notre patience à l'épreuve. Entre-temps, est-il déraisonnable d'imaginer que, la bonne volonté aidant, les 34 000 employés bilingues de la région de la Capitale nationale — même si certains d'entre eux, notamment les cadres, pratiquent un bilinguisme plus réceptif qu'actif — seront, en 1985, en mesure de répondre à tous les besoins institutionnels d'Ottawa-Hull. Il serait hélas chimérique d'espérer qu'il en soit ainsi dans les régions.....

Réussir la réforme

Compte tenu de la complexité et de la multiplicité des techniques organisationnelles et sociales qu'implique la réforme du régime linguistique fédéral, nous pouvons nous réjouir des succès même modestes que nous avons obtenus.

La critique n'est pas notre marotte. Si nous en avons une, c'est la conviction que, pour préserver les acquis et, surtout, pour les faire fructifier, il nous faut améliorer sensiblement la gestion du programme, et notamment sa coordination. On peut penser qu'éventuellement, nos institutions nationales appliqueront tout naturellement, sans y penser, les dispositions de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. D'ici là, il serait toutefois imprudent de s'en remettre au pilote automatique.

Le système peut-il accomplir plus avec des ressources moindres ? La question est discutable. À notre avis cependant, cela n'est pas possible si les dossiers sont abordés sans égard à leur interdépendance. Aussi faut-il résister à la tentation de couper les crédits de tel ou tel sous-système « inefficace » sans se demander *pourquoi* il en est ainsi, et par quoi on le remplacera. Bien sûr, il peut sembler parfois moins onéreux et plus expéditif d'opérer ; mais encore faut-il s'assurer d'abord que le patient n'en mourra pas. En guise de conclusion, nous suggérons ici quelques mesures susceptibles d'améliorer la coordination et la rentabilité du programme.

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[1] Ce facteur doit être sérieusement pris en considération au moment de la révision du système.

- En premier lieu, les organismes clés — le Conseil du Trésor et la Commission de la Fonction publique — doivent effectuer une étude approfondie des exigences à moyen terme en matière de service au public, et examiner divers modèles organisationnels et solutions administratives pour y satisfaire.

- Étant donné que la mise en oeuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* est encore incomplète et qu'il est nécessaire de l'assortir plus efficacement au soutien fédéral au bilinguisme en dehors de la Fonction publique, ce programme appelle une coordination suivie de la politique à l'échelon du haut personnel et des ministres, sous les auspices du Bureau du Conseil privé.

- Des mesures seront nécessaires pour soumettre les sociétés de la Couronne à un contrôle plus poussé de la part du gouvernement en ce qui a trait aux programmes de langues officielles. Bien que le Parlement ait établi nettement en 1969 que ces organismes étaient assujettis à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, leur relative autonomie administrative leur a permis d'appliquer et de contrôler les programmes de langues officielles à leur guise.

- L'équilibre entre le bilinguisme institutionnel et individuel dans la région de la Capitale nationale devrait faire l'objet d'un examen pour déterminer les mesures correctives qui pourraient s'imposer, surtout en ce qui a trait aux objectifs en matière de service au public et de langue de travail.

- Les aspects linguistiques des opérations dans les bureaux du Québec devraient graduellement être repensés de manière à favoriser un usage plus productif des postes et des ressources unilingues.

- Il faut aussi repenser l'utilisation des postes et des ressources bilingues dans la région de la Capitale nationale et au Québec, afin d'assurer le service aux minorités linguistiques dans les régions où les carences sont le plus manifestes.

- D'ici à ce que nos systèmes d'éducation aient formé suffisamment de candidats bilingues, peut-être pourrait-on inciter les fonctionnaires qui en ont besoin à apprendre et à utiliser davantage leur langue seconde en leur accordant une allocation forfaitaire pour leur permettre de suivre des cours à l'extérieur de la fonction publique. Il incomberait alors aux intéressés d'utiliser et de perfectionner eux-mêmes leurs connaissances dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions.

- Il conviendrait, après consultation avec les syndicats, de réduire progressivement la prime au bilinguisme[1], selon une formule qui tiendrait compte des niveaux de traitement des bénéficiaires et de l'utilisation qu'ils font de leur langue seconde.

[1] Nous estimons qu'une économie de 15 à 20 millions serait réalisée si la prime n'était accordée qu'aux fonctionnaires gagnant moins de 40 000 $ par année.

- Le volume de la traduction injustifiée et les coûts inhérents n'ont guère été sensibles au contrôle administratif [1]. C'est pourquoi nous souscrivons à la proposition du Conseil du Trésor qu'on fixe, selon le principe de l'enveloppe budgétaire, des limites à chaque ministère et organisme, ce qui aiverait sans doute le sens des priorités.

En dernière analyse cependant, on aurait tort de penser que la solution du problème ne concerne que l'administration, ses technocrates et ses rouages. Les ministres ont à cet égard un rôle clé à jouer. C'est à eux qu'il incombe en définitive de prendre en compte les différents points de vue sur l'équité linguistique, et d'assurer la bonne marche relative de l'appareil bureaucratique — condition à la fois de l'efficacité du programme et de son acceptation par le public. Voilà autant de raisons « politiques » pour accorder au programme l'attention et l'appui qu'il mérite. Faut-il encore que les intéressés en connaissent d'abord les tenants et aboutissants.

[1] La mise à jour en 1983 d'une étude effectuée en 1979 par le Conseil du Trésor et portant sur le recours aux services de traduction montre que le contrôle administratif avait très peu influé sur le genre de documents qu'on demandait de traduire.

PARTIE IV

Les minorités : le défi

La problématique : question de solidarité

Dans le Livre I de son rapport[1], la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme notait que le degré auquel les minorités linguistiques se sentent libres d'employer leur langue était largement fonction des attitudes des pouvoirs publics. Selon l'observation des commissaires, « lorsque la langue de la minorité est peu ou point reconnue dans une région, la minorité est forcée de se conformer à la pratique courante ». Ils examinaient ensuite *comment* les diverses administrations publiques peuvent influer sur la condition linguistique des minorités, par les diverses formes possibles de reconnaissance officielle ou de soutien pratique — de l'institutionnalisation du bilinguisme à la prestation d'un service municipal. Ils savaient très bien que cela les conduirait « à formuler des recommandations à des autorités politiques qui ne les (leur) ont pas demandé ». Ils comptaient cependant sur l'ouverture d'esprit des administrations provinciales et municipales, sur le « leadership » du gouvernement fédéral et principalement, peut-être, sur l'idée des districts bilingues pour promouvoir des modes de reconnaissance et de traitement de l'anglais et du français qui respecteraient le droit, l'histoire et la démographie de la région, tout en demeurant compatibles avec l'équité linguistique envers les minorités. Dans la présente partie du rapport, nous examinons à quel point les administrations publiques ont donné suite à une exigeante proposition des Commissaires, énoncée comme suit : « Des réformes linguistiques s'imposent dans les administrations fédérale, provinciales et locales. Or, c'est l'action parallèle et simultanée des gouvernements qui donnera à ces réformes leur pleine valeur. »

La première réaction du gouvernement fédéral a été rapide et positive. Le premier ministre Pearson a accepté d'emblée le principe de l'égalité linguistique, puis a mis en marche des consultations et des études mixtes afin de traduire dans la réalité la notion essentielle d'une approche intergouvernementale concertée. Les gouvernements provinciaux et les municipalités ont réagi si diversement aux propositions de la Commission qu'il nous semble aujourd'hui permis de dire que la coordination et la collaboration ont fait long feu. Ce qu'il faut examiner maintenant, c'est l'effet global de l'action — ou de l'inaction — des pouvoirs publics sur la vigueur et les chances d'avenir des communautés de langues officielles.

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1 Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, Livre I, chapitre 5, Pouvoirs publics et régimes linguistiques.

Vigueur et perspectives d'avenir

Fort curieusement, on n'a jamais mesuré de façon méthodique les progrès de la réforme linguistique en regard du seul critère qui compte vraiment : l'équilibre, réel ou imaginé, entre les communautés de langues officielles. Cela est d'autant plus regrettable que ce sont précisément les impressions et les idées qu'elles entretiennent à propos de leur vigueur et de leurs chances relatives — et sur le traitement que leur réservent les pouvoirs publics — qui déterminent leurs attitudes sociales et politiques réciproques. L'enjeu n'est pas de préserver les beautés littéraires du français ou de l'anglais, mais d'offrir aux usagers de ces deux langues la possibilité de se réaliser sur les plans économique et culturel, sans se heurter à des obstacles que nous jugeons indignes d'une « société libre et démocratique ».

Or, cela n'est pas de réalisation facile en milieu canadien, ainsi que l'a démontré l'analyse de la Commission B.B. Toute réflexion ou action touchant la planification et la politique linguistiques ne sauraient porter fruit si elles ne s'appuient pas sur un examen des relations entre Francophones et Anglophones dans la diversité du vécu canadien actuel. Alors seulement pourrons-nous dire quels genres de rapports seraient compatibles avec notre conception du Canada, et de quelles formes de reconnaissance et de respect mutuels les Canadiens sont capables. Trois ordres de considération ont guidé notre démarche :

- Tout en nous attachant ici à ce que nous avons choisi d'appeler les minorités *provinciales*, nous n'oublions pour autant le fait que notre minorité *nationale* de langue officielle est française et établie principalement au Québec.

- La survie des langues minoritaires n'est pas, tant s'en faut, uniquement affaire d'interventions gouvernementales ; jamais n'a été avancé un scénario accordant à tous les Canadiens le même droit de faire usage du français ou de l'anglais n'importe où, n'importe quand et dans n'importe quelles circonstances. Les forces psychologiques et sociales en jeu sont nombreuses et puissantes, et bon nombre d'entre elles échappent aux diktats institutionnels. Au-delà des structures sociales, il y a les attitudes et les motivations et, en dernier ressort, les choix individuels effectués en toute liberté.

- Certaines provinces, dont le Nouveau-Brunswick, le Québec, l'Ontario et le Manitoba, sont considérées, pour des raisons de droit, d'histoire ou de démographie, comme ayant une obligation particulière à l'égard de leurs minorités respectives. Quant aux autres provinces, il leur revient de décider en quoi consiste leur devoir envers leurs minorités francophones.

Les données originelles du problème et le plan de réforme

Dans la situation qui se présentait à la Commission B.B. il y a une vingtaine d'années, la dualité linguistique originelle du Canada était dépassée par les événements. Non seulement l'anglais était devenu la langue de communication des Canadiens d'origine ni britannique ni française, mais il commençait à submerger le français en dehors du Québec. Même dans cette province, qui ne comptait qu'un Anglophone pour six Francophones, le statut et l'usage de l'anglais n'avaient guère de rapport avec cette réalité démographique.

Les recommandations de la Commission B.B. formaient en somme un appel en faveur d'un nouveau contrat social et linguistique entre les Canadiens, les invitant d'une part à consacrer l'égalité du français et de l'anglais au sein des institutions fédérales et, d'autre part, à offrir des possibilités égales d'utiliser ces deux langues à d'autres échelons, dans la mesure où le permettraient l'histoire, le droit et la démographie. Cet appel impliquait trois choses : que le gouvernement fédéral ne se contente pas d'illustrer l'égalité linguistique, mais s'efforce de la promouvoir partout ailleurs ; que les provinces à obligations particulières emboîtent le pas ; que les autres provinces interprètent et appliquent les propositions de la Commission dans un esprit de générosité et en tenant dûment compte des objectifs nationaux.

Créer une association anglo-française à cette échelle, dans les conditions de notre époque, c'était évidemment une grande entreprise. Il n'y a pas lieu de nous étonner si tous les éléments de cette construction ne sont pas tout bonnement tombés en place. Il reste à savoir si les manifestations actuelles de l'équité linguistique sont proches d'une symétrie acceptable. Pour paraphaser l'Écriture, disons que ce que l'on fait à l'une de ces minorités, on le fait également à la majorité de la même langue. Quelle que soit l'attitude, officielle ou non, du Québec envers les collectivités francophones des autres provinces, ou celle que lui prête le Canada anglais envers les Anglo-Québécois, à longue échéance et pour une raison élémentaire, le sort linguistique de nos minorités est inextricablement lié, et de leur épanouissement dépend le destin de notre pays. Un prêté pour un rendu, telle en est la raison. Un gouvernement du Québec ne peut se permettre d'encourager les Franco-Québécois à se montrer justes et généreux envers les Anglo-Québécois, sachant fort bien que les collectivités francophones des autres régions du Canada ne bénéficient ni d'une justice ni d'une générosité équivalentes.

C'est pourquoi aucun Canadien responsable ne peut rester indifférent devant les résultats de nos programmes des langues officielles. S'ils ont jeté des ponts entre les deux principaux groupes linguistiques au centre politique du pays, ils ont donné des résultats nettement moins probants pour ce qui est de la protection des minorités de langues officielles. Verser, même de vraies larmes, sur une situation qu'on nous a pourtant clairement exposée il y a quelque vingt ans ne changera rien à l'affaire. La condition actuelle de nos minorités remet très sérieusement en question les fondements et les réalisations de notre politique et de nos programmes des langues officielles, même là où nous nous flattons de modestes réussites. Les chapitres qui suivent sont consacrés aux données essentielles de la démographie linguistique, à la situation institutionnelle et quotidienne des minorités provinciales, à une synthèse de ce qui s'est fait et de ce qui reste à faire pour assurer à ces minorités d'autres choix que l'assimilation ou la migration.

Langues et démographie : ils n'en mouraient pas tous...

La plupart des données sur la situation des collectivités de langue officielle proviennent des réponses à des questions du recensement devant permettre de déterminer la composition « démographico-linguistique » du pays, et d'en suivre l'évolution. Si le recensement renseigne globalement sur bon nombre de caractéristiques sociales, l'interprétation des données touchant la langue (les conclusions ou les enseignements qu'on peut en tirer) n'est valable que si on en connaît la nature exacte, les limites et les différentes analyses auxquelles elles se prêtent.

Les réponses aux questions portant sur l'origine ethnique, la langue maternelle, la langue parlée à la maison et la connaissance des langues officielles sont les principales sources de données à cet égard. En reliant ces données entre elles et aux autres données sociales et économiques, notamment celles touchant les migrations internes, les taux de fécondité et de mortalité, les niveaux d'instruction et de revenus, on voit se dessiner un tableau d'ensemble de la réalité démographico-linguistique. Et grâce aux données comparables accumulées au cours de plusieurs recensements, il se dégage des tendances évolutives se prêtant à diverses projections. Toutefois il n'est guère possible d'en tirer des conclusions indiscutables, car l'interprétation des données, surtout s'il s'agit de déterminer des courants historiques, est sujette à plusieurs contraintes d'ordre méthodologique.

Les embûches des recensements

Les changements effectués d'un recensement à l'autre dans les questions, ainsi que dans les méthodes de caractérisation et de présentation[1], réduisent la comparabilité des résultats. Chose plus délicate encore, les questions sur l'origine ethnique et la langue accusent certaines faiblesses référentielles dont il faut tenir compte. Enfin, les variables ne sont pas toutes également utiles pour isoler et mesurer les faits linguistiques et culturels. Ainsi, la langue parlée le plus souvent à la maison constitue une donnée linguistique plus pertinente que la langue maternelle, qui est simplement celle « apprise la première et toujours comprise ». Par ailleurs, la langue maternelle est une indication plus sûre de l'appartenance linguistique que l'origine ethnique. Bref, bien des points donnent matière à interprétation : ce que les recensés cherchent à exprimer ; la caractérisation des

[1] Un changement de taille est survenu en 1971, année où pour la première fois les citoyens n'étaient pas interrogés par des agents recenseurs, mais devaient remplir eux-mêmes un questionnaire.

réponses ambiguës; comment l'on réunit les données pour rendre compte des transferts d'une langue à une autre[1] ainsi que de l'importance de ces transferts.

Courants historiques

Malgré ces difficultés, la répartition et la situation des collectivités canadiennes de langue officielle se prêtent tout de même à quelques observations générales :

- on note d'abord une polarisation progressive de la population canadienne, les Francophones se concentrant de plus en plus au Québec, et les Anglophones dans le reste du Canada ;
- les communautés francophones hors Québec — y compris, toutes proportions gardées, celles du Nouveau-Brunswick et de l'Ontario — ont perdu de leur poids relatif dans l'ensemble de la population ;
- les Québécois de langue maternelle anglaise, victimes depuis quelques années d'une émigration importante, ont eux aussi perdu du terrain.

La double polarisation des collectivités de langue officielle ressort clairement du tableau IV.1 ci-après :

Tableau IV.1

	Le Canada			Le Québec			Le Canada, moins le Québec		
	Anglais	Français	Autres	Anglais	Français	Autres	Anglais	Français	Autres
1961	58,5	28,1	13,5	13,3	81,2	5,5	76,8	6,6	16,7
1971	60,2	26,9	12,9	13,1	80,7	6,2	78,3	6,0	15,7
1976[1]	61,8	25,9	12,3	12,8	81,1	6,1	79,9	5,5	14,6
1981	61,3	25,7	13,0	11,0	82,4	6,6	79,3	5,3	15,4

[1] Des modifications techniques dans le traitement des données réduisent ici la comparaison par rapport aux autres années.

Sources : Recensement de Statistique Canada, 1961; L. Demers et J. Kraft, *Langue et société*, N° 9, 1983; Robert Bourbeau, *Langue et société*, N° 11, 1983.

Si, en chiffres absolus, la population francophone a augmenté au cours des années, son importance relative, elle, a diminué entre 1961 et 1981, passant de 28,1 pour cent à 25,7 pour cent. Une publication récente de Statistique Canada,

[1] Selon Statistique Canada: « De tels transferts linguistiques ne signifient pas nécessairement qu'il y a eu dans tous les cas abandon de la langue maternelle. Il est possible qu'elle soit toujours parlée à la maison sans être la langue le plus souvent parlée, ou encore que la langue utilisée au travail ou dans les activités sociales soit en fait la première langue apprise dans l'enfance. » (*La situation linguistique au Canada*, 1985).

La situation linguistique au Canada, signale à cet égard que si la population de langue française s'est accrue de 8 pour cent entre 1971 et 1981, celle de langue anglaise a augmenté de 15 pour cent au cours de cette même période. Certes, il se peut que le statut et le dynamisme du français aient marqué des points durant la dernière décennie, mais il ressort clairement des données de Statistique Canada que sa régression est largement attribuable aux transferts linguistiques vers l'anglais, langue qui est de loin la plus « attirante » en Amérique du Nord.

Jusqu'à 1971, l'évaluation de ces transferts se fondait en règle générale sur la comparaison des données sur l'origine ethnique avec celles sur la langue maternelle. Or, cette approche fait problème, car l'origine ethnique était et demeure bien souvent un trait historique plutôt qu'une indication de l'appartenance linguistique présente. Pourtant, c'est à partir de données ainsi établies que la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme notait qu'en 1931, 4,7 pour cent des Canadiens d'origine française avaient déclaré l'anglais comme langue maternelle, et que cette proportion était passée à 5,8 pour cent en 1941, à 7,9 pour cent en 1951, puis à 10 pour cent en 1961. Les démographes disposent depuis 1971 de données plus utiles, que des questions plus pertinentes ont permis de colliger. Or, malgré le caractère manifestement sommaire des méthodes d'analyse d'alors, force nous est de constater que l'évolution générale des tendances depuis les années 30 favorise nettement l'anglais.

Une question portant sur la langue le plus souvent parlée à la maison (posée pour la première fois en 1971, puis reprise en 1981) nous permet aujourd'hui d'établir plus exactement la place occupée par le français et l'anglais. Les données du tableau IV.2 illustrent le mouvement général.

Tableau IV.2

[illegible]

	Le Canada		Le Québec		Le Canada, moins le Québec	
	1971	1981	1971	1981	1971	1981
Anglais	67,0	68,2	14,7	12,7	87,2	88,1
Français	25,7	24,6	80,8	82,5	4,4	3,8
Autres	7,3	7,2	4,5	4,8	8,4	8,1

Source: Recensement de Statistique Canada, 1971 et 1981.

Quand on relie ces données à celles sur la langue maternelle, on obtient une meilleure idée de la situation à cet égard. Comme l'indique le tableau IV.3, ci-après, l'emploi du français par les personnes dont c'est la langue maternelle accuse un recul général, en particulier dans les régions les plus excentriques du pays.

Tableau IV.3

	1971	1981
Colombie-Britannique	73,0	71,8
Alberta	53,7	57,0
Saskatchewan	51,9	63,4
Manitoba	36,9	44,0
Ontario	29,9	33,9
Québec	1,5	2,0
Nouveau-Brunswick	8,7	9,7
Nouvelle-Écosse	34,1	37,1
Île du Prince-Édouard	43,2	42,1
Terre-Neuve	43,4	57,2
Yukon	74,4	70,2
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	51,3	54,5
Le Canada	**6,0**	**6,7**
Le Canada moins le Québec	**29,6**	**32,8**

[1] Pour mieux apprécier la dynamique globale, il faudrait tenir compte des transferts, de l'anglais, ou d'autres langues, vers le français, phénomène qui se produit dans plusieurs provinces. Mais, sauf au Québec, le gros de ces transferts se fait toujours vers l'anglais.

Source : Recensement de Statistique Canada, 1971 et 1981.

Bref, peu importe la méthode employée pour mesurer les transferts linguistiques — ou le taux d'« assimilation », comme certains diraient —, la population francophone hors Québec ne cesse de reculer, quel que soit le dynamisme linguistique attribué aux effectifs qui demeurent.

La population québécoise de langue maternelle anglaise a de son côté diminué sensiblement entre 1961 et 1981, passant de 13,3 à 13,1 pour cent en 1971, puis à 11 pour cent en 1981; ce qui tient pour une bonne part à une forte émigration. En outre, au dernier recensement, 82 100 Anglophones, soit 11 pour cent de la collectivité, ont déclaré qu'ils s'exprimaient le plus souvent en français à la maison. L'anglais, d'autre part, « attire » toujours les membres des communautés francophones et allophones puisque, en dépit de tout, la proportion des Québécois qui disent utiliser surtout l'anglais à la maison était de 14,7 pour cent en 1971 et de 12,7 pour cent en 1981. En d'autres mots, toujours en s'appuyant sur les données de Statistique Canada, l'anglais jouit au Québec d'un indice de continuité de 116,4

pour cent comparativement à 100,2 pour le français[1], même si la communauté de langue anglaise a perdu 10 pour cent de ses effectifs entre 1971 et 1981. Il n'en reste pas moins qu'au double titre de langue maternelle et de langue parlée à la maison, l'anglais a accusé un recul certain partout au Québec, y compris à Montréal, comme en témoigne le tableau IV.4 :

Tableau IV.4

	Langue maternelle		Langue parlée à la maison	
	1971	1981	1971	1981
Montréal	22,6	20,8	26,2	24,4
Banlieue montréalaise	14,6	10,8	16,1	12,1
Estrie	15,1	13,0	15,7	13,2
Gaspésie	4,4	4,0	4,5	4,2
Outaouais	18,8	17,3	21,0	19,1
Ville de Québec	4,3	2,8	3,5	2,7

Sources: Jacques Henripin, « La population québécoise de langue anglaise, une projection démolinguistique 1971-2001 », 1984;
Réjean Lachapelle et Jacques Henripin, « La situation linguistique au Canada », 1980, pp. 330, 331, 342 et 343;
Recensement de Statistique Canada, 1981.

Si les Francophones sont passés de 80,8 pour cent de la population du Québec en 1971 à 82,5 pour cent en 1981, il faut toutefois noter que la population totale de la province a décliné par rapport à celle du Canada, passant de 28,8 pour cent en 1961 à 26,4 pour cent en 1981. De plus, les données récentes faisant état du faible taux de natalité chez les Francophones attirent de nouveau l'attention sur les perspectives démographico-linguistiques des deux communautés de langue officielle du Québec. Une dernière observation, pour signaler que tous ceux qui quittent le Québec ne le font pas pour des motifs linguistiques : quelque 89 000 Francophones ont émigré entre 1971 et 1981, bien que la perte nette de la province à ce chapitre n'ait été que de 22 000.

Les bilingues

L'effet le plus visible de la politique linguistique adoptée en 1969 par le gouvernement fédéral a été de sensibiliser un nombre croissant de Canadiens aux avantages que procure la connaissance de l'autre langue officielle. La proportion des « bilingues officiels » est en effet passée de 12,2 pour cent en 1961 à 15,3 pour cent en 1981. Toujours en 1981, 30 pour cent des 3,7 millions de bilingues étaient

[1] *La situation linguistique du Canada*, 1985

de langue maternelle anglaise, contre 24,5 pour cent sur un total de 2,9 millions en 1971. Et c'est, d'après le rapport ci-haut cité de Statistique Canada, «chez les Anglophones à l'extérieur du Québec que le bilinguisme croît le plus rapidement[1]». Ce progrès ne doit cependant pas nous faire oublier qu'en dehors du Québec, 743 200 Anglophones seulement sont bilingues, soit quelque 5 pour cent de la population de langue maternelle anglaise.

Conclusion

Si, dans l'ensemble, les pronostics en matière d'équilibre linguistique sont loin d'être rassurants, il serait hasardeux d'en tirer des conclusions sur les perspectives d'avenir et le dynamisme véritable des minorités linguistiques, même des plus excentriques. Certaines, qui s'estimaient perdues, ont vu dans les réformes entreprises en 1969 la promesse de jours meilleurs. Mais ne leur ont-elles apporté qu'une simple rémission ? Les programmes linguistiques, en contribuant à renforcer le français au Québec, ont fait naître dans les autres régions du Canada l'espérance que cette langue y aurait davantage cours. Les tendances vers la double polarisation linguistique, faut-il le souligner, sont loin d'être enrayées. Qu'on puisse ou non les freiner, voire les inverser, cela dépend jusqu'à un certain point des choix des intéressés eux-mêmes, mais aussi, dans une large mesure, de la volonté des pouvoirs publics et de tous les autres intervenants d'agir de concert pour favoriser l'épanouissement des minorités provinciales.

Aux prises avec d'innombrables facteurs d'ordre social, politique et économique, les démographes hésitent à se prononcer sur l'avenir linguistique du Canada. Les plus prudents d'entre eux[2] prédisent cependant que, dans la meilleure des hypothèses, la population francophone hors Québec continuera de diminuer. S'il n'est pas permis, en théorie du moins, de faire fi des mystères de la fécondité ni des aléas de la mobilité géographique, peut-être serait-il de bonne guerre d'oeuvrer à l'amélioration du cadre institutionnel et social de nos minorités linguistiques. Est-ce à dire que les choix qui s'offrent à nous sont tout aussi cruciaux aujourd'hui qu'à l'époque de la Commission B. B. ou au moment de l'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ? Oui, deux fois oui !

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[1] *La situation linguistique au Canada*, 1985.

[2] Notamment, Réjean Lachapelle et Jacques Henripin, *La situation démolinguistique au Canada : évolution passée et prospective*, 1980.

La condition minoritaire : d'une province à l'autre

L'histoire du bilinguisme officiel dans la Confédération canadienne comporte, *grosso modo*, trois périodes. La première va de 1867, début de la Confédération, à 1967, année où les conclusions de la Commission B.B. ont commencé à paraître et à être mises en oeuvre. La deuxième s'étend de 1967, première étape de la réforme du régime linguistique, à 1982, année où la promulgation de la Charte des droits et libertés a créé de nouveaux droits constitutionnels touchant l'anglais et le français. La troisième, qui débute à peine, est celle de l'après-Charte, où le cadre institutionnel de la réforme doit être achevé et traduit dans la pratique.

Cette perspective historique et institutionnelle nous amène à un survol province par province, suivant un ordre particulier. Nous le commençons par le Québec pour diverses raisons. C'est que le Québec est la seule province majoritairement francophone et la seule aussi à regrouper à la fois la plus importante *minorité nationale* et l'unique *minorité provinciale* de langue anglaise. Bien sûr, c'est cette dernière qui retiendra notre attention dans le présent chapitre ; mais nous garderons aussi à l'esprit le contexte très particulier dans lequel s'insère l'évolution linguistique du Québec. Quant au Nouveau-Brunswick, c'est la première et encore la seule province de nos « temps modernes » qui ait promulgé une *Loi sur les langues officielles* et souscrit sans réserve aux dispositions de la Charte canadienne des droits relatives à ces deux langues. Pour ce qui est de l'Ontario, où l'on trouve près de la moitié des Francophones hors du Québec, il a adopté, vers la fin des années 60, une approche « en douce » en matière de bilinguisme. Le Manitoba constitue également un cas particulier parmi les provinces anglophones, en raison de sa loi constitutive de 1870 qui en fait, par ordre d'ancienneté, la deuxième province institutionnellement bilingue, compte non tenu des reniements subséquents. Notre survol embrassera en outre les trois autres provinces de l'Ouest et les trois autres provinces atlantiques.

Le Québec

Normalement, les majorités linguistiques n'ont pas à s'inquiéter de leur sort. Mais la communauté francophone du Québec est l'exception qui confirme la règle ; elle éprouve le besoin de se définir par rapport à l'ensemble anglo-canadien et américain. Les Franco-Québécois sont hantés depuis des générations par un sentiment d'insécurité linguistique ; aussi en sont-ils venus à s'attaquer à la source même de leur inquiétude. Une nouvelle façon de se représenter leur société et leur culture, le désir de devenir « maître chez soi » et celui de préserver et de relever le statut du

français, voilà qui a avivé et entretenu les aspirations sociales et politiques convergentes des années 60. À ce propos, la Commission Gendron exprimait en 1972 le point de vue que voici : « Les changements institutionnels ne sont que les résultats des changements profonds et rapides dans les idéologies des Franco-Québécois qui, à partir du milieu des années 60, ne se considèrent plus comme minorité canadienne mais comme majorité québécoise. En se définissant ainsi, leurs rapports avec les minorités tant britannique que d'autre origine se trouvaient modifiés[1]. »

La Révolution tranquille, qui tendait entre autres choses à affermir les positions de la langue et de la culture françaises dans un contexte socio-politique en pleine évolution, se mesurait également à des transformations structurelles et démographiques. Si on veut saisir pourquoi des gouvernements québécois successifs ont promulgué des lois importantes en faveur de l'utilisation du français au Québec, il faut tenir compte notamment des facteurs historiques ci-après : la dénatalité chez les Francophones, l'attraction exercée par l'anglais, particulièrement auprès des allophones, et le choix de l'école anglaise par de nombreux Francophones. Le caractère coercitif de certaines mesures semble traduire le besoin sans cesse croissant d'une sécurité linguistique à toute épreuve. Même en 1984, une étude gouvernementale sur l'évolution démographique de la province souligne la précarité du français au Québec et le besoin de veiller à sa protection.

Le Québec anglais

Cette orientation, qui s'imposait, allait nécessairement se répercuter sur les autres communautés linguistiques et, tout particulièrement, sur celle de langue anglaise au Québec. Si les Anglo-Québécois sont généralement perçus comme une communauté bénéficiant depuis des générations d'une gamme complète de services et d'établissements sociaux et culturels, la presse écrite se fait souvent l'écho d'une autre perception selon laquelle l'anglais est *lingua non grata* au Québec. Bien qu'ils demeurent les mieux nantis parmi les minorités de langue officielle, il est clair que l'évolution politique, législative, sociale et démographique des dernières années a profondément modifié le caractère de la communauté et de ses institutions, son rôle dans la société québécoise, ainsi que l'idée que les Anglophones des autres provinces se font de son statut au Québec. S'il n'existait naguère dans l'esprit des Canadiens qu'une seule minorité de langue officielle, depuis les années 70 il en existe une deuxième : les Anglophones du Québec.

Dans l'ensemble, la communauté anglophone a relevé avec énergie et sagesse le défi du changement. Elle s'est dotée d'une association provinciale, Alliance Québec, et d'associations régionales, dont les *Townshippers* (Estrie), *Voice of English Quebec* (Québec), *Outaouais Alliance* (Ouest de la province) et *Committee for Anglophone Social Action* (Gaspé) ; leur rôle consiste à exercer des pressions sur les administrations publiques pour obtenir que celles-ci tiennent compte aussi équitablement que possible des besoins linguistiques de la communauté. Comme

1 Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur la situation de la langue française et sur les droits linguistiques au Québec, volume 3, p. 14. Cette commission, présidée par M. Jean-Denis Gendron, était en quelque sorte le pendant québécois de la Commission B.B.

le suppose l'ordre des choses. les institutions de caractère anglophone par tradition (hôpitaux et centres sociaux) doivent assurer leurs services dans les deux langues (ce qu'elles font d'ailleurs). Incidemment, quelque 53 pour cent des Anglophones se déclarent bilingues — la proportion s'élevant à 65 pour cent dans le groupe des 15 à 24 ans. Bref, les diverses communautés du Québec souscrivent de plus en plus aux exigences d'une société à prédominance francophone, au point qu'un sociologue québécois est allé jusqu'à prédire que : « Si le Québec francophone réussit..... à faire du français la langue véritable de la communication sociale au Québec, l'assimilation des Anglophones sera inévitable et massive[1]. »

Le dynamisme et l'adaptabilité de la communauté ne fait aucun doute. D'ailleurs, l'anglais n'a guère perdu de son pouvoir d'attraction auprès des allophones. Mais une question de plus en plus pressante et grave se pose : cette communauté pourra-t-elle maintenir, malgré son recul démographique, les institutions et les services qu'elle s'est donnés et sur lesquels elle s'est toujours appuyée.

Démographie

Sommairement, la situation démographique des Anglo-Québécois se caractérise par une régression relativement à la population de la province. Ce phénomène est d'ailleurs sensible depuis un certain nombre d'années. Si l'anglais a perdu du terrain au Québec de 1966 à 1981, la première cause en est le mouvement migratoire. Beaucoup d'Anglophones ont quitté la province sans que leurs départs ne soient compensés par les arrivées. Selon une étude du Conseil de la langue française, la population de langue maternelle anglaise a perdu 6,8 pour cent de ses effectifs entre 1966 et 1971, 6,6 pour cent de 1971 à 1976 et 14,2 pour cent de 1976 à 1981. Statistique Canada, pour sa part, établit à plus de 10 pour cent les pertes nettes de la communauté anglo-québécoise depuis 1971. De toute évidence, il s'agit là d'une hémorragie de ressources humaines, d'autant plus que 53 pour cent des Anglophones qui sont partis, soit 75 000, étaient âgés de 5 à 29 ans.

Alliance Québec, dans son mémoire au Comité permanent de la culture présenté en novembre dernier, déclarait ce qui suit : « L'évolution démographique n'est pas uniquement affaire de chiffres et de pourcentages... les projections de décroissance, de vieillissement et de baisse des taux de natalité signifient concrètement plus de départs dans le voisinage, des effectifs moindres dans des écoles déjà marginales... puis, à longue échéance, la désintégration d'une communauté. »

Pour les Anglo-Québécois, il s'agit non de se doter des assises institutionnelles permettant de maintenir la langue, mais de conserver et de remodeler l'infrastructure de l'enseignement, de la culture, de la santé et des services sociaux déjà en place. À cette fin, ils devront : sensibiliser à leurs besoins l'élément francophone, collaborer avec celui-ci dans la poursuite d'objectifs communs, développer un consensus chez les Anglophones relativement à l'orientation future de la communauté, et concevoir des solutions novatrices aux difficultés qui se posent tant à l'échelle régionale que provinciale.

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1 Gary Caldwell, cité dans *The Gazette*, le 29 décembre 1984.

Vers le consensus

Fort heureusement, le rôle et le statut de la communauté anglophone au Québec semblent faire l'objet d'un accord de plus en plus large chez les Francophones. C'est sans doute, comme en témoignent des études récentes, que la situation se serait améliorée considérablement pour ce qui est des services offerts en langue française, de l'emploi du français au travail ainsi que de l'état comparatif des revenus des Anglophones et des Francophones. Ces derniers, mieux assurés sur le plan de la langue, ont fait preuve d'une plus grande ouverture d'esprit et de cœur, en général, envers leurs concitoyens anglophones quant aux points ci-après : les enseignes bilingues, l'accès aux écoles de langue anglaise, les services municipaux et provinciaux en langue anglaise et, enfin, la reconnaissance politique des aspirations légitimes de la communauté anglophone. Il y aurait en outre un regain d'intérêt pour l'étude de l'anglais, langue seconde, en tant qu'instrument de communication indispensable sur les marchés nord-américains. Pour illustrer les changements d'attitudes, nous citerons un passage de l'étude publiée l'an dernier par le Secrétariat au développement social (conseil exécutif), et intitulée *L'évolution de la population du Québec et ses conséquences* :

> Le groupe anglophone... a des racines profondes ici (il) a fortement contribué avec la majorité francophone à l'avènement du Québec moderne... Dans le passé, les Anglophones se percevaient avant tout comme faisant partie de la majorité anglophone du Canada. Il est clair cependant que l'affirmation du caractère français de la société québécoise les oblige à se redéfinir et à établir de nouveaux liens avec la majorité. Nul doute qu'il pourra en résulter à long terme un effort de compréhension et d'interrelations entre les « deux solitudes ».

Le gouvernement provincial a consenti en outre à modifier sa position touchant la *Charte de la langue française* (loi 101). Des modifications notables y ont été apportées l'an dernier. Cette année, le gouvernement québécois a élargi l'accès à l'école anglaise en prévoyant, dans le cas des enfants de résidents temporaires non naturalisés, une admissibilité de cinq ans plutôt que de trois, avec la possibilité d'une prolongation d'un an. De plus, le ministère de l'Éducation songe à créer en son sein une section anglophone ayant pour mission d'améliorer l'enseignement en langue anglaise. Si ces modifications ont été accueillies diversement selon les milieux, la sagesse et la modération l'ont généralement emporté. Dans le camp des modérés, on estime chez les Anglophones que les changements vont dans la bonne direction (même s'ils ne répondent pas à toutes leurs aspirations), et chez les Francophones, qu'ils sont justes et raisonnables. Il y a bien sûr les extrémistes des deux bords qui montrent les dents ; certains Francophones affirmant par exemple que ces nouvelles orientations sapent les fondements de la *Charte de la langue française*, alors que certains éléments anglophones veulent ressusciter un passé aboli. Pour contrer le durcissement des positions surtout à l'approche d'une élection provinciale, il importe plus que jamais de favoriser l'épanouissement de cet esprit de conciliation qui prévaut au Québec depuis quelque temps.

L'adaptation des structures

Malgré l'harmonisation progressive des rapports entre les deux communautés et la reconnaissance de plus en plus large que le gouvernement accorde aux Anglophones, ceux-ci ont de grands défis à relever dans les dossiers qui les dressent en

adversaires face au gouvernement provincial et pour l'obtention d'une reconnaissance claire du mandat des institutions de langue anglaise, particulièrement dans le secteur des services sociaux.

C'est dans le domaine de l'enseignement que ces défis sont le plus manifestes. En 1984, les faits saillants dans le milieu scolaire anglophone ont été l'arrêt de la Cour suprême sur la « clause Canada » et le long débat sur la réforme du système d'enseignement. La décision du haut tribunal a ouvert l'école anglophone aux enfants des Canadiens originaires des autres provinces. Selon ses partisans, la restructuration du système scolaire en fonction des appartenances linguistiques plutôt que confessionnelles qui créerait 12 commissions de langue anglaise et 120 de langue française (en lieu et place des 32 commissions protestantes et des 215 catholiques actuelles) serait plus conforme aux réalités sociologiques du Québec. Mais les adversaires anglophones du changement estiment qu'il serait peu prudent de démolir le système confessionnel avant que l'enseignement en langue anglaise ne bénéficie au Québec de réelles garanties constitutionnelles. Si la communauté anglophone n'est pas unanime sur cette question, les pressions exercées en faveur des conseils scolaires linguistiques ont entraîné la création du *English-Speaking Parents Network*, organisation à l'échelle de la province qui rassemble pour la première fois protestants et catholiques de langue anglaise.

Recours aux tribunaux

Nous avons déjà traité en détail des principales causes relatives aux langues officielles au Québec. Mais d'autres cas valent d'être signalés. Dans le domaine des affaires et de l'emploi, une décision récente maintenait le droit pour les commerçants de disposer de catalogues et de dépliants bilingues. L'exclusivité du français pour les enseignes commerciales et l'affichage publicitaire a fait beaucoup de bruit ; un arrêt de la Cour supérieure du Québec l'a estimée incompatible avec les garanties de liberté d'expression inscrites dans la charte provinciale des droits. Le gouvernement du Québec a fait appel de cette décision.

Pour ce qui est de l'action des groupes de pression, Alliance Québec réclame une participation anglophone plus importante aux échelons municipal, provincial et fédéral. La *Townshippers Association* et la *Outaouais Alliance* accordent toujours une attention prioritaire à l'amélioration des possibilités d'emploi et au développement économique.

Les services sociaux

Au cours de l'année, les Anglo-Québécois se sont employés vigoureusement à préserver le dynamisme de leurs établissements de service social que les changements structuraux proposés menaçaient. Ils ont exercé des pressions pour que soit confirmé par voie législative le statut permanent des établissements de santé et de service social à prédominance anglophone.

Les services municipaux

Les municipalités comptant plus de 50 pour cent d'Anglophones peuvent désormais statuer en faveur de services et d'enseignes bilingues. Peu de villes satisfont à cette exigence, mais certaines qui comportent cependant une population d'Anglophones importante ont décidé de réclamer un statut bilingue. Elles n'ont pas obtenu gain de cause, mais leurs démarches indiquent l'importance qu'elles attachent à cette question.

La grande préoccupation de la collectivité anglophone au Québec est de maintenir la vigueur relative de ses institutions — quelle que soit leur inégalité régionale — alors que ses ressources humaines continuent de s'appauvrir. Si on met en parallèle les situations vécues par les Anglo-Québécois et leurs homologues francophones des autres provinces, on ne peut s'empêcher de noter que les assises institutionnelles des Anglo-Québécois ont tout, ou presque, pour faire envie à la plupart des minorités de langue française. Et s'il s'agit là du minimum vital pour qu'une minorité vigoureuse puisse tenir bon, quelles ne seront pas les revendications des minorités francophones, beaucoup plus fragiles, qui aspirent à survivre ? On constate à divers signes que les Francophones du Québec font preuve, comme par le passé, d'une plus grande ouverture d'esprit et de coeur envers les autres groupes linguistiques. Il est plus que souhaitable que toutes les « majorités » canadiennes cherchent à les émuler à cet égard. La préservation et l'épanouissement du français, même au Québec, seront toujours une source d'inquiétudes, nous le savons pertinemment. Que les Francophones du Québec choisissent aujourd'hui de n'en pas tirer prétexte pour brimer l'anglais est tout à leur honneur. Nous nous en réjouissons, comme devraient d'ailleurs le faire tous les Canadiens.

Le Nouveau-Brunswick

Terre d'accueil de la plus ancienne communauté francophone du Canada, le Nouveau-Brunswick a connu une évolution linguistique tourmentée. Dès le XVIII[e] siècle, la Déportation — appelée par euphémisme le Grand Dérangement — en a chassé les colons français, les dispersant au Québec, dans les colonies américaines, en Louisiane, et jusqu'en France et en Angleterre[1]. Mais, miracle de l'histoire, les Acadiens ont par la suite réintégré progressivement le territoire.

Un premier recensement subséquent, effectué en 1803, en dénombrait 3 729. Ce petit groupe devait par la suite se multiplier rapidement, pour constituer en 1871 une communauté de 45 000 habitants. Au recensement de 1981, on comptait 234 030 Néo-Brunswickois de langue maternelle française.

Au fil des ans, la très grande majorité de la population acadienne, soit 83 pour cent, s'est rassemblée dans cinq divisions de recensement — Gloucester, Kent, Madawaska, Restigouche et Westmorland. C'est d'ailleurs cette concentration qui a permis dans une large mesure de limiter les effets de l'assimilation. Même sous l'angle de la « langue la plus souvent parlée à la maison », la collectivité acadienne est passée de 195 900 en 1971 à 209 325 en 1981, pour former 30 pour cent de l'ensemble de la population. Et si le pourcentage des transferts linguistiques s'est accru légèrement au cours de cette même décennie (de 8,7 à 9,7 pour cent), c'est parmi les petits groupes intégrés dans des collectivités très majoritairement anglophones que les abandons ont été les plus nombreux.

Cette polarisation territoriale devait cependant engendrer une variante du thème des « deux solitudes », et permettre aux Anglophones de tenir leur quant-à-soi,

1 Voir à ce sujet Muriel K. Roy : « Peuplement et croissance démographique en Acadie » dans Jean Daigle : *Les Acadiens des Maritimes : études thématiques*, Centre d'études acadiennes, Moncton, 1980, p. 166.

sans trop s'inquiéter des besoins et aspirations de leurs concitoyens de langue française.

L'officialisation du bilinguisme

La conjoncture socio-politique canadienne des années 60 et 70 — les revendications du Québec, les travaux et recommandations de la Commission B.B., la suite que leur a donné le gouvernement fédéral, la volonté d'affirmation politique, économique et culturelle des Francophones, particulièrement forte au Québec mais également active ailleurs au pays — n'a pas manqué de se répercuter au Nouveau-Brunswick. Dès 1969, la législature provinciale adopte une *Loi sur les langues officielles* dont l'application cependant ne devait être que progressive et prudente. Les tensions n'en sont pas complètement apaisées pour autant. Dans l'espoir de mettre fin aux débats, on vota en 1981 une loi confirmant :

- l'égalité des deux communautés linguistiques devant la loi ;
- leur droit à des institutions culturelles, sociales et éducatives distinctes ;
- l'engagement du gouvernement à promouvoir en toute égalité le développement culturel, éducatif et social des deux communautés.

Mais de l'adoption de la loi à son exécution, il s'est avéré qu'il y avait presque aussi loin que de la coupe aux lèvres. En dépit du fait que la province ait été la seule à donner suite aux recommandations de la Commission B.B. sur la « législation complémentaire » (et c'est tout à son honneur), les Acadiens restent malgré tout bien moins égaux que les Anglophones en ce qui a trait aux services gouvernementaux dans leur langue, et à leurs chances d'accéder à la fonction publique provinciale. Une enquête menée par la maison CROP en 1983 indiquait, par exemple, qu'un tiers des Francophones ne pouvaient pas effectivement se prévaloir des services gouvernementaux, sociaux et de santé dans leur langue.

Aux protestations de plus en plus bruyantes des Acadiens, on a répondu par des études et des enquêtes, notamment par la création du Groupe d'études sur les langues officielles, auquel participaient MM. Bernard Poirier, Michel Bastarache, Robert Ken et Martin Thériault. Une étude réalisée il y a trois ans à la demande du gouvernement, concluait que les plaintes des Acadiens étaient largement fondées « du fait qu'un bon nombre de mesures positives qu'impliquaient les lois sur les langues officielles n'ont pu être prises parce que ces lois n'étaient pas et ne sont toujours pas accompagnées d'un protocole coercitif qui permettrait de les appliquer intégralement ». Quant au rapport du comité Bastarache-Poirier, son examen de la situation s'est traduit par une longue énumération de carences. Il recommandait un renforcement marqué du pouvoir de la loi provinciale sur les langues officielles, en y assujettissant les municipalités, les services publics et para-publics de même que les ordres professionnels. Il préconisait en outre la régionalisation de l'administration et des services provinciaux, et la mise en place de structures administratives qui refléteraient davantage la composition démographique de la province. Ainsi, affirmait-il, il sera possible de donner vraiment corps au principe de l'équité linguistique dont s'est inspiré la législation provinciale, et de respecter dans les faits les dispositions de la Charte des droits à laquelle la province s'est empressée de souscrire.

Comme nous l'avons signalé dans un chapitre précédent, cette vision de l'équilibre linguistique n'a pas eu l'heur de plaire à la majorité de langue anglaise.

L'enseignement en langue française

Heureusement, il est un domaine où la notion d'égalité a pu s'incarner assez harmonieusement. Depuis 1981, le Nouveau-Brunswick a deux systèmes scolaires parallèles, l'un anglophone et l'autre francophone. Mis à part quelques problèmes de passage de l'un à l'autre, ce régime est satisfaisant.

Notre rapport annuel de l'an dernier faisait état d'une décision judiciaire qui interdisait aux élèves ayant une connaissance pratique du français de s'inscrire à des cours immersifs dans cette langue. On a craint, manifestement à tort, que pareille décision ne soulève un flot de protestations. Bien sûr, nombre de parents de familles bilingues préféreraient envoyer leurs enfants aux cours immersifs de français plutôt qu'aux écoles francophones. Quelques conseils scolaires de langue française, par ailleurs, s'opposent à ce que leurs « ouailles » joignent les rangs des programmes immersifs. Mais la majorité estime que les problèmes de cette nature doivent être examinés un à un, et que tout nouveau recours aux tribunaux aurait fatalement pour conséquence la généralisation des épreuves visant à déterminer qui est admissible à tel type d'enseignement, ce qui n'irait pas sans contestations.

Le régime des établissements communs peut aussi engendrer des conflits. Il y en a eu à Nackawic, par exemple, lorsque deux classes mobiles ont été installées derrière la *Junior High School* à l'intention de 30 élèves francophones, qui autrement auraient été contraints de se déplacer par autobus pour fréquenter l'école Sainte-Anne de Frédéricton. Des parents anglophones étaient d'avis que l'argent consacré aux classes mobiles aurait dû servir aux réparations de leur école élémentaire. Tiraillements ou pas, il n'en reste pas moins que l'effectif des écoles de langue française aux niveaux élémentaire et secondaire est passé de 53 101 en 1977-1978 à 47 100 en 1984-1985. En ce qui a trait à l'immersion en français, l'effectif a plus que triplé au cours des six dernières années, pour atteindre 12 906 en 1984-1985.

Au niveau postsecondaire, le Centre universitaire de Shippagan, qui fait partie de l'Université de Moncton, a signé avec le ministère provincial de la Santé un accord portant sur la création de cours immersifs en français et en anglais pour les quelque 285 employés du nouvel hôpital régional établi à Campbellton. Le *Bathurst Community College* a vu s'accroître la popularité de ses programmes, les inscriptions étant passées de 500 en 1976 à quelque 1 100 pour le plein temps et 4 000 pour le temps partiel en 1984. Comme on le voit, l'enseignement en français, au niveau postsecondaire, fait de plus en plus d'adeptes.

En vertu de deux ententes entre la Commission fédérale de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration et le ministère provincial du Travail et des Ressources humaines, on affectera 1,8 million de dollars à l'expansion et à la modernisation de quelques « collèges communautaires » du Nouveau-Brunswick. Environ 1,4 million de dollars ira à ceux de Moncton et de Dieppe et servira à l'achat d'équipement pour les cours de maintenance aéronautique qui seront dispensés en français et en anglais, le reste devant servir à l'acquisition de matériel pour le collège de Bathurst. Le gouvernement provincial, de son côté, a approuvé l'affectation de 4 millions de dollars à la

mise en chantier à Dieppe d'un « collège communautaire » francophone, qui doit être achevé en 1987.

Une société entreprenante

Le Nouveau-Brunswick compte deux stations de télévision de langue française, six de radio, un quotidien et cinq hebdomadaires. Les émissions de télévision en français sont suivies fidèlement par près du quart des Acadiens, et celles de radio par plus du tiers. Par ailleurs, 55 pour cent d'entre eux lisent surtout des journaux en langue française.

En dépit donc de leur histoire et de leurs difficultés présentes, les Acadiens du Nouveau-Brunswick forment toujours une communauté dynamique. Grâce à la richesse et au rayonnement de sa culture, ainsi qu'à la vigueur de ses institutions, elle est manifestement, de toutes les minorités de langue officielle française, celle qui a les plus grandes possibilités d'épanouissement.

L'Ontario

Il y a peu d'endroits en Ontario où la présence française ne soit manifeste. Le peuplement francophone, constitué de vagues successives d'immigrants du Québec, s'est produit surtout au cours de la deuxième moitié du XIX[e] siècle et au début du XX[e] siècle. En s'y établissant, les Canadiens français d'alors ont « plutôt le sentiment de se déplacer dans leur propre pays... ils transplantent rapidement institutions et cadres de vie socio-culturels, sinon économiques... paroisses, écoles, coopératives, caisses populaires[1]. »

Les Franco-Ontariens ont très bien compris la valeur de leurs institutions, qu'ils ont d'ailleurs été souvent appelés à défendre. Leurs luttes ont été particulièrement ardues entre 1912 et 1968, période où le français a peu ou prou de statut comme langue d'enseignement. Même aujourd'hui, la question scolaire préoccupe les Franco-Ontariens et les années récentes ont été marquées par plusieurs conflits, notamment à Sturgeon Falls, à Windsor, à Penetang, à Iroquois Falls et à Mattawa.

Depuis le recensement de 1961, la population franco-ontarienne est passée de 425 302 à 475 605, mais son importance relative a diminué. Les Francophones ne forment plus que 5,5 pour cent de la population contre 6,8 pour cent en 1961. On dénombre néanmoins 20 divisions de recensement sur 54 où la population de langue maternelle française s'élève à plus de 15 pour cent de l'ensemble, et deux où elle est majoritaire : Prescott et Russell, dans l'est de la province. C'est évidemment dans ces comtés que le taux d'assimilation est le plus bas (5 pour cent). À l'exception de Glengarry, également dans l'est, et de Cochrane, dans le nord, le taux de transferts linguistiques dépasse les 20 pour cent dans toutes les autres divisions. Même au coeur de la Capitale nationale, dans Ottawa-Carleton, les transferts linguistiques frappent le quart de l'effectif francophone. Voilà de quoi faire réfléchir tout « planificateur » linguistique.

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1 Ministère de l'Éducation de l'Ontario, *Explorations et enracinements français en Ontario*, 1960-1978, 1981, p. 149.

En 1981, le taux global des « mutations » linguistiques était de 33,9 pour cent, soit 4 pour cent de plus qu'en 1971. Mais les effets de l'assimilation ne se limitent pas à ces données statistiques ; en effet, on note une dévalorisation progressive, tant chez les parents que chez les enfants, de l'identité franco-ontarienne. Les structures sociales établies par les premiers Franco-Ontariens n'ont pas suffi à contrer l'influence anglophone, particulièrement là où les Francophones sont peu nombreux.

L'officialisation du bilinguisme

L'Ontario n'a pas tenu compte de la recommandation de la Commission B.B. voulant que cette province, de même que le Québec et le Nouveau-Brunswick, adopte un régime de bilinguisme institutionnel. Elle a préféré une approche « en douce » qui a, certes, donné lieu à des progrès importants dans la prestation de services publics en français, mais avec quelle lenteur. Notons en outre que l'Ontario n'offre toujours pas à ses citoyens de langue française un ensemble de garanties et de services bilingues comparable à celui dont jouissent les Anglo-Québécois.

Services gouvernementaux

Le Bureau du coordonnateur provincial des services en français a pour mission d'élaborer la politique gouvernementale en la matière, et de veiller à son application. Il est appuyé dans plusieurs ministères par des coordonnateurs qui ont pour tâche de définir les besoins des Francophones et d'assurer la mise en place des moyens institutionnels appropriés. De plus, grâce à un réseau téléphonique sans frais d'appel, le service Renseignements-Ontario répond aux besoins d'information en français sur les services et les programmes provinciaux. L'administration judiciaire pour sa part a connu d'importants progrès, en particulier depuis 1976 : possibilité de procès en français, bilinguisation des formulaires, traduction des lois, préparation de lexiques et formation d'avocats. Il arrive même, dans certaines régions, que les services provinciaux en français soient aussi accessibles, sinon plus, que les services fédéraux correspondants. Néanmoins, la constitutionnalisation des droits linguistiques des Franco-Ontariens dissiperait l'impression chez les Francophones que les services consentis ont un caractère de privilège et sont, à ce titre, sujets aux aléas de la politique. Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos cite à ce propos dans *Hors du Québec point de salut*, un avocat de Sudbury :

> Les Francophones se sentent déjà vulnérables à cause de l'accusation qui pèse sur eux et ils s'imaginent solliciter une faveur en demandant un procès en langue française ; même s'ils parlent à peine anglais, ils vont se contenter d'un procès en anglais.

Une étude effectuée par la firme CROP en 1983 montre que les Franco-Ontariens sont satisfaits des services sociaux et de santé qui leur sont offerts, bien que la majorité d'entre eux s'en prévalent généralement en anglais.

Les services fédéraux

C'est de l'Ontario, et plus précisément de la région de la Capitale nationale, que nous arrive, bon an, mal an, le plus grand nombre de plaintes. Cela ne signifie pas que la prestation des services y est moins bonne qu'ailleurs, mais plutôt que les Francophones y sont plus exigeants.

Les services dans le Nord et l'Est sont à peine passables alors qu'ailleurs ils sont de bien piètre qualité. Enfin, si le client s'attend à une offre « active » de service en français à ces endroits, il risque d'être déçu.

L'enseignement en langue française

Dans le domaine de l'enseignement, il est permis d'espérer des jours meilleurs pour la communauté franco-ontarienne. On ne saurait s'attendre à moins dans une province où plus de 93 000 élèves sont inscrits aux programmes de langue française, et où 63 000 jeunes suivent des cours d'immersion en français. En effet, le jugement rendu par la Cour d'appel en juin dernier en faveur de l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario a été l'événement de l'année pour ce qui est de l'enseignement dans la langue d'une minorité. L'arrêt confirme que les dispositions de la Loi scolaire touchant le nombre d'élèves nécessaire pour que soit créée une classe francophone sont incompatibles avec l'article 23 de la Charte des droits. Cette importante décision fait d'ailleurs l'objet d'un examen minutieux de la part des autres ministères provinciaux de l'Éducation et des associations des minorités. Notons aussi que ce même jugement précisait que les parents francophones devraient avoir voix au chapitre dans l'administration des écoles minoritaires.

Longtemps ajourné, un projet visant à modifier la Loi sur l'éducation afin de garantir l'enseignement en langue française à tout enfant franco-ontarien a été adopté en décembre. Le gouvernement avait également promis de promulguer avant les élections municipales de novembre 1985 une nouvelle loi visant la désignation de Francophones aux conseils scolaires dont relèvent un nombre appréciable d'enfants de langue minoritaire. Toutefois, le projet de loi sur l'administration des écoles francophones est resté au Feuilleton, n'ayant été déposé qu'en décembre tout juste avant l'ajournement de la session. Le choix d'un nouveau chef par le parti ministériel et l'éventualité d'élections au printemps donnent à penser que cette réforme n'est pas pour demain. On cherche depuis des années comment y arriver : nous osons espérer qu'on y parviendra bientôt.

Autre nouvelle, le premier ministre de l'Ontario a annoncé qu'à compter de 1985 des fonds publics seraient disponibles pour les classes supérieures (11e-13e) des écoles secondaires catholiques. Ayant emporté de haute lutte la création d'écoles secondaires de langue française au sein du système public, nombre de Franco-Ontariens craignent que trop d'élèves ne retournent aux écoles secondaires confessionnelles et que la baisse consécutive des inscriptions dans les écoles publiques de langue française ne fasse revivre l'école mixte. Qui plus est, la position de l'Ontario dans ce dossier peut mettre certains parents dans l'obligation de choisir entre la langue et la religion. Plus que jamais, la souplesse et l'ouverture d'esprit devront prévaloir à l'échelon local si l'on veut trouver des solutions appropriées.

Dans le secteur postsecondaire, les progrès ont été modestes. Le *Glendon College* de l'Université York a bien sûr créé un département de mathématiques bilingue, et a augmenté le nombre de cours en français. Mais les besoins des étudiants franco-ontariens n'en sont pas pour autant satisfaits. Même à l'Université d'Ottawa, que fréquentent 90 pour cent des 9 000 étudiants inscrits à temps plein aux programmes d'enseignement en langue française, les Francophones sont minoritaires. En outre, les cours en français y sont principalement offerts par les facultés des Arts

et des Sciences sociales, où 60 pour cent des programmes d'études sont dispensés dans cette langue. En génie et en sciences, l'enseignement se donne surtout en anglais, et seulement 2 des 21 programmes y sont offerts entièrement en français (urbanisme, kinésiologie et éducation physique).

Quand on songe, d'une part, que les Franco-Ontariens sont deux fois moins nombreux que les jeunes d'autres origines à se rendre jusqu'à l'université, et d'autre part que bon nombre d'entre eux étudient au Québec ou dans des universités anglophones, force nous est de constater que l'Ontario ne traite pas sa minorité linguistique comme le Québec, la sienne. Des améliorations s'imposent, notamment, dans certaines disciplines comme le suggérait le groupe de travail sur les services universitaires en français dans son rapport préliminaire de juin 1983 :

> (...) l'accroissement des cours universitaires disponibles en français, en sciences et en génie, pourrait devenir un facteur clé pour inciter les élèves du secondaire à modifier leur comportement non seulement à l'égard des sciences et du génie, mais aussi à l'égard des sciences de la santé (dont la médecine, pour laquelle les sciences servent en ce moment de porte d'entrée la plus usuelle).

Chose certaine, l'enseignement universitaire en français a besoin d'une bonne dose d'adrénaline si l'on veut offrir à la collectivité franco-ontarienne des chances d'avenir « équitables ».

La dynamique socio-culturelle

En dépit du fait que la quasi-totalité des Franco-Ontariens aient accès dans leur langue à une gamme beaucoup plus étendue de médias que les minorités des autres provinces anglophones — un quotidien, une dizaine d'hebdomadaires, Radio-Canada, TVOntario et, pour certains, Radio-Québec et TVA — la plupart d'entre eux lisent des revues et des journaux anglais et syntonisent des stations de radio et de télévision de langue anglaise.

Parallèlement, toutefois, la communauté franco-ontarienne s'est dotée d'institutions et de moyens culturels vigoureux. En même temps que s'affirment un nombre impressionnant d'écrivains, d'artistes et de créateurs de toutes disciplines, on voit se multiplier les troupes de théâtre, les centres culturels, les associations de bénévoles, les organisations professionnelles et les festivals.

Il y a tout lieu de croire que cette communauté contribuerait encore bien davantage à l'enrichissement culturel de la province — et du pays — si le gouvernement y consacrait officiellement l'égalité du français et de l'anglais.

Même ce rapide survol de la situation des Franco-Ontariens serait incomplet sans quelques mots sur celle du français dans le Grand Toronto. À s'en tenir aux données du recensement de 1981—à peine plus de 20 000 personnes ont déclaré le français comme langue d'usage à la maison—on serait sans doute tenté de tirer le rideau sur le fait français dans la Ville Reine.

Il convient cependant de signaler qu'environ 30 000 jeunes Anglophones sont inscrits dans des classes d'immersion en français et que—toujours d'après le recensement de 1981—233 460 Torontois peuvent s'exprimer en français et en anglais.

Le Conseil des organismes francophones du Toronto métropolitain semble par ailleurs avoir repéré, à l'occasion de sondages préliminaires, pas mal plus de Francophones que Statistique Canada. Pareilles données peuvent, faut-il le préciser, modifier sensiblement l'idée que l'on se fait du dynamisme et des perspectives d'avenir de la communauté francophone de la capitale ontarienne. L'infrastructure institutionnelle dont elle a besoin pour s'épanouir dans sa langue (écoles, services gouvernementaux, centres communautaires, théâtres, cinémas, journaux, radiotélévision) prend forme petit à petit. Ce n'est assurément pas encore le Pérou, mais ce n'est pas banal non plus. Bref, s'il n'y a pas lieu de crier au miracle linguistique, il sera sans doute intéressant d'observer l'évolution de la scène torontoise à cet égard au cours des prochaines années.

Le Manitoba

Lorsque le Manitoba entre dans la Confédération en 1870, l'article 23 de sa loi constitutive garantit l'égalité de statut du français et de l'anglais à l'assemblée législative, dans les lois et devant les tribunaux. Toutefois, en 1890, l'assemblée fait de l'anglais la seule langue officielle de la province et abolit les écoles confessionnelles, dont les écoles françaises. Le décret Laurier-Greenway, en 1896, rétablit le droit à l'enseignement en français, sous réserve qu'on puisse grouper dix élèves. En 1916 cependant, la loi Thornton interdit de nouveau l'enseignement du français dans les écoles publiques, et ce n'est qu'à partir de 1947 que ce droit est peu à peu rétabli. Le français, langue d'enseignement, acquiert le droit de cité en 1967, et se voit décerner en 1970 un statut égal à celui de l'anglais. Enfin, en 1979, la Cour suprême du Canada invalide la loi qui avait abrogé le bilinguisme institutionnel.

Si en 1870 la population de la province, peu nombreuse, se composait à peu près également de Francophones et d'Anglophones, dès 1951, les 54 199 habitants de langue française ne forment plus que 7 pour cent de l'ensemble. Leur nombre atteint 60 899 en 1961, mais ne cesse de diminuer entre 1971 et 1981, alors qu'il n'est plus que de 51 990 (5,1 pour cent). Au cours de la même décennie, le taux des transferts linguistiques passe de 36,9 pour cent à 44 pour cent. À Saint-Boniface, division de recensement où les Francophones sont le plus nombreux, ce taux dépasse maintenant les 50 pour cent.

Quant aux effets pratiques et juridiques de la reconnaissance du français comme langue officielle, l'impasse persiste. On se rappellera que le gouvernement de la province, de concert avec la Société Franco-Manitobaine, avait proposé un amendement à l'article 23 de la Constitution provinciale, lequel a été relégué aux oubliettes suite aux tristes résultats des nombreux référendums tenus à l'automne 1983. Si bien que la Cour suprême du Canada, à qui le dossier a été référé, doit maintenant se prononcer non seulement sur la nature des droits que la Constitution reconnaît aux Francophones de cette province, mais également sur les modalités concrètes de leur exercice.

Les services gouvernementaux

En 1980, le gouvernement provincial a chargé un secrétariat de coordonner au sein de l'administration la prestation de services en français. Toutefois, bien que

les services sociaux et de santé soient parfois dispensés en français, leur qualité laisse souvent à désirer. Nous sommes donc encore très loin de l'égalité linguistique dont le principe était inscrit dans la loi constitutive du Manitoba (1870).

L'enseignement en français

La loi scolaire de 1980 établit à 23 le nombre minimum d'élèves donnant droit à l'enseignement en langue française et le Bureau de l'éducation française a autorité sur tout ce qui touche l'enseignement dans cette langue. Quelque 5 200 élèves fréquentent les classes françaises aux niveaux élémentaire et secondaire cette année, contre 10 500 les programmes d'enseignement immersif.

La question de la gestion des écoles de langue française par la minorité ne semble pas avoir progressé en 1984. Les événements des deux dernières années, et le fait que tous vivent dans l'attente de la décision de la Cour suprême, n'ont certes pas favorisé l'examen serein de l'ensemble du dossier. Notons cependant que la Fédération provinciale des comités de parents a mené une action discrète en faveur d'une structure scolaire conforme aux besoins de la minorité. Toutefois, les autorités attendent toujours que les tribunaux se prononcent.

Malgré ces difficultés, le Manitoba s'emploie activement à mettre à profit les technologies nouvelles pour favoriser l'enseignement dans la langue de la minorité. Des fonds ont été affectés à l'acquisition de didactiels, de bandes magnétoscopiques et de cours « autodidactiques », ainsi qu'à l'introduction accélérée de l'informatique dans les classes francophones. Ces ressources devraient aider à résoudre certains des problèmes que connaissent les petites écoles isolées, qui ne disposent pas d'une gamme très étendue de cours.

Volonté et dynamisme

La langue des médias, des sports, des loisirs, des services fédéraux et provinciaux, sociaux et autres, étant très largement l'anglais, les Franco-Manitobains n'ont guère l'occasion de vivre leur vie en français. Cependant, outre ses luttes politiques sur bien des fronts à la fois, la communauté franco-manitobaine s'emploie à se doter d'outils pour travailler en français et faire en sorte qu'un plus grand nombre de services soient accessibles dans cette langue.

Diverses initiatives en ce sens ont vu le jour récemment. Ainsi, l'institut Joseph-Dubuc, qui regroupe après à peine une année d'existence une trentaine d'avocats, de juges et de juristes francophones, vise à promouvoir les services juridiques en français et à mettre à la disposition de ses membres des documents et des outils de travail appropriés. Dans un tout autre domaine, également important, le Collège de Saint-Boniface a mis au point un logiciel comptable en français conçu pour répondre aux besoins des petits entrepreneurs et agriculteurs.

Devant tant de signes d'une vitalité indomptable, on ne peut s'empêcher de penser, avec Victor Hugo, que « ceux qui vivent, ce sont ceux qui luttent ». Les gouvernements fédéral et provincial ont le devoir de faire en sorte que cette lutte ne soit pas vaine. S'ils n'apportent pas, par des actions concertées, un appui concret à la communauté franco-manitobaine, il n'est pas assuré que cette dernière pourra s'épanouir, voire survivre.

La Saskatchewan, l'Alberta et la Colombie-Britannique

La situation des communautés francophones dans ces trois provinces est de nature à inquiéter. Les 133 000 habitants de langue française ne forment pas 2 pour cent de la population, et le français n'est plus la principale langue d'usage pour la moitié d'entre eux. Dispersées sur un vaste territoire, presque sans appuis, ces collectivités ont peu de poids politique. Ainsi, sur les 63 circonscriptions électorales fédérales des trois provinces, quatre seulement renferment une minorité francophone de plus de 5 pour cent (Peace River et Athabasca, en Alberta, Prince-Albert et Assiniboia, en Saskatchewan). Cet effritement des communautés francophones s'explique, à vrai dire, par l'histoire. D'ailleurs, une brève rétrospective suffira, sous ce rapport.

En 1877, la *Loi des Territoires du Nord-Ouest* est modifiée de façon à permettre l'usage du français et de l'anglais devant les tribunaux et dans les délibérations du Conseil territorial. En 1892, le Conseil adopte une proposition faisant de l'anglais la seule langue officielle. Toutefois, cet amendement, sauf erreur, n'a pas été sanctionné ; aussi certains juristes soutiennent-ils que la Saskatchewan et l'Alberta, nés des Territoires en 1905, devraient reconnaître le français comme langue officielle à l'Assemblée législative et devant les tribunaux. Les affaires Mercure et Lefebvre, respectivement en Saskatchewan et en Alberta, qui portent toutes deux sur cette question, sont présentement devant les cours d'appel de ces deux provinces.

Au début des années 60, on dénombrait en **Saskatchewan** 36 815 habitants de langue française. En 1971, il n'en restait plus que 31 605, et en 1981, 25 320, soit 2,6 pour cent de la population. Et seulement 10 090 ont encore le français pour langue du foyer, soit une diminution d'environ 33 pour cent par rapport à 1971. Le taux des transferts linguistiques est donc passé de 51,9 à 63,4 pour cent au cours de la dernière décennie. Bref, cette communauté démunie s'éteindrait peu à peu, sans la vigueur de ses chefs de file.

Après une période de lente régression, la population de langue française de l'**Alberta** semble avoir amorcé un regain, passant de 46 500 en 1971 à 60 900 en 1981, soit une augmentation de près de 25 pour cent. Ces chiffres sont trompeurs, toutefois. Une période de prospérité avait attiré quelque 10 000 Québécois francophones mais la migration s'opère maintenant en sens inverse. Ainsi, l'afflux éphémère a faussé quelque peu les données sur les transferts linguistiques. Les données de 1981 à ce chapitre indiquent que leur taux n'a progressé que de 3,1 pour cent par rapport à 1971 (57 contre 53,9 pour cent) ; mais il y a tout lieu de croire que celui de la communauté franco-albertaine elle-même est de beaucoup supérieur. D'ailleurs, il ne subsiste plus que deux divisions de recensement où l'effectif francophone dépasse les 5 pour cent. Il y a 20 ans, 10 pour cent de la population de ces divisions désignaient le français comme langue maternelle.

Le français n'a jamais eu de statut officiel en **Colombie-Britannique** bien que les Francophones aient joué un rôle marquant dans son histoire ainsi qu'en témoigne la citation ci-après :

> (...)c'est en partie grâce aux Canadiens français que furent fondés, jusqu'à la fin du XIX[e] siècle, tous les forts, villes et villages de la Colombie-Britanni-

> que Les premiers à labourer le delta du Fraser ou à planter le premier verger dans la riche vallée fruitière de l'Okanagan, ces pionniers formaient à l'époque un groupe nombreux et homogène représentant 60 pour cent de la population de la Colombie-Britannique vers les années 1850[1].

La population de langue française a plus que quadruplé entre 1941 et 1981, passant de 11 058 à 46 615. Par contre, son importance relative n'a guère changé au cours de cette période, oscillant entre 1,3 et 1,7 pour cent.

Plus de la moitié des Francophones (23 320) sont établis dans les divisions de recensement de Greater Vancouver, Capital et Thompson Nicola, où ils ne forment pourtant que 2 pour cent de la population. D'ailleurs, aucune division de recensement n'en compte plus de 5 pour cent. Le taux des transferts linguistiques atteint 72 pour cent.

Si l'on en croit les sombres prédictions des démographes, et sauf changements considérables dans l'orientation de la réforme du régime linguistique, les Francophones des trois provinces sont voués au déclin. Une étude récente souligne l'ampleur du problème :

> (...)Pour compenser les pertes importantes qu'ils font au chapitre des transferts linguistiques (dans ces régions) le nombre moyen d'enfants par femme devrait être légèrement supérieur à 5,5. Et cela, rappelons-le, permettrait tout juste le remplacement des générations. Bien qu'une telle fécondité ne soit pas une impossibilité biologique, elle est toutefois, dans les conditions actuelles, socialement irréalisable[2].

Les services gouvernementaux

Selon les rapports des bureaux régionaux du Commissariat, les services fédéraux en français sont mauvais partout en Saskatchewan. En Alberta, Air Canada et Postes Canada, entre autres, demeurent des impénitents de l'unilinguisme. En Colombie-Britannique, la situation n'est pas rose non plus, mais la Gendarmerie royale et le ministère de l'Emploi et de l'Immigration, notamment, font des efforts pour assurer des services en français.

Aucune loi, dans ces trois provinces, ne garantit de services provinciaux dans la langue de la minorité ; c'est pourquoi leur prestation est pour ainsi dire fortuite, voire exceptionnelle. L'enquête CROP rendue publique en 1983 a révélé qu'à peine 3 pour cent des Francophones qui se sont adressés aux organismes provinciaux ont pu obtenir des services en français. Du côté fédéral, la proportion est de 18 pour cent. Bref, dans cette partie du Canada, le seul secteur où les Francophones aient droit à des services dans leur langue est celui de l'éducation.

L'enseignement en français

La reconnaissance du droit à l'enseignement en langue française est récente. En Saskatchewan, la Loi scolaire ne permet l'établissement d'écoles désignées que

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[1] Catherine Lengyel et Dominic Watson, *La situation de la langue française en Colombie-Britannique*, Conseil de la langue française, Québec, 1983, p. 17.

[2] Réjean Lachapelle, Jacques Henripin, *La situation démolinguistique au Canada, évolution passée et prospective*, l'Institut de recherches politiques, Montréal 1980, p. 170.

depuis 1968. En Alberta, le droit à l'enseignement en français n'a été reconnu qu'en 1970 ; en Colombie-Britannique, le programme cadre de français ne remonte qu'à 1979.

En **Saskatchewan**, la loi stipule que le français est la langue d'enseignement de toute école désignée à cet effet, selon les termes arrêtés par le lieutenant-gouverneur en conseil. Dans la pratique, il y a deux types d'écoles désignées : le type A, où tous les cours se donnent en français, et le type B, où l'enseignement est dispensé en français de 50 à 80 pour cent du temps. En 1984, 759 élèves étaient inscrits dans les écoles du type A à l'élémentaire et au secondaire, et 5044 dans celles du type B.

La question de la gestion de l'enseignement minoritaire est très débattue en Saskatchewan. Au début de l'année, la Commission des écoles fransaskoises a présenté au ministre de l'Éducation une proposition concernant la création d'un conseil scolaire francophone unique qui administrerait toutes les écoles de langue française. Les comités de parents seraient appelés à exercer une importante fonction de contrôle. Après un long examen, le Ministre a rejeté cette proposition en invoquant la perte d'autonomie des circonscriptions scolaires. Dans l'intervalle, le ministre provincial de la Justice exprimait l'avis que la législation scolaire était conforme à la Charte des droits et qu'il n'y avait pas lieu de la modifier. Il n'y a qu'une seule bonne nouvelle dans toute cette affaire : un comité composé de représentants de la collectivité francophone et de fonctionnaires du ministère de l'Éducation poursuivra l'étude de la question. Tous les espoirs pour l'enseignement supérieur en langue française en Saskatchewan sont axés sur le collège Mathieu, de Gravelbourg, symbole de la survie de l'enseignement en français dans la Prairie canadienne. Ce pensionnat dispense actuellement le cours secondaire, mais son projet d'expansion mérite toute l'attention des autorités. Nous invitons les gouvernements fédéral et provincial à examiner avec soin la proposition qui comporte, entre autres choses, la création de cours de niveau universitaire, et d'un centre culturel et pédagogique.

Au début de 1984, le gouvernement de l'**Alberta** a enfin consenti à établir une distinction entre les élèves francophones et les élèves des cours immersifs. Le nouveau protocole d'entente sur le financement des langues officielles dans l'enseignement précise que les contributions par élève doivent être calculées séparément pour l'enseignement minoritaire et pour les cours immersifs. L'Alberta a identifié à cette fin 1 200 élèves francophones répartis entre dix écoles. À Calgary et à Edmonton, les conseils des écoles catholiques séparées ont répondu aux revendications des parents franco-albertains en faveur de l'établissement d'écoles francophones. L'école Maurice-Lavallée, à Edmonton, a ouvert ses portes en septembre dernier à quelque 250 élèves répartis entre les classes allant de la maternelle à la sixième. À Calgary, 130 élèves ont entamé leur nouvelle année à l'école Saint-Antoine.

En dépit de ces progrès, la question du droit à l'enseignement en langue française est loin d'être réglée. À la suite de nombreuses représentations, les Franco-Albertains espèrent que les modifications à la Loi scolaire, promises pour bientôt, apporteront des garanties en ce sens. À ce jour, il semble bien que les discussions soient dans une impasse.

Malgré que les dépenses consenties au titre de l'enseignement en **Colombie-Britannique** aient été réduites plus que partout ailleurs au Canada, le programme cadre pour les Francophones, créé il y a cinq ans, a entraîné dans cette province une augmentation modeste des inscriptions en 1984. À cet égard, un des événements marquants de la dernière année a été l'ouverture de la première école française. L'école Anne-Hébert, établie à Vancouver, compte 160 élèves. Notons également que le ministre de l'Éducation a désigné un coordonnateur dont relève tout particulièrement l'éducation dans la langue de la minorité. Malgré ces progrès, des comités de parents de diverses localités ont dû s'élever contre l'absence de services de transport pour les écoliers. Un droit à l'enseignement garanti par la Constitution n'a guère de sens, selon eux, si l'enfant ne peut se rendre à l'école. De plus, il faut signaler la difficulté de réunir des élèves en nombre suffisant pour le cours secondaire.

Le français et la vie quotidienne

Sauf pour l'enseignement et certaines activités socio-culturelles, la vie des Francophones se déroule presque exclusivement en anglais dans les trois provinces. Une infime minorité de Francophones, par exemple, s'intéresse à la télévision en français. Il va sans dire que la grande majorité des Francophones font usage de l'anglais au travail.

Dans ces trois provinces, tout compte fait, seul un renversement de la situation pourrait permettre aux communautés francophones de survivre, de se maintenir, de s'épanouir.

Territoires du Nord-Ouest

En 1981, la communauté francophone des Territoires du Nord-Ouest se composait de 1230 personnes (soit 2,7 pour cent de la population totale), dont la plupart (70 pour cent) habitaient la division de recensement de Fort Smith. Comme partout ailleurs, les transferts linguistiques du français vers l'anglais atteignent un taux fort élevé, soit 54 pour cent.

Les Territoires sont devenus officiellement bilingues en juin 1984. Ce fait n'a pas eu de répercussions dans le secteur de l'enseignement jusqu'ici, si bien que, hormis les programmes d'immersion en français à Yellowknife, il n'existe aucune classe destinée à la minorité francophone.

Le Yukon

Le recensement de 1981 indique que l'effectif de langue maternelle française du Yukon est de 525 personnes (soit 2,3 pour cent de la population) ; près des deux-tiers se trouvant à Whitehorse. L'héritage linguistique et culturel de cette communauté se dilapide rapidement, car le taux des transferts linguistiques s'y élève à 69,5 pour cent.

Après une année de pressions persistantes, les parents francophones ont obtenu la première école de langue française sous ces latitudes, qui a accueilli en septembre 34 élèves. Elle loge dans une aile d'une école de Whitehorse abritant en outre

des classes immersives en français, un enseignement en langue aborigène et les cours usuels en langue anglaise. C'est là, sous un seul toit, un microcosme de l'enseignement canadien.

Terre-Neuve, Île-du-Prince-Édouard et Nouvelle-Écosse

Les 45 000 Francophones de ces trois provinces ne forment plus que 3 pour cent de la population ; leurs communautés semblent bien en voie d'effritement. Terre-Neuve ne compte que 2 690 Francophones, soit 0,47 pour cent de la population. À peine 1 100 parlent principalement le français à la maison. À l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, l'effectif francophone a diminué de moitié depuis 1941. En Nouvelle-Écosse, il y a déclin également. Les 35 695 Francophones n'entrent plus que pour 4,2 pour cent dans le total de la population, contre 6,1 pour cent il y a trente ans.

Les services gouvernementaux

L'affaiblissement des communautés francophones de ces provinces est sûrement attribuable en partie aux retards des gouvernements à légitimer l'usage du français, qui est toujours sans statut officiel. Le plus souvent la prestation de services en français est aléatoire. S'il y a eu amélioration du côté fédéral, la situation après quinze ans de bilinguisme institutionnel est encore bien loin des résultats escomptés à l'origine. On conçoit dans les circonstances que seulement 23 pour cent des Francophones traitent en français avec les services fédéraux et que la proportion tombe à 8 pour cent dans le cas des services provinciaux.

L'enseignement en français

À **Terre-Neuve**, on ne compte plus que 450 Francophones d'âge scolaire, la plupart habitant Labrador City et la péninsule de Port-au-Port. Le gouvernement terre-neuvien, lors des négociations avec Ottawa sur le financement de l'enseignement en langue minoritaire, a donné une définition assez byzantine de l'« élève francophone ». Beaucoup plus restreinte que l'article 23 de la Charte touchant la langue maternelle, elle distingue deux types d'élèves. Le premier a un parent ou un tuteur francophone, il parle français à la maison et comprend le français au moment de l'inscription à un cours en français ; le second est d'origine française et habite la péninsule de Port-au-Port.

Quels que soient ces distinguos, il n'y a d'écoles françaises à Terre-Neuve qu'à Labrador City. Les élèves francophones ont toutefois priorité pour les cours immersifs en français. On avait projeté un cours en langue française pour septembre 1984 à Mainland (Grand'Terre), mais on s'est rabattu par la suite sur une maternelle d'immersion partielle, où le tiers de l'enseignement serait dispensé en français. De plus, le conseil scolaire doit assurer des cours immersifs de première et de deuxième année l'automne prochain, et étudier la possibilité d'une école de langue française avec classes de la maternelle à la sixième.

À Labrador City, le nombre des élèves inscrits à l'école francophone ne cesse de diminuer. Réagissant à ce phénomène, le Secrétariat d'État et le gouvernement provincial s'emploient à mobiliser des fonds afin d'augmenter le nombre des enseignants et d'assurer la qualité des cours. Toutefois, le sort de l'école demeurant précaire, les administrations fédérale et provinciale doivent garantir l'essentiel à tout le moins.

Quant au cycle supérieur, l'ouverture d'un Centre de ressources bilingues à l'Université Memorial est prévue pour septembre 1986. Il offrira des cours complémentaires de français et des moyens de recherche, et sera doté d'une bibliothèque et de services de traduction. Au comité de gestion seront représentés le Secrétariat d'État, l'Association francophone de Saint-Jean, la *Canadian Parents for French*, la Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador, le département de français de l'Université et la *Newfoundland Teachers Association*. Nous espérons que ce comité imposant contribuera au raffermissement de la communauté francophone, qui, au train où vont les choses, semble en danger d'extinction.

Parmi les 94 recommandations présentées au ministère de l'Éducation de l'**Île-du-Prince-Édouard**, en octobre dernier, par le *School System Review Committee*, plusieurs portaient sur l'expansion de l'enseignement en langue française. Les Francophones de la province demandent que toutes les écoles de langue française soient administrées par le conseil Évangéline de l'Unité 5, qu'une section distincte pour les écoles françaises soit créée au sein de la Division des programmes du ministère de l'Éducation, que le Ministère facilite l'élaboration d'un plan de développement professionnel pour les enseignants appelés à exercer en milieu francophone, et que soit revu le nombre minimum d'inscriptions pour la création d'une classe de langue française. Pour le moment, le Ministre a agréé la recommandation voulant qu'un comité directeur soit créé au début de 1985 et chargé d'élaborer un plan de mise en œuvre.

Il faudra peut-être que la question du nombre minimum soit tranchée par les tribunaux, puisque des parents de la région de Summerside-Miscouche contestent la disposition de la Loi scolaire fixant le minimum des inscriptions à 25 dans trois classes consécutives. Compte tenu des besoins, on trouve cette condition trop rigide. On voudrait que l'effectif minimum soit réduit à huit élèves par classe, sans la clause de « consécutivité ». Heureusement, il y a lieu d'espérer que prévaudra la logique fondamentale de l'*Ontario Reference Case*, qui se définit ainsi : on ne saurait contracter une obligation constitutionnelle de caractère réformiste sans prendre des dispositions pour la mettre en œuvre.

Le ministre de l'Éducation de la **Nouvelle-Écosse** a accordé en octobre dernier la « désignation officielle » à dix écoles acadiennes relevant du Conseil scolaire de Clare-Argyle ; cette mesure serait suivie de plusieurs autres. Un amendement à la *Loi sur l'éducation*, adopté au cours de l'année, autorise le cabinet à « désigner » et à financer des écoles de langue française. C'est là l'aboutissement d'une loi de 1981 reconnaissant le français comme langue d'enseignement dans les écoles acadiennes et réglementant le programme.

Déjà amorcé à l'élémentaire, le programme d'enseignement en langue française sera prolongé au secondaire, classe par classe, les six prochaines années. Des négociations en cours ont pour objet la création d'écoles semblables qui seraient sous l'autorité du conseil scolaire d'Inverness et de Richmond. Les Francophones du Cap-Breton ont aussi fait des demandes en ce sens.

Si louables que soient ces initiatives, la Fédération des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Écosse formule des réserves quant au contrôle et à l'utilisation des fonds destinés aux écoles de la minorité. Elle réclame pour les Acadiens la direction des établisse-

ments scolaires où ils sont majoritaires. À nos yeux, cette revendication est tout à fait raisonnable.

Le français et la vie quotidienne

Les trois communautés manifestent leur vitalité par diverses activités culturelles, notamment le Carnaval d'hiver à Terre-Neuve, le Festival acadien de la région Évangéline à l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, les festivals d'Halifax et de Cheticamp en Nouvelle-Écosse. Par contre, la place du français dans la vie de tous les jours est assez restreinte. Peu de Francophones dans ces provinces sont des assidus des médias en langue française — télévision, radio ou journaux. Et les occasions d'employer le français au travail sont assez rares.

Bref, si la situation du français dans ces trois provinces semble moins compromise qu'en Saskatchewan, en Alberta et en Colombie-Britannique, seule une véritable concertation fédérale-provinciale pourrait y favoriser l'essor des communautés francophones.

Le défi : l'âme et les programmes

Le maintien de la langue, notion évoquée par le terme de *fidélité* en sociolinguistique, n'est pas uniquement affaire de démographie, de droits, de moyens institutionnels ou d'attitudes de la majorité. Le Canada regorge d'exemples montrant que le véritable dynamisme linguistique d'une collectivité, son attachement à sa langue, même dans les circonstances les plus défavorables, sont liés à son sens d'appartenance à une communauté plus large et à l'espoir de se faire accepter par la majorité. Nous avons vu plus haut que les espoirs des minorités francophones à cet égard ont été le plus souvent déçus au cours de leur histoire.

Les minorités de langue officielle n'occupent pas un territoire unique et homogène ; en outre, les circonstances régionales rendent difficile l'établissement d'un plan de mesures de soutien appropriées, et impossible d'envisager des traitements symétriques si les provinces n'apportent pas un concours infiniment plus empressé et généreux. Mais nous avons accordé assez d'attention à nos migraines anglo-françaises qu'il est peut-être temps de chercher ensemble des remèdes et de cesser de geindre. Pour diverses raisons que l'on connaît bien, toutes nos minorités de langue officielle sont aujourd'hui soumises, à des degrés variables, à des pressions qui les poussent à abandonner une lutte inégale et à se conformer à la loi linguistique de la majorité. Dans le présent chapitre, nous examinerons quels moyens ont été employés ou pourraient l'être pour empêcher que Francophones et Anglophones se départagent en deux camps, et quelles formes de bilinguisme sont encore possibles au Canada.

Les minorités savent ce qu'elles veulent

Il faut que les gouvernements fassent beaucoup plus ; les minorités et leurs associations l'exigent. Pour bon nombre de minorités francophones, l'avenir est plutôt sombre, et pourtant elles font toutes preuve, de la plus petite à la plus grande, d'un vouloir-vivre remarquable. Dans chacune des provinces et à l'échelle nationale, elles élaborent des plans d'action, s'organisent, multiplient les rencontres et mènent des démarches auprès des gouvernements pour faire valoir leurs besoins. Il n'est pas question pour elles de se laisser « folkloriser », de sombrer au rang de « curiosités culturelles ». Elles entendent seulement que le français s'épanouisse hors du foyer et du voisinage, qu'il soit légitimé dans les divers secteurs de la vie quotidienne, dans l'enseignement, les communications, les services publics et parapublics, les affaires, les sports et les loisirs.

Bien sûr, il y a des priorités. Les communautés francophones revendiquent non seulement un enseignement en leur langue, mais des écoles françaises homogènes et, dans toute la mesure du possible, gérées par elles-mêmes. Dans le domaine des communications, elles réclament un plus grand choix d'émissions en français, et veulent une plus grande part de programmation régionale et locale reflétant leur réalité proche et exprimant leurs besoins. L'importance qu'elles attachent à ces questions est attestée par les démarches nombreuses des associations francophones auprès de Radio-Canada et du Conseil de la radiodiffusion et des télécommunications canadiennes.

Si les minorités francophones ont répondu aux espoirs suscités par la réforme du régime linguistique, elles demandent aujourd'hui des réalisations concrètes : par exemple, que les services fédéraux en français ne soient plus aléatoires comme c'est le cas dans nombre de provinces ; que le gouvernement fédéral établisse des mécanismes de collaboration avec les provinces pour assurer des services en français dans les domaines de la santé, des mesures sociales, de la justice, des sports et des loisirs, bref dans tous les secteurs fondamentaux où l'État intervient.

La Fédération des Francophones hors Québec

On ne saurait parler des minorités de langue officielle sans faire état du travail remarquable accompli par leurs associations. La Fédération des Francophones hors Québec coordonne les actions et les interventions des diverses associations provinciales et constitue leur porte-parole attitré auprès des autorités fédérales. Au cours de l'année, la Fédération a noué des liens avec diverses associations, dont Alliance Québec, la *Canadian Parents for French*, ainsi qu'avec des groupements ethnoculturels, afin d'étudier les possibilités d'une action commune.

Dans chacune des provinces du Canada anglais, il se trouve au moins une association vouée à la défense et à la promotion de la minorité auprès des autorités locales. Et beaucoup d'autres se consacrent à ses intérêts régionaux et sectoriels. L'action globale de ces associations donne de la cohésion à la présence francophone, sensibilise les pouvoirs publics et l'opinion aux besoins de la communauté et facilite la concertation. Dans une large mesure, ces groupements sont financés par le Secrétariat d'État. Les minorités francophones sont également appuyées par le gouvernement québécois, qui leur dispense des services professionnels, une aide technique et des subventions pour des initiatives particulières. La contribution du Québec à ce titre, en 1984, a été d'à peu près 500 000 dollars. Le gouvernement français, de son côté, entretient des liens particulièrement étroits avec les communautés acadiennes. Grâce à la Société nationale des Acadiens, des bourses sont offertes pour des études et des stages de perfectionnement en France.

C'est dire que les recensements, les sondages et les statistiques ne rendent pas compte de tout. Ils ne saisissent pas la détermination des minorités francophones à préserver leur patrimoine culturel et linguistique. Il reste cependant que ces communautés se trouvent à des stades de développement variables et que leur avenir est à tout le moins incertain. Mais qui pourrait s'arroger le droit de tirer la ligne et de décréter que telle communauté est condamnée et que, par conséquent, il serait futile de lui accorder l'appui institutionnel dont elle a besoin?

Les Anglo-Québécois

Les Anglo-Québécois sont dans une situation toute différente. Historiquement, leur vitalité n'a guère inspiré de craintes. Très tôt, ils se sont dotés des institutions sociales nécessaires. Numériquement forts dans nombre de localités, ils formaient

même 50 pour cent ou plus de la population à Montréal, dans les Cantons de l'Est et dans la région de l'Outaouais à la fin du XIX[e] siècle. Bref, ils jouaient un rôle fort important dans le développement de la province.

Au cours de l'après-guerre, et plus particulièrement des vingt dernières années, la puissante communauté anglophone devait cependant passer au rang de minorité provinciale. Sa situation s'est beaucoup affaiblie sur les plans numérique et qualitatif, malgré la protection que lui assurait la *Loi constitutionnelle de 1867*, laquelle on le sait ne s'appliquait pas à l'ensemble des minorités francophones des autres provinces. Voilà le point central des inquiétudes exprimées par les associations qui représentent la communauté de langue anglaise, entre autres, Alliance Québec, les *Townshippers*, la *Voice of English Quebec, Alliance Outaouais* et la *C.A.S.A.*

Cherchant à contrer les mesures en faveur de l'unilinguisme officiel, ces associations réclament une plus grande reconnaissance de la communauté, de ses droits à des services en langue anglaise, et du bien-fondé du bilinguisme dans certains secteurs tout au moins de la vie quotidienne. La communauté a été particulièrement active pour faire valoir les garanties constitutionnelles concernant les écoles et pour préserver un ensemble d'organismes sociaux remontant à plusieurs générations.

Il s'est accompli en outre un travail d'une grande importance dans un autre secteur essentiel, bien que moins tangible, soit celui des attitudes. Les Anglo-Québécois s'unissent de plus en plus pour reconnaître et appuyer le fait français au Québec et dans les autres provinces, et se mettent de plus en plus à l'apprentissage du français. Ces attitudes ont créé de nouveaux liens avec la communauté francophone, fondés sur une compréhension plus active de ses préoccupations culturelles et sur le postulat que la protection du français n'a pas à se faire au détriment d'une présence anglophone de longue date.

L'action fédérale

On aurait tort de croire que les minorités régionales ont été laissées à elles-mêmes, au milieu de toutes les pressions en faveur du monolithisme linguistique. Le gouvernement fédéral s'est engagé en 1969 à leur fournir diverses formes de soutien financier, technique et moral dans leur effort pour conserver leur identité linguistique.

La *Loi sur les langues officielles*, et en particulier ses dispositions touchant les districts bilingues, a apporté à ces minorités l'espoir que les services fédéraux — et peut-être même ceux d'autres administrations publiques — seraient accessibles dans leur langue dans un avenir rapproché, sinon immédiatement. Divers programmes sont venus nourrir ces attentes. Moins de deux mois après la promulgation de la Loi, le secrétaire d'État déposait à la Chambre la réponse fédérale aux recommandations énoncées dans le livre II du rapport de la Commission B.B. consacré à l'éducation. Tout en reconnaissant que ce domaine relevait pour l'essentiel de la compétence provinciale, le ministre s'est dit d'accord avec l'opinion de la Commission voulant que le gouvernement fédéral y ait un rôle important à jouer, et déclarait ce qui suit :

> Pour nous cette opinion entraîne la mise au point et l'encouragement de programmes destinés à soutenir et à faire progresser l'usage des deux langues officielles dans tout le pays. Elle se rattache plus spécialement à douze recommandations que les Commissaires adressent au gouvernement fédéral. De plus, nous croyons que cela implique un effort commun avec les provinces afin de tirer tous les avantages possibles du sentiment largement répandu en faveur non seulement de droits égaux aux communautés minoritaires de langue officielle, mais également de l'étude d'une langue seconde.

En l'occurrence, ces programmes venaient en aide aux minorités pour l'enseignement en leur langue, pour la formation des enseignants, les dépenses relatives aux études supérieures en dehors de la province, les bourses, les échanges, les subventions au titre de l'enseignement de la langue seconde. Au cours des quinze dernières années, ces programmes ont entraîné une dépense de 2 milliards de dollars pour le Trésor fédéral.

Mais l'aide fédérale est allée plus loin. Durant la même période, le Secrétariat d'État a accordé 137 millions de dollars en contributions aux associations des minorités linguistiques, 15 millions au profit des secteurs public et privé, et quelque 10 millions à diverses fins, dont la traduction de lois provinciales, l'appui aux contestations judiciaires, etc. Les dépenses fédérales pour 1983-1984 et 1984-1985 au titre de ces programmes figurent au tableau B.1, en annexe.

Le gouvernement fédéral a aussi fait appel à d'autres organismes culturels, tels Radio-Canada et l'Office national du film, pour tenir ses engagements envers les minorités régionales et les majorités nationales. Depuis 1968, par exemple, la *Loi sur la radiodiffusion* exige que le service national de télédiffusion :

> (soit) de langue anglaise et de langue française, (réponde) aux besoins particuliers des diverses régions et (contribue) activement à la fourniture et à l'échange d'informations et de divertissements d'ordre culturel et régional, et
>
> (contribue) au développement de l'unité nationale et (exprime) constamment la réalité canadienne.

Au cours des dix dernières années, la Société Radio-Canada a appliqué son Plan accéléré de rayonnement de sorte que ses émissions radio et télé touchent dans leur langue pratiquement toutes les localités de langue officielle de 500 habitants ou plus, dans tout le territoire canadien. L'intégration graduelle de la technologie des satellites pourrait faire de ce service un instrument incomparable de soutien des minorités linguistiques d'ici l'an 2000.

En plus de donner aux minorités provinciales l'accès à des émissions en leur langue, Radio-Canada a en outre fait des efforts au cours des cinq à dix dernières années pour ajouter à cet avantage celui d'une programmation régionale. En 1984, Moncton, Québec, Toronto, Winnipeg et Regina, et quelques villes « satellites », disposaient d'un noyau important de production. Malgré les coupes récentes dans le budget de la Société, le gouvernement semble reconnaître l'importance de maintenir ce réseau de centres de production dans la mesure du possible, si mal pourvu soit-il. En effet, le nouveau ministre des Communications a fait savoir que le gouvernement entendait explorer, aussitôt que possible, de nouvelles voies pour

répondre aux besoins des communautés de langue officielle à cet égard, en collaboration avec les provinces. Voilà certes un signe encourageant. Jusqu'à ces derniers temps, l'Office national du film favorisait lui aussi la production régionale, quoique à une échelle beaucoup plus modeste. Mais avec l'avènement d'une nouvelle politique du film, l'avenir de cet appui fédéral aux minorités semble nettement remis en question.

Selon une estimation très approximative, le gouvernement fédéral consacrerait quelque 300 millions de dollars par an aux diverses formes d'appui institutionnel qu'il accorde à un million et demi de Canadiens, anglophones et francophones, qui se trouvent en situation de minorité régionale. Quant aux contributions provinciales, en dehors du Nouveau-Brunswick, du Québec et de l'Ontario, elles portent presque exclusivement sur l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire ou celui de la langue seconde. Qu'il s'agisse de services judiciaires ou administratifs, ou encore de l'enseignement dans la langue maternelle ou de la langue seconde, il est sans doute impossible de déterminer précisément la part des dépenses provinciales qui s'applique au soutien supplémentaire dont ces minorités linguistiques ont besoin, et celle correspondant à un service qu'il leur faudrait de toute façon assurer. Ce qu'il importe de souligner ici, c'est que dans sept des neuf provinces à prédominance anglophone, ni la législation complémentaire ni le supplément d'aide aux minorités — qui devaient faire pendant aux mesures fédérales — ne sont allés au-delà de la reconnaissance des droits à l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire que consacre l'article 23 de la Charte des droits. Comme il ressort semble-t-il des chapitres précédents, ces sept provinces ont orienté vers l'enseignement la totalité de leurs efforts en matière de langues officielles, dont une bonne partie réservée à l'élément « langue seconde ».

Cela dit, sur quoi donc une communauté francophone située à l'extérieur de la « zone bilingue » Sault-Moncton peut-elle compter aujourd'hui pour maintenir sa langue ? Sur quelques émissions radio et télé en français, rarement produites dans la région ; sur des services en français occasionnels et aléatoires de la part des organismes fédéraux ; sur un enseignement en français occupant au mieux 70 à 80 pour cent de l'horaire, et souvent 50 pour cent ou moins, et qui se donne généralement dans un cadre bilingue ou dans des classes immersives, plutôt que dans un « établissement d'enseignement de la minorité linguistique », au sens où cette expression a été définie récemment en Ontario. Dans la très grande majorité des cas, les services provinciaux ne sont pas assurés en français, sauf à titre de faveur de la part de fonctionnaires sachant s'exprimer dans cette langue. Sauf au Manitoba et dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest, les Francophones n'ont pas *droit* à des procès dans leur langue, ni au criminel ni au civil. Bref, l'Ontario, le Québec et le Nouveau-Brunswick mis à part, il n'y a guère que les domaines de la télédiffusion et de l'enseignement où des efforts, disons sérieux, ont été faits pour aider à la préservation du français.

Les réactions des communautés

Les données démographiques pour 1971 et 1981 confirment l'hypothèse de sens commun voulant que l'assimilation ou les transferts linguistiques soient le plus

accentués dans les milieux où la population est le plus clairsemée, et l'appui institutionnel et pratique, le plus faible. Même dans une province bilingue comme le Nouveau-Brunswick, le taux de conservation du français est le plus élevé dans les régions où les Francophones sont le plus densément groupés et où l'exercice des droits linguistiques est le plus complet. Évidemment, les choix linguistiques varient selon le contexte social et non seulement selon l'accessibilité relative de tel ou tel soutien institutionnel. Le maintien du français ou de l'anglais dans un milieu minoritaire — et même les tendances à cet égard — varie en fonction de trois facteurs :

- la densité relative de la population minoritaire ;
- l'étendue et la pertinence du soutien institutionnel dont elle dispose ;
- le statut historique ou traditionnel de la langue minoritaire dans le milieu en question.

Analyse de l'étude CROP

C'est dans cette perspective que le Secrétariat d'État a commandé des études à la maison CROP en 1982 afin d'étudier de près comment les minorités de langue officielle réagissent à l'accessibilité relative des services gouvernementaux et aux possibilités d'employer la langue officielle de leur choix qu'offrent d'autres organismes. Les résultats, publiés en 1983, semblent curieux à première vue, et exigent une interprétation prudente.

Les réponses aux questions touchant la langue employée dans les rapports avec le gouvernement fédéral et le gouvernement provincial, et la satisfaction du client à leur endroit, donnent à entendre, que les Francophones établis hors du Québec sont plus satisfaits que les Anglo-Québécois, même si les occasions d'utiliser leur langue sont beaucoup moins nombreuses. Toutefois, nos propres études démontrent que, dans l'ensemble, le service fédéral en anglais au Québec est plus immédiatement accessible que son équivalent en français hors du Québec. De plus, suivant l'étude CROP, seulement 42 pour cent des Francophones des autres provinces emploient leur langue dans leurs rapports avec les organismes fédéraux. Chez les Anglo-Québécois, cette proportion est de 89 pour cent. Pourtant, les deux communautés étaient à peu près également « satisfaites ». Pour l'emploi de la langue minoritaire dans les rapports avec les organismes provinciaux, les chiffres sont de 28 pour cent hors du Québec et de 40 pour cent au Québec. Cette fois, la proportion des mécontents est de 81 pour cent du côté anglophone et de seulement 50 pour cent du côté francophone.

Plutôt que de conclure hâtivement que les minoritaires francophones renoncent plus volontiers, par tempérament, à leurs droits linguistiques que les Anglo-Québécois, il faut situer ces constatations dans un contexte sociologique plus vaste. Les taux d'exigence et de satisfaction que nous relevons plus haut sont eux-mêmes fonction d'un conditionnement par le milieu. Lorsque le soutien institutionnel et le service assuré dans la langue de la minorité s'inscrivent depuis des générations dans une gamme allant du médiocre à l'absence totale, le dynamisme linguistique est réduit et les normes du comportement langagier inclinent fortement du côté de la langue majoritaire. Ce n'est pas par accident que beaucoup d'Anglo-Québécois sont unilingues, alors qu'être unilingue pour un Francophone hors du Québec et du nord du Nouveau-Brunswick frise l'excentricité, pour ainsi dire.

Nous sommes en présence de ce qu'on peut assimiler à une loi sociolinguistique qui s'énoncerait ainsi : *Les exigences quant à l'usage d'une langue sont directement proportionnelles à la possibilité d'exercer ses droits linguistiques et d'obtenir des services* ; bref, l'appétit vient en mangeant. Le problème que soulève cette loi est politique : faut-il suivre le courant, et prendre à ceux qui ne possèdent pas, le peu qu'ils ont, ou bien reconnaître pour de bon que les plus mal nantis du langage sont ceux qui ont le plus besoin de notre générosité et de notre ingéniosité institutionnelle. Il n'appartient pas au gouvernement de sauver les gens malgré eux, mais les chapitres antérieurs du présent rapport établissent clairement qu'en collaborant — en dehors du champ de la récrimination légaliste — les gouvernements pourraient faire davantage pour encourager chez les minorités la volonté de se sauver elles-mêmes. Cela favoriserait par ricochet la mobilité géographique des Canadiens à l'échelle du pays, sans qu'ils aient pour autant à renoncer à leur langue.

La coordination des soutiens fédéraux

Disons, pour simplifier les choses, que le rôle réformiste que la Commission B.B. attribuait au gouvernement fédéral, et que celui-ci a, pour l'essentiel clairement accepté, comportait trois grands volets :

- Établissement d'une administration fédérale qui rétablirait l'équilibre entre les majorités francophone et anglophones du Canada et assurerait des services comparables ou équivalents aux minorités de langue officielle, selon leur densité régionale et leur situation juridique respectives.

- Soutien fédéral direct par la formation d'un réseau national de télédiffusion qui toucherait pratiquement tout groupement appréciable de Canadiens francophones ou anglophones dans leur propre langue.

- Recours à des subventions de lancement et à des campagnes de promotion fédérales pour inciter les autres administrations publiques et le secteur privé à adhérer à un programme collectif de réformes concernant la Constitution, la justice et les services, afin d'offrir aux deux communautés des choix linguistiques équivalents, compte tenu des « circonstances régionales ».

Quand nous considérons la situation des minorités, les choix, les exigences et les espoirs que traduisent les objectifs qu'elles se sont données, et dont rend compte l'étude CROP, nous sommes amenés à nous demander pourquoi les efforts consentis par le gouvernement fédéral ont été aussi inégalement répartis. Même le réseau national de télédiffusion, qui peut recourir aux techniques modernes pour satisfaire les besoins culturels urgents, commence à peine à révéler son potentiel comme soutien linguistique. Les minorités ont immédiatement protesté, avec le plein appui de notre Commissariat, dès qu'on a pu craindre que des réductions du budget de Radio-Canada ne compromettent une production régionale naissante ; voilà qui atteste avec éloquence la valeur du service et aussi, malheureusement, sa position peu avantageuse dans les priorités de la télédiffusion nationale. Sans prétendre que le jardin fédéral soit maintenant en parfait ordre, il semble bien que l'émondage soit en bonne voie dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario, du Québec

et du Nouveau-Brunswick. Même dans ces provinces, cependant, les minorités de langue officielle sont toujours gravement sous-représentées dans les organismes fédéraux, et les services offerts par ces derniers ne sont pas toujours de premier ordre. Ailleurs, l'effort fourni par le gouvernement fédéral, sauf exceptions, n'a rien pour inciter les autres gouvernements ou le secteur privé à adopter les « mesures appropriées » de soutien de la langue minoritaire.

Dans la pratique, il faut bien dire que, pour tout le côté « promotion » de la réforme du régime linguistique, l'attitude du gouvernement fédéral a manqué de cohérence, de vue d'ensemble, voire de conviction. Le gros de l'effort fédéral a porté sur trois secteurs : l'enseignement, l'organisation judiciaire et la radio-télévision. Les trois sont d'une grande importance, sans aucun doute, et les Canadiens doivent une grande reconnaissance au gouvernement fédéral pour avoir contribué à faire inscrire dans la Constitution l'égalité des deux langues officielles et le droit pour les minorités à l'enseignement dans leur langue. Nous ferons simplement observer, tout en nous félicitant de voir ces principes dans la Charte des droits, qu'ils font ressortir d'autres points faibles du bilan fédéral.

Il est loin d'être facile de persuader les provinces de recourir à l'aide financière fédérale pour améliorer l'enseignement minoritaire et l'enseignement de la langue seconde, ou d'affecter ces ressources, dans deux ou trois provinces, au bilinguisme judiciaire. Nous n'entendons pas minimiser ses réalisations dans ces domaines, mais il est des tâches plus difficiles encore qui n'ont guère fait l'objet d'actions coordonnées : par exemple, amener les divers intéressés fédéraux à parler le même langage, de façon persuasive, et faire comprendre aux provinces les avantages qu'elles auraient à reconnaître concrètement les « droits » du français et de l'anglais. Tant que régnait l'impression que le Secrétariat d'État disposait de millions à gogo pour les causes linguistiques, les autres organismes de coordination — sans compter les ministères — ne se sont pas posés la question de savoir si les diverses interventions fédérales — et les leurs en particulier — formaient une méthode appropriée et intégrée, propre à créer des possibilités égales pour les deux langues officielles.

L'expérience des quinze dernières années est concluante sur un point : on ne peut décréter l'« équité » en matière de langues, mais tout au plus la cultiver là où elle se manifeste et l'aider, si possible, à s'épanouir. Le défi que les pouvoirs publics avaient à relever il y a quinze ans était de faire comprendre à la majorité anglophone non seulement qu'une place plus équitable pour le français était un impératif politique pour l'unité canadienne, ni même que les injustices de l'histoire pourraient être réparées par ce moyen, mais que dans un grand pays pluraliste, la politique linguistique la moins pénible est celle de l'échange — donnant donnant. On ne saurait établir une justice durable, en ce domaine, sans le libre concours des majorités francophone et anglophone.

Divers indices donnent à penser que le gouvernement — jusque dans ses plus hautes sphères — est disposé à se mettre à l'écoute des collectivités minoritaires. La question cependant reste qu'on a fait trop peu à ce jour pour amener les Canadiens moyens à surmonter l'impression que le bilinguisme officiel leur est imposé par quelques zélés, et n'est pas l'expression authentique de la volonté populaire. Quelle est dans tout cela la part d'une mauvaise presse, d'une mauvaise gestion

ou d'une mauvaise conscience ? Au lecteur d'en décider ! Mais c'est là le coeur du problème. Aussi souscrivons-nous avec enthousiasme au projet gouvernemental consistant à amener « les deux ordres de gouvernement (à collaborer) pour appuyer les minorités de langue officielle ».

Nous connaissons ou pouvons découvrir assez facilement les conditions les plus favorables, ou les moins défavorables, à la vitalité linguistique des minorités — conditions qui ne sont pas nécessairement les mêmes pour les deux groupes. Les gouvernements qui désirent sérieusement offrir aux minorités de langue officielle de véritables options linguistiques doivent s'entendre et collaborer pour tirer le meilleur parti possible de leurs ressources respectives, car le manque de coordination entraîne tout à la fois gaspillage et inefficacité. Nous fondant sur les situations exposées plus haut, nous prions les gouvernement fédéral et provinciaux d'élaborer de toute urgence des plans bien coordonnés, qui tiendront compte des « circonstances régionales », pour favoriser le maintien du français et de l'anglais en situation minoritaire.

Par conséquent, nous invitons le gouvernement à donner suite aux intentions qu'il exposait dans le discours du Trône, selon les modalités ci-après :

- revoir les éléments de la stratégie fédérale concernant le soutien à ces minorités afin de la compléter et d'assurer à sa gestion une forme plus intégrée ;

- amener le Bureau du Conseil privé à s'engager plus à fond et de façon plus suivie dans la coordination de la politique fédérale en ce domaine, de sorte qu'il y joue essentiellement le même rôle que dans d'autres domaines d'intérêt fédéral et provincial ;

- consulter les autorités provinciales et les divers partenaires sociaux, notamment les entreprises, en vue d'élaborer des incitations concrètes au maintien de la langue minoritaire, dans le plus grand nombre de domaines possible, outre l'enseignement, la télédiffusion et l'organisation judiciaire ;

- persuader l'Ontario, par des démarches persistantes, de fonder constitutionnellement la parité institutionnelle de l'anglais et du français entre cette province, le Québec et le Nouveau-Brunswick, suivant la recommandation de la Commission B.B. ;

- veiller à ce que les coupes dans le budget fédéral ne soient pas faites, directement ou indirectement, aux dépens des minorités de langue officielle ;

- mettre la compétence fédérale en administration, en technologie ou en information publique à la disposition des gouvernements intéressés, afin que les programmes de soutien des minorités portent fruit, et que les majorités les appuient activement ;

- et, éventuellement, mettre au point des accords bilatéraux, multilatéraux ou régionaux, formels et permanents, de collaboration fédérale-provinciale afin de favoriser le maintien des langues officielles en situation minoritaire.

PARTIE V

Une approche intégrée

Propositions pour une relance

Comment résumer notre message de quinzième anniversaire ? Essentiellement, l'analyse contenue dans le présent rapport peut se ramener à cinq points.

- La mise en oeuvre de notre politique fédérale des langues officielles est encore inachevée dans la Fonction publique, malgré des progrès notables sur certains fronts importants.

- Il est nécessaire de revivifier le programme de réforme amorcé il y a quinze ans par la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, de ranimer l'engagement en faveur d'une égalité linguistique effective à l'échelon fédéral, et d'amener les partenaires intéressés à participer au soutien des minorités de langue officielle.

- La relance exige une approche plus intégrée, qui respecte les compétences constitutionnelles, mais ne permet pas que les questions de rôle, de responsabilité sectorielle ou organisationnelle fassent obstacle à l'action complémentaire ; il suppose en outre une meilleure coordination des programmes et de leur application entre les organismes fédéraux, et entre ceux-ci et les autres intéressés.

- L'approche intégrée doit être axée sur les besoins et les aspirations du public canadien ; on doit étudier ces besoins en collaborant avec les diverses communautés, les autorités et les organismes locaux.

- Un dialogue plus soutenu entre les Canadiens de toutes origines et régions, qui se déroulerait dans des rencontres officielles et autres, aiderait à tirer au clair les relations entre les communautés linguistiques et à dissiper les craintes au sujet du rapport entre les programmes linguistiques et les autres préoccupations sociales ; il faudrait accroître le soutien du gouvernement aux organismes et associations qui encouragent un dialogue à la base.

Nous regroupons ici les principales suggestions et recommandations de notre rapport. L'énumération ne comprend pas toutes les recommandations détaillées sur des sujets particuliers, mais on y trouvera celles que nous estimons indispensables à la relance du programme. Elles ont trait essentiellement aux deux principaux volets de la réforme, soit : 1) le rôle du gouvernement fédéral en tant que source importante de services au public et premier employeur du Canada ; 2) l'obligation incombant au gouvernement fédéral — concurremment avec d'autres administrations publiques et le secteur privé — de fournir dans tout le Canada un soutien institutionnel aux minorités de langue officielle.

L'automne dernier, le gouvernement fédéral a déclaré dans le discours du Trône sa détermination d'agir sur ces deux points. Il a confirmé son engagement à veiller à ce que l'égalité de statut, garantie par la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et la Constitution, soit respectée en fait comme en droit, et s'est engagé à collaborer avec les gouvernements provinciaux au soutien des minorités de langue officielle. Nous croyons que les recommandations que voici l'aideront à remplir ces engagements.

I. LES INSTITUTIONS FÉDÉRALES

Stratégie et coordination

- **Une direction politique active est une condition *sine qua non* de toute réforme durable. Nette et soutenue, elle est essentielle au succès auprès du grand public comme dans l'Administration. Les ministres doivent chercher les occasions de défendre le principe de la dualité linguistique et de l'illustrer dans la pratique.**

- **Étant donné le rôle du Parlement dans l'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et son importance symbolique dans tous les aspects de la vie nationale, il est regrettable que le français et l'anglais n'aient pas encore atteint un statut égal comme langues de travail dans le quotidien administratif du Parlement. Nous invitons donc instamment le Sénat et la Chambre des communes à développer les possibilités d'emploi du français dans leur administration interne et à assurer aux deux communautés de langue officielle une représentation équitable parmi leur personnel.**

- **Étant donné que la mise en œuvre de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* est encore incomplète dans l'administration fédérale et qu'il est nécessaire de mieux l'harmoniser avec le soutien au bilinguisme en dehors de la Fonction publique, nous estimons que la direction de l'ensemble du programme des langues officielles exige du haut personnel et des ministres une coordination suivie. Le gouvernement doit envisager de confier au Bureau du Conseil privé une responsabilité accrue pour ce qui est de la coordination des lignes de conduite et des programmes fédéraux dans le domaine des langues officielles.**

- **Les sous-ministres et d'autres chefs d'organismes peuvent, en vertu de leurs fonctions, influer de façon notable sur les résultats de ces organismes au chapitre des langues officielles. Si le rendement de ces hauts fonctionnaires à cet égard constitue, en principe, un des éléments de leur évaluation annuelle, il faudrait désormais qu'ils soient tenus effectivement et explicitement responsables à ce chapitre. Nous recommandons en conséquence que sous-ministres et autres chefs d'organismes aient à répondre directement au Premier ministre de leurs réalisations concrètes en cette matière.**

- Sont également essentielles à la mise en oeuvre de la réforme, les directions des langues officielles qu'on trouve dans la plupart des organismes et qui assurent un rôle quotidien de contrôle et de conseil. Ces bataillons de première ligne ont accumulé un capital d'expérience qui n'est pas toujours pleinement exploité. Il y a risque que le double mouvement de décentralisation et d'intégration du programme des langues officielles aux autres programmes des ministères et organismes ne relègue leur rôle au second plan. Aussi souhaitons-nous vivement que soit renforcé le mandat de ces directions et que le gouvernement tire un meilleur parti de leur expertise, si nécessaire au progrès de la réforme.

La gestion du programme dans l'administration fédérale

- Le Conseil du Trésor, la Commission de la Fonction publique et d'autres organismes fédéraux doivent déterminer la capacité bilingue à moyen terme dont la fonction publique a besoin pour réaliser les objectifs du programme. Ils doivent en outre faire l'épreuve des méthodes et stratégies administratives les plus susceptibles de produire les résultats voulus.

- Le Parlement a indiqué sans équivoque que les sociétés de la Couronne sont assujetties à la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ; toutefois, leur relative autonomie administrative a permis à certaines d'entre elles d'appliquer et de contrôler les programmes de langues officielles comme elles l'entendent. Des mesures s'imposent pour soumettre ces sociétés à un contrôle plus rigoureux de la part du gouvernement et pour les amener à rendre compte au Parlement des progrès accomplis, conformément aux normes s'appliquant aux ministères.

- La répartition régionale des postes bilingues et autres est souvent incompatible avec les objectifs des programmes et avec les règlements établis. La méthode de répartition doit être réexaminée par rapport aux besoins publics et aux priorités des langues officielles.

- En attendant que nos systèmes d'enseignement aient formé suffisamment de candidats bilingues, il demeure nécessaire d'enseigner aux frais de l'État la langue seconde à certains fonctionnaires. Nous recommandons au gouvernement d'établir, dans l'enseignement des langues, des options et des incitations qui accorderaient une plus large place à la motivation et à l'engagement personnels pour ce qui est de l'acquisition et du maintien des compétences appropriées, ce qui améliorerait le rapport coût-efficacité.

- Notre point de vue touchant la prime au bilinguisme se fonde essentiellement sur le principe que les services doivent être accessibles dans les deux langues officielles. La rémunération pour les compétences particulières n'est pas une anomalie en soi. Mais il s'agit de savoir si la

prime constitue la meilleure façon de rétribuer les compétences linguistiques et si tous les titulaires la méritent également. Comme il ne saurait être question dans les circonstances de l'abolir tout en maintenant le même niveau de service, nous recommandons de réduire progressivement la prime, après consultation avec les syndicats, selon une formule tenant compte des niveaux de traitements des titulaires et de l'emploi effectif qu'ils font des deux langues officielles.

- Le volume de la traduction injustifiée et les coûts inhérents n'ont guère été sensibles au contrôle administratif. C'est pourquoi nous souscrivons à la proposition du Conseil du Trésor de fixer des limites à chaque ministère, selon le principe de l'enveloppe budgétaire, ce qui aviverait sans aucun doute le sens des priorités.

- Eu égard à la difficulté pour le gouvernement d'assurer sans cesse un service de qualité dans la langue indiquée, nous lui recommandons de créer, après consultation avec les spécialistes, un programme de recherche sur la psychologie sociale de l'utilisation des langues ; ce programme serait exécuté dans la perspective du client, du milieu de travail et eu égard aux transferts linguistiques. À notre avis, les résultats de ces études contribueraient largement à la mise en oeuvre d'une politique nationale des langues.

Servir le public

- Un service qui n'est pas offert activement, qui ne se signale pas, équivaut à un déni de service. Les organismes centraux doivent réexaminer la compétence bilingue effective de l'Administration et contrôler plus efficacement la visibilité, l'audibilité et l'accessibilité des services qu'ils offrent dans les diverses régions. Tous les bureaux fédéraux qui ont pour vocation de servir les Canadiens dans les deux langues officielles doivent être tenus de dispenser ces services d'une façon active et en particulier d'indiquer clairement qu'ils sont immédiatement accessibles à tel endroit précis.

- Tout organisme fédéral qui a pour mission de réprimer les infractions à la loi et qui dispose en conséquence d'un pouvoir d'intimidation, a plus que tout autre le devoir d'offrir activement ses services dans les deux langues. Nous recommandons que cette obligation soit confirmée expressément dans la politique gouvernementale. À l'échelon fédéral, elle s'appliquerait notamment aux tribunaux, à la police, aux agents des douanes et de l'impôt, aux organismes correctionnels et de réglementation. Peut-être d'autres administrations publiques voudront-elles appliquer le même principe à ceux de leurs organismes qui jouent un rôle analogue, compte tenu des circonstances locales ou régionales.

- Pour réaliser un régime d'offre active, on doit fixer aux dirigeants locaux des objectifs de service pratiques, ainsi que les moyens et les

encouragements voulus pour les atteindre de concert avec la minorité. Les organismes centraux et les administrations centrales des ministères doivent fixer des objectifs clairs, fournir les moyens et contrôler de près les résultats dans la perspective du client.

- **Avec la pratique selon laquelle les formulaires abrégés de recensement ne sont distribués que dans les localités à minorités de langue officielle de plus de 10 pour cent, de nombreux citoyens n'en reçoivent pas d'office dans leur première langue officielle. Il leur faut alors en demander ou, chose plus probable, se résigner à répondre aux questions dans leur langue seconde. Nous recommandons, par conséquent, que soit confirmée la décision d'adopter un formulaire abrégé de recensement, bilingue et unique, de sorte que les citoyens puissent s'acquitter dans leur langue de l'obligation de répondre au questionnaire et, en même temps, exercer leur droit de communiquer avec le gouvernement dans cette langue.**

- **Quiconque entend s'adresser à un tribunal pour faire respecter ses droits, après avoir épuisé les autres moyens d'obtenir un service satisfaisant en français ou en anglais, selon les termes de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et de la Charte des droits, aurait avantage à se prévaloir de l'aide financière que peut lui accorder le Secrétariat d'État, en vertu du Programme de contestation juridique.**

Participation équitable dans l'administration fédérale

- **Le gouvernement ne doit pas se laisser assoupir par les données d'ensemble selon lesquelles les deux communautés linguistiques occupent dans la fonction publique une place équitable. Les Francophones doivent être mieux représentés dans la haute administration, aux postes scientifiques, ainsi qu'au Nouveau-Brunswick et dans les régions bilingues de l'Ontario. Les mesures du gouvernement pour assurer aux Anglophones une plus large place au Québec doivent être renforcées, notamment pour accroître leur participation dans les groupes de soutien administratif.**

La langue de travail

Le mouvement en faveur d'une utilisation plus équitable du français dans les régions bilingues a atteint un palier. Voici nos recommandations a ce sujet.

- **Une déclaration plus claire et plus positive sur ce qu'on souhaite, ou la mise au point de modèles notamment en ce qui a trait aux communications entre fonctionnaires occupant des postes bilingues, aux interactions hiérarchiques et aux activités mettant en rapport des membres des deux groupes linguistiques.**

- **Dans chaque ministère ou organisme on se doit de donner des directives particulières et circonstanciées sur la manière dont les fonctionnaires peuvent communiquer entre eux dans les diverses situations de travail, sous réserve qu'ils servent le public dans la langue appropriée.**

- **On doit sans cesse encourager les employés des deux langues à discuter entre eux et avec leurs chefs de service, dans un esprit de collaboration, les difficultés reliées à l'utilisation de leur langue au travail.**

- **La haute gestion doit assurer une direction active et encourager par l'exemple, individuellement et collectivement, l'emploi sans inhibition de l'une ou l'autre langue officielle dans les réunions, la correspondance et le cadre général du travail.**

- **Les ministeres et les organismes doivent mettre en oeuvre des mesures particulières pour que les fonctionnaires des deux communautés linguistiques puissent participer de façon créatrice à la production des documents nécessaires a l'organisme en ayant la possibilité d'en rédiger un nombre raisonnable dans leur propre langue.**

- **Une série d'études de détail, par opposition aux analyses des grandes tendances, doit être effectuée afin de déterminer comment l'anglais et le français servent effectivement entre les fonctionnaires, au jour le jour, et quels éléments dans ces rapports internes se prêtent à un meilleur équilibre entre les deux langues officielles.**

- **On doit examiner plus à fond les possibilités d'un bilinguisme passif, notamment pour les postes de supervision, où, pour une raison ou l'autre, certains fonctionnaires sont incapables d'une maîtrise active de la langue officielle seconde.**

- Les organismes centraux doivent apprécier, coordonner et promouvoir plus activement les essais fructueux des ministères en vue d'une repartition plus équilibrée des occasions d'employer le français et l'anglais.

La région de la Capitale nationale

- **Il faut une coordination et une coopération beaucoup plus poussées entre les diverses administrations publiques, et avec le secteur privé, pour que la région de la Capitale nationale illustre la dualité linguistique du pays. Le gouvernement fédéral doit inviter toutes les parties intéressées à se joindre à un groupe de travail qui examinerait les positions respectives du français et de l'anglais et qui élaborerait un plan d'action qui rendrait la capitale fédérale vraiment bilingue.**

Le secteur privé

- **Les citoyens ont des rapports beaucoup plus fréquents avec le secteur privé qu'avec le gouvernement. Ce dernier doit mener des consultations suivies avec l'entreprise au sujet des besoins du public et se prêter à des échanges portant sur l'expérience acquise et le savoir-faire. Il doit en outre recourir à des incitations pour accélérer les progres.**

- **Lorsque le gouvernement contribue à l'activité du secteur privé par des subventions, ou exerce un contrôle d'ordre réglementaire, il est logique qu'on doive tenir compte des besoins de la population en matière de langue officielle. Nous recommandons au gouvernement d'étudier comment les autorités fédérales pourraient favoriser une plus grande sensibilisation linguistique du secteur privé, et de prendre les mesures appropriées.**

- **Dans le cas des sociétés de la Couronne qui passeraient au secteur privé, celles-ci devraient être tenues de se conformer aux mêmes obligations linguistiques que celles que la loi leur impose presentement.**

La Loi sur les langues officielles

- **La *Loi sur les langues officielles* a plus de quinze ans. Il faut la réexaminer à la lumière des diverses propositions d'amendement de ces dernières années, y compris celles presentees par le premier Comite mixte et par notre Commissariat, afin de déterminer comment la Loi pourrait être mise à jour compte tenu de la situation actuelle.**

- **Dans le cadre du réexamen, le Parlement et le gouvernement sont invités à accorder une attention particulière aux propositions qui suivent :**

  - **remplacer les dispositions actuelles touchant les districts bilingues par de nouvelles qui auraient pour objet de favoriser la consultation et la collaboration intergouvernementales :**

  - **inscrire dans la Loi le principe exprimé dans la Résolution parlementaire de 1973 sur les langues officielles, selon lequel les fonctionnaires doivent, d'une façon générale et compte tenu de leur obligation de servir le public, être en mesure d'exercer leurs fonctions dans la langue officielle de leur choix :**

  - **affirmer que les entreprises mixtes, créées par le Parlement dans l'intérêt public, sont assujetties à la Loi ;**

  - **insérer dans la Loi une mention plus positive des langues autres que le français et l'anglais ;**

  - **préciser le mandat et le champ d'action du Commissaire aux langues officielles.**

Le Comité mixte sur les langues officielles

Compte tenu du présent rapport, le Comité mixte sur les langues officielles est invité :

- **à étudier avec soin où en est, dans l'ensemble, la réforme du régime linguistique dans la perspective du grand public, puis à examiner dans quelle mesure les activités gouvernementales et autres répondent aux besoins des communautés de langue officielle ;**
- **à examiner avec les hauts dirigeants des ministères et organismes les problèmes — obstacles ou lacunes — qui ont été mis à jour dans les rapports du Commissaire aux langues officielles, afin d'assurer une meilleure application de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* ;**
- **à élaborer des propositions favorisant une plus grande collaboration fédérale-provinciale en vue du soutien des minorités de langue officielle telle qu'envisagé dans le discours du Trône ; et, à cette fin, à prévoir des consultations avec le secteur privé et les milieux locaux ;**
- **à envisager un plan qui permettrait d'accorder une attention suivie à chacun des grands volets du programme au moins une fois au cours d'un cycle de plusieurs années ;**
- **à stimuler l'intérêt des deux Chambres pour les principaux rapports du Comité, afin que le Parlement accorde à la réforme du régime linguistique l'attention qu'elle mérite.**

II. LES MINORITÉS DE LANGUE OFFICIELLE

La reconnaissance institutionnelle du français et de l'anglais par les provinces

La Commission B.B., considérant les types de soutien institutionnel dont avaient besoin les minorités de langue officielle, a recommandé en substance : que s'applique, à égalité, au Nouveau-Brunswick, à l'Ontario et au Québec le bilinguisme des lois, du parlement et des tribunaux ; que des districts bilingues soient définis et établis dans tout le Canada, de concert avec les provinces ; que les provinces autres que le Nouveau-Brunswick, l'Ontario et le Québec « assurent les services appropriés, en français, à leurs minorités francophones ». Le Parlement, lors de l'adoption de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, y a incorporé la notion de districts bilingues, mais la recommandation touchant les « services appropriés » n'a pas eu d'autres suites. Eu égard aux changements constitutionnels et autres qui ont eu lieu ou qui ont été proposés dans l'intervalle, nous recommandons au gouvernement fédéral de mettre ses pouvoirs de persuasion au service des objectifs suivants :

- **Inscrire dans la Constitution le bilinguisme des lois, du parlement et des tribunaux ontariens, comme c'est déjà le cas pour le Nouveau-Brunswick et le Québec.**

- **Créer dans les autres provinces les « services appropriés, en français » pour les minorités francophones, compte tenu des « circonstances régionales ».**

- **Favoriser la reconnaissance et le maintien des communautés et des institutions du Québec anglophone.**

Comme la question des conséquences légales du bilinguisme institutionnel au Manitoba est toujours en instance devant la Cour suprême, nous ne ferons qu'exprimer l'espoir que le bilinguisme constitutionnel de la province se traduira en des termes concrets et contemporains grâce à des consultations politiques et communautaires.

La stratégie fédérale

- **Le gouvernement fédéral doit revoir sa stratégie d'ensemble à l'égard des communautés de langue officielle afin de la rendre plus cohérente, plus complète et plus convaincante.**

- **Le gouvernement doit mener des consultations avec les autorités provinciales intéressées et le secteur privé, en vue de favoriser, par des mesures incitatives, le maintien de la langue minoritaire dans le plus grand nombre de domaines possible, outre l'enseignement, la télédiffusion et l'organisation judiciaire.**

- **Le savoir-faire et tous les moyens appropriés du gouvernement fédéral doivent être mis à la disposition des autorités et des organismes intéressés, afin que les programmes de soutien des minorités linguistiques portent fruit, et que les majorités soient amenées à jouer un rôle plus actif à cet égard.**

- **Éventuellement, on devra mettre au point des accords bilatéraux, multilatéraux ou régionaux, formels et permanents, de collaboration fédérale-provinciale, afin de favoriser le maintien de la langue minoritaire.**

Les médias et le soutien culturel

La télédiffusion et l'imprimé peuvent jouer un rôle clé pour le maintien de l'intégrité culturelle d'une communauté. Nombre de collectivités de langue officielle vivent en quelque sorte dans un *no-man's land* sous ce rapport : elles ont accès à quelques médias dans leur langue — assez pour stimuler leur appetit, mais non pour engloutir la langue majoritaire. Le gouvernement a indiqué son intention de favoriser le « libre-échange » entre les médias et les autres institutions culturelles. Nous sommes entièrement d'accord. De plus, nous invitons instamment le gouvernement

- à étudier de plus près l'effet des coupures dans le budget de la Société Radio-Canada sur les services en langue anglaise au Québec et en langue française ailleurs ; et à réexaminer dans les plus brefs délais la possibilité d'une réaffectation de crédits pour soutenir ces services ;

- à s'assurer que son programme d'appui aux entreprises artistiques et culturelles tienne pleinement compte des besoins particuliers des minorités de langue officielle.

Analyses démographico-linguistiques

- On doit examiner avec minutie tous les éléments pertinents des données démographiques et sociologiques afin d'établir quels genres d'intervention institutionnelle en faveur des minorités seraient le plus utiles et le plus rentables dans le cadre de la collaboration fédérale-provinciale.

Éducation en langue minoritaire

- Nous invitons instamment les provinces à accélérer et à affermir, avec l'appui du gouvernement fédéral, leurs efforts pour appliquer, selon l'esprit et la lettre, l'article 23 de la Charte des droits et libertés, qui les oblige à fournir des établissements éducatifs de langue minoritaire qui soient conformes aux besoins de la minorité.

Éducation

- Nous proposons que les provinces soient encouragées à collaborer plus étroitement entre elles au chapitre de l'instruction en langue minoritaire et de l'enseignement de la langue seconde, et qu'elles organisent des projets en ce sens à l'échelon régional. Le gouvernement fédéral doit, de son côté, intensifier ses incitations et fournir son aide technique pour promouvoir la coopération interprovinciale et une meilleure appréciation des objectifs nationaux. Plus particulièrement, nous invitons les gouvernements fédéral et provinciaux à agir aussi positivement que possible en ce qui concerne la proposition d'un réseau canadien d'information linguistique, à des fins pédagogiques.

- Les universités sont de nouveau encouragées à rétablir les conditions d'admission touchant la langue seconde et à créer des cours qui se donneraient dans cette langue.

- **Les activités, telles que les échanges interprovinciaux, qui consolident l'acquisition de la langue seconde en dehors des cours, doivent faire l'objet d'une attention et d'un appui soutenus puisqu'elles favorisent la compréhension entre les deux communautés linguistiques officielles.**

Les langues patrimoniales

- **Nous estimons qu'il est temps de consolider les relations entre communautés culturelles, de préciser ce que comporte la politique du multiculturalisme dans un milieu bilingue et d'aider les organisations qui s'emploient à renforcer les liens entre les divers groupes ethnoculturels et les communautés de langue officielle. Nous prions le gouvernement fédéral d'indiquer aussi clairement que possible l'importance qu'il attache au maintien et à l'acquisition par les Canadiens d'autres langues que le français et l'anglais.**

ANNEXES

Le Commissariat: rôle, structure et activités

Le Commissaire aux langues officielles est désigné par commission sous le grand sceau, pour sept ans, après approbation de la nomination par résolution du Sénat et de la Chambre des communes. Tout comme le Commissariat, il est indépendant du Gouvernement ; il présente ses rapports au Parlement par l'entremise des présidents des deux chambres (voir organigramme 1). Aux fins de la *Loi sur l'administration financière*, le Commissariat est assimilé à un ministère ; à ce titre, il relève du Premier ministre en vertu de l'arrêté en conseil 1970-702 du 21 avril 1970.

L'article 25 de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* définit dans les termes qui suivent la mission du Commissaire :

> Il incombe au Commissaire de prendre, dans les limites de ses pouvoirs, toutes les mesures propres à faire reconnaître le statut de chacune des langues officielles et à faire respecter l'esprit de la (...) loi et l'intention du législateur dans l'administration des affaires des institutions du Parlement et du gouvernement du Canada. À cette fin, il procédera à des instructions, soit de sa propre initiative, soit à la suite des plaintes reçues par lui et fera les rapports et recommandations prévus en l'occurrence par la (...) loi.

L'article 34 confère en outre au Commissaire la tâche ci-après :

> ... (il) établira et soumettra chaque année au Parlement une déclaration relative à l'exercice de ses fonctions en vertu de la (...) loi au cours de l'année précédente. Il inclura, le cas échéant, les recommandations par lesquelles il propose d'apporter à la (...) loi les modifications qu'il estime nécessaires ou souhaitables pour permettre de donner effet à la (...) loi conformément à son esprit et à l'intention du législateur.

Au cours de leurs mandats successifs, les commissaires ont examiné à ce jour plus de 15 000 plaintes, et soumis à des études et des vérifications spéciales les ministères, sociétés de la Couronne et organismes fédéraux les plus importants. Ils ont aussi étudié certains volets du programme linguistique, tel celui de la langue de travail.

Essentiellement, le Commissaire remplit trois fonctions. En sa qualité de protecteur des droits linguistiques, il fait office d'ombudsman en la matière, intervient directement auprès du Gouvernement fédéral à la suite de plaintes touchant ses organismes, et saisit les administrations provinciales et municipales ainsi que les

organisations privées des questions relevant de leur compétence. En tant que vérificateur linguistique, il examine les mesures prises par les ministères et organismes fédéraux pour se conformer aux exigences de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et recommande des moyens pour remédier aux carences constatées. Enfin, en tant que défenseur de la réforme linguistique, il fait tout en son pouvoir pour favoriser l'équité et l'harmonie linguistique au Canada. C'est ainsi qu'il est intervenu au cours de l'année pour faire en sorte que les compressions budgétaires imposées à Radio-Canada n'altèrent pas les services que la Société dispense aux minorités linguistiques. Dans un autre cas, il s'est opposé à l'annulation du recensement quinquennal de 1986 parce qu'on serait ainsi privé jusqu'en 1991 des données linguistiques que ces opérations permettent de recueillir. Il a également pris part au débat portant d'une part sur le droit des ministres de recevoir les documents et communications qui leur sont destinés dans leur langue, et d'autre part sur celui des fonctionnaires de travailler dans la leur. Un usage bien établi, qui montre la bonne volonté de toutes les parties intéressées, veut aussi que le Commissaire confère de questions linguistiques non seulement avec les autorités fédérales, mais aussi avec les provinces.

Organisation

Le Commissaire est secondé dans ses multiples fonctions par un Sous-commissaire et un personnel de 135 employés permanents, dont la majorité travaille au siège d'Ottawa, et les autres (20) dans les cinq bureaux régionaux (Moncton, Montréal, Sudbury, Winnipeg et Edmonton). Le siège comprend quatre directions : Analyse des politiques et Liaison, Plaintes et Vérifications, Information, et Gestion des ressources (voir organigramme 2).

Fonctions et activités (1984)

Le Commissaire

L'année a été marquée, on le sait, par le départ du deuxième commissaire, M. Max Yalden, et par l'entrée en fonction de son successeur, M. D'Iberville Fortier, le 10 septembre. L'un et l'autre ont eu un emploi du temps chargé, multipliant les entretiens et les réunions avec des ministres et des hauts fonctionnaires fédéraux et provinciaux, des députés et des sénateurs, des représentants d'associations de minorités, d'autres ombudsmen et des membres de l'ordre judiciaire. Ces rencontres avaient un double objet : permettre au Commissaire de se tenir au fait de toutes les questions intéressant son mandat ; lui fournir l'occasion de communiquer ses vues et de promouvoir la réforme linguistique auprès des décideurs et de tous ceux et celles qui participent de près à la mise en oeuvre de la politique.

Pour des raisons analogues, les deux commissaires ont rencontré les hauts dirigeants des universités canadiennes ainsi que les directeurs et rédacteurs en chef des principaux journaux francophones et anglophones. Comme nous le notions ailleurs dans le présent rapport, le Commissariat a toujours accordé une grande importance au rôle des universités dans la formation des générations futures ;

l'intérêt qu'elles portent aux langues influe directement sur l'avenir linguistique du Canada. Et bien sûr, nous savons tous quelle influence les journaux exercent en ce qui concerne les questions d'intérêt public, y compris celle des langues.

Tous ces contacts exigent du Commissaire bien des déplacements au Canada, et parfois à l'étranger. Afin d'en tirer le meilleur parti, il s'applique à regrouper ces activités. Ainsi, s'il doit rendre visite à un premier ministre provincial, il fera en sorte de rencontrer le ministre de l'Éducation, des membres d'une association locale de la minorité linguistique, des autorités universitaires et d'accorder des interviews à la télévision ou à la radio.

En 1984, les deux commissaires ont prononcé des discours d'une haute importance devant des organisations ou à des symposiums réputés, dont l'Institut canadien des affaires internationales (à New York), le 69e congrès mondial de l'Association universelle pour l'espéranto (à Vancouver), le Colloque national sur les services linguistiques (tenu à Ottawa à l'occasion du 50e anniversaire du Bureau fédéral des traductions), une conférence nationale sur les droits linguistiques des minorités, tenue à l'Université McGill, et une célébration par la Fonction publique du quinzième anniversaire de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*. Ils ont assisté, l'un ou l'autre, au Caucus canadien sur les droits de la personne, à l'*International Ombudsman Conference* et, en personne ou par délégation, aux réunions annuelles de la *Canadian Parents for French*, de la Fédération des Francophones hors Québec, d'Alliance Québec et de toutes les associations francophones provinciales. Le Commissaire ou le Sous-commissaire ont également fait office d'interlocuteur ou de témoin principal à cinq rencontres du Comité mixte permanent de la politique et des programmes des langues officielles.

La revue des activités du Commissaire ne serait pas complète sans la mention du colloque tenu à Edmonton en mai, et dont le thème était *Les langues officielles : l'Ouest et son vécu*. Ce débat, organisé par le Commissariat et présidé par M. Louis Desrochers, un avocat d'Edmonton et ancien chancellier de l'Université de l'Alberta, et M. Bruce Howe, président de la *B.C. Resources Investment Corporation*, réunissait environ 85 personnes : gens d'affaires, universitaires, journalistes, hommes politiques, fonctionnaires et représentants de minorités. Pendant deux journées pleines d'animation, les participants ont examiné la situation complexe d'un pays où sont appelées à une coexistence harmonieuse deux langues officielles et une multitude de cultures. Les actes du colloque ont été publiés dans le numéro 14 de *Langue et société*, revue d'information et d'opinions produite par le Commissariat.

Analyse des politiques et Liaison

Cette Direction remplit un rôle d'interprétation, de coordination et de présence extérieure. Elle analyse les orientations en matière publique, les décisions judiciaires et les événements locaux intéressant la mission du Commissariat, et d'une façon générale, les questions d'ordre linguistique. La liaison est assurée principalement par cinq bureaux régionaux ; en plus de maintenir un lien entre les services fédéraux et la population canadienne, ceux-ci fournissent au Commissaire une information à jour sur les questions linguistiques qui se posent dans les provinces et les régions, et sur le rendement linguistique des ministères et organismes fédéraux dans les diverses parties du Canada.

Au cours de l'année, l'analyse des politiques a comporté : un échantillonnage de l'aptitude des administrations fédérales à servir les minorités de langues officielles dans tout le Canada ; une nouvelle étude des mesures propres à améliorer la situation touchant la langue de travail ; et un réexamen des exigences linguistiques afin de déterminer leurs répercussions sur les communautés de langue officielle dans la fonction publique. La Direction a par ailleurs suivi de près les débats judiciaires, de plus en plus nombreux, qui visent à éprouver la législation linguistique des provinces et la Constitution, et a collaboré à la mise au point des exposés du Commissaire devant les commissions parlementaires et à d'autres tribunes, ainsi qu'à la préparation du présent rapport.

Grâce aux bureaux régionaux de Moncton, Montréal, Sudbury, Winnipeg et Edmonton, le Commissariat maintient des relations étroites avec les communautés minoritaires de langue officielle ainsi qu'avec les autorités fédérales et provinciales de toutes les régions du Canada. Ces bureaux contribuent par ailleurs au règlement des plaintes dans leur territoire, et leurs agents prêtent leur concours au personnel du siège social pour mener à bien des vérifications nationales ou régionales des organismes fédéraux. Au cours de l'année, le personnel régional a traité et réglé nombre de plaintes, a participé à dix vérifications nationales, à des centaines de mini-vérifications et de suivis ; il a également eu des entretiens avec un large éventail de particuliers et de fonctionnaires de façon à mieux les informer de leurs droits et obligations.

Plaintes et Vérifications

Cette Direction est le principal organe opérationnel du Commissariat. Conformément à la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, elle s'occupe des plaintes et effectue des vérifications linguistiques auprès des ministères, sociétés de la Couronne et organismes fédéraux. Elle assiste le Commissaire dans sa fonction d'ombudsman en faisant enquête sur les 1 000 à 1 500 plaintes qui lui parviennent annuellement. Le chapitre 2 de la partie II rend compte de celles reçues en 1984 et de leurs motifs et solutions. C'est également elle qui mène, sur l'initiative du Commissaire, les vérifications périodiques. La Direction assure en outre le suivi des vérifications antérieures et des principaux dossiers des plaintes, et établit des appréciations annuelles touchant l'aptitude de chaque service fédéral à satisfaire aux prescriptions de la *Loi sur les langues officielles*.

La Direction se compose de cinq divisions, chacune étant responsable d'un ensemble d'organismes regroupés selon des critères fonctionnels : service auprès du public voyageur, vocation économique, mandat scientifique ou technique, etc. Chaque agent se voit confier un certain nombre d'organismes, ce qui lui permet d'acquérir la compétence nécessaire pour traiter les plaintes à fond et, au besoin, coordonner les vérifications et les études visant à apprécier leur rendement linguistique. Un secrétariat est chargé de la coordination.

En 1984, la Direction a été saisie de 1 421 plaintes (voir tableau A.1), dont 137 étaient irrecevables aux termes de la Loi. Parmi ces plaintes et celles présentées antérieurement, 1 307 ont fait l'objet de mesures correctives de la part des organismes concernés. La Direction a aussi donné suite à 134 demandes de renseignements sur diverses questions relatives à l'application de la Loi ; elle a effectué 28 études spéciales et vérifications (voir tableau A.2).

Information

Cette Direction seconde le Commissaire dans sa fonction d'information publique. Elle le conseille en la matière et l'aide à mieux faire connaître le contenu et l'esprit de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et à promouvoir une attitude ouverte à l'égard de la dualité linguistique du Canada.

Tout comme ses prédécesseurs, le commissaire actuel voit dans les programmes d'information des instruments essentiels de l'action que lui impose ses obligations envers le Parlement.

La Direction a mis au point des programmes destinés au grand public, aux jeunes, aux fonctionnaires fédéraux et aux minorités de langue officielle. Elle publie la revue *Langue et société*, s'occupe des relations du Commissaire avec les médias dans toutes les parties du Canada, coordonne la préparation du rapport annuel et dirige la bibliothèque du Commissariat.

Le programme jeunesse a pour objet de renseigner les jeunes sur le statut de l'anglais et du français au Canada, de les sensibiliser à l'emploi très répandu de ces deux langues dans le monde entier et de les informer sur les droits linguistiques que confèrent la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et la *Loi constitutionnelle du Canada*. Ce programme a été élaboré au cours des années avec le concours d'un Comité consultatif dont les membres sont proposés par le Conseil des ministres de l'Éducation. Nous sommes reconnaissants envers ces représentants des provinces de leurs avis et de leur appui. Le programme a été conçu principalement pour les jeunes de 9 à 18 ans, mais certains éléments s'adressent également à des personnes plus jeunes ou plus âgées.

Les documents à l'intention de la jeunesse ont connu cette année encore une grande vogue. En particulier, nous nous réjouissons du vif intérêt que soulèvent toujours les trousses *Explorations* et *Oh ! Canada 2* (un disque récent, destiné à compléter cette dernière, a été distribué à 31 000 exemplaires en l'espace de deux mois). Durant l'année, la Direction a diffusé quelque 83 000 exemplaires d'*Explorations*, 110 000 de *Oh ! Canada 2* et 100 000 affiches, en réponse à quelque 38 000 demandes venant de jeunes Canadiens et de leurs parents, d'écoles et d'organisations diverses (voir tableaux A.3 et A.4).

Le programme destiné aux fonctionnaires fédéraux les renseigne sur leurs droits et obligations, aux termes de la Loi. On a beaucoup fait en 1984 pour inciter les fonctionnaires à indiquer clairement au public qu'il peut être servi dans l'une ou l'autre des deux langues officielles. On a mis à leur disposition dans tout le Canada des cartes comptoir portant les mentions « A votre service en français et en anglais » et « English or French, it's your choice », ainsi que des macarons aux mêmes indications. On a distribué 50 000 de ces cartes et 14 000 de ces macarons. Une affiche marquant le quinzième anniversaire de la Loi a également été diffusée.

Un troisième programme, destiné aux communautés francophones hors Québec et à la minorité anglophone de cette province, a été conçu pour les informer du droit à des services fédéraux dans leur langue officielle, tel que prévu par la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et par la Constitution, et sur l'aide que le Commissariat peut leur apporter à cet égard. Durant l'année, la Direction a réalisé une série de messages

d'intérêt public, en réponse aux invitations de groupes minoritaires francophones. Ces messages, qui encouragent les particuliers à exercer le droit à des services dans leur langue, ont été diffusés par les groupes intéressés, et cela dans leurs propres publications.

La Direction a aussi à son compte un certain nombre de productions grand public. Un numéro spécial de *Langue et société*, revue trimestrielle du Commissariat, a été consacré aux cours immersifs en français. Ce numéro, paru en mars, a suscité beaucoup d'intérêt ; à ce jour la demande s'élève à 23 000 exemplaires. Un autre numéro spécial, paru à l'automne, renferme les actes du colloque d'Edmonton. On a aussi réalisé deux émissions de télévision d'une demi-heure pour commémorer le vingtième anniversaire de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme ; elles ont été diffusées par toutes les stations TVA et nombre de stations de CTV. La version en langue anglaise a remporté une médaille d'argent à l'International Television Film Competition, à New York.

Une autre fonction importante de la Direction auprès du public consiste à donner suite aux demandes de renseignements sur des questions touchant les langues. Il y a eu 4 500 de ces demandes en 1984. Au total, les demandes de renseignements et de documents (y compris ceux destinés à la jeunesse) ont atteint le chiffre de 54 000.

Gestion des ressources

Le rôle de cette Direction consiste à surveiller sous tous ses aspects la gestion du personnel du Commissariat, à seconder et conseiller les administrateurs pour ce qui est des lignes directrices et des pratiques en ce domaine, à administrer le budget, à contrôler les dépenses et à veiller à ce que les ressources matérielles soient exploitées efficacement et rationnellement. Comme le Commissaire est indépendant du gouvernement et de la Fonction publique, il y a eu délégation d'autorité au Commissariat pour la plupart des questions relatives au personnel, aux finances et à la gestion des ressources.

Les questions relatives au budget du Commissariat, qui était de 9 994 000 $ pour l'exercice 1984-1985, et à ses 135 employés permanents, relèvent de cette direction. L'effectif total compte 73 pour cent de Francophones et 27 pour cent d'Anglophones (tous bilingues) ; les femmes forment 52 pour cent du personnel et les hommes 48 pour cent. Environ 60 pour cent du budget est absorbé par les traitements et les cotisations aux régimes d'avantages sociaux ; 26 pour cent sont affectés à l'information, les 14 pour cent qui restent servent aux frais d'administration et d'exploitation.

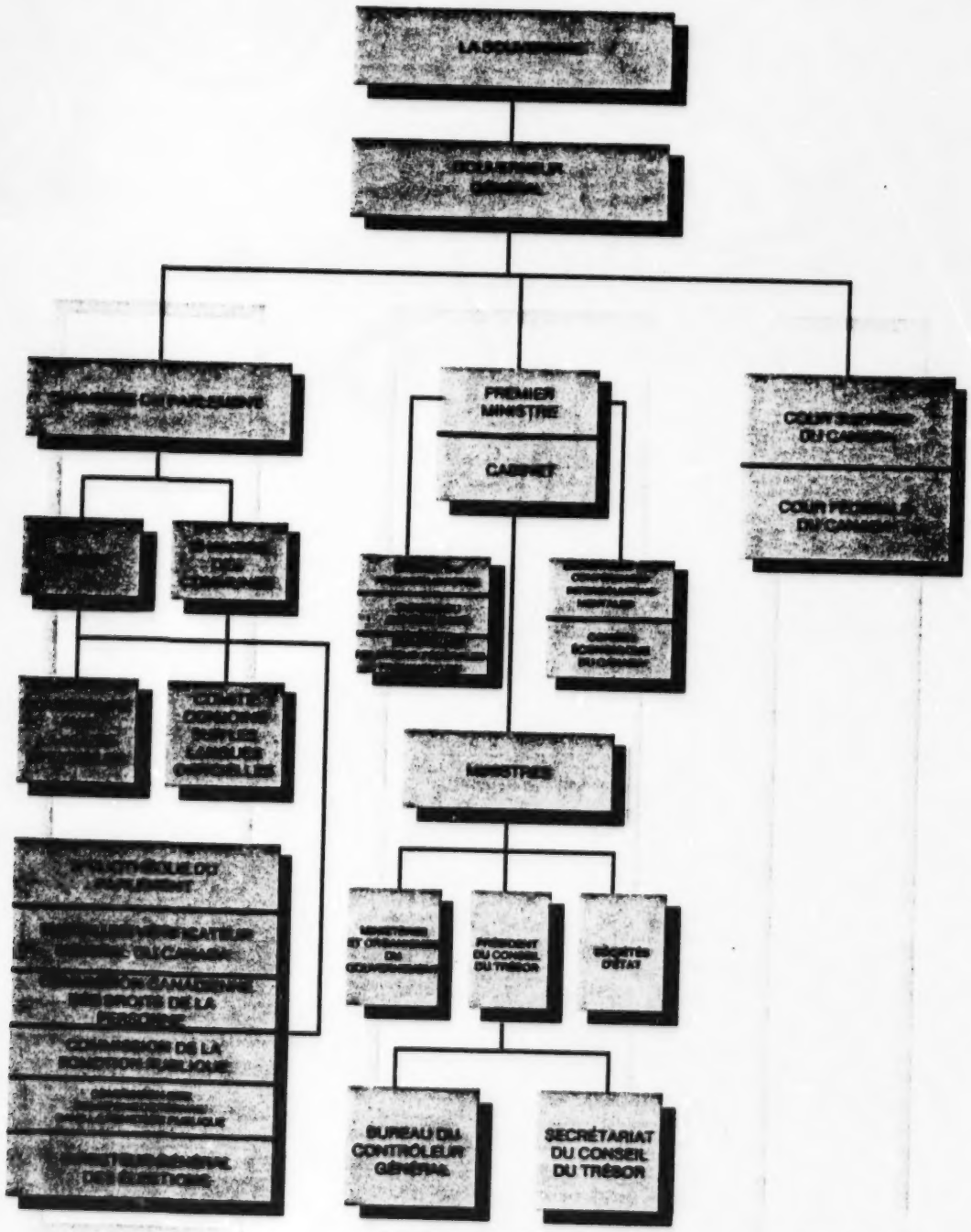
Le Commissariat s'est conformé aux mesures prescrites en septembre dernier par le gouvernement en vue de réduire les dépenses. Il a en outre amorcé fin 1984 un réexamen d'une partie de ses structures et de certains de ses programmes et activités afin d'en évaluer l'utilité et l'efficacité. Compte tenu par ailleurs du fait que le programme des langues officielles fait l'objet d'une évaluation globale et de l'intention manifeste du gouvernement d'adopter une attitude différente à l'égard des questions linguistiques, le Commissariat a pris de surcroît diverses initiatives afin de réaliser les objectifs définis dans le présent rapport.

Conclusion

Le Commissaire souhaite, pour les mois à venir, insuffler un esprit de renouvellement à la réforme linguistique, et faire progresser la reconnaissance de l'égalité des deux langues officielles. Nous pourrons rendre compte l'an prochain des fruits de cette réflexion ainsi que des mesures qui seront prises. Elles ont pour seul objet de permettre au Commissaire et au Commissariat de remplir effectivement leur mandat en assurant le plus complètement et efficacement possible la protection et la promotion des droits linguistiques des Canadiens.

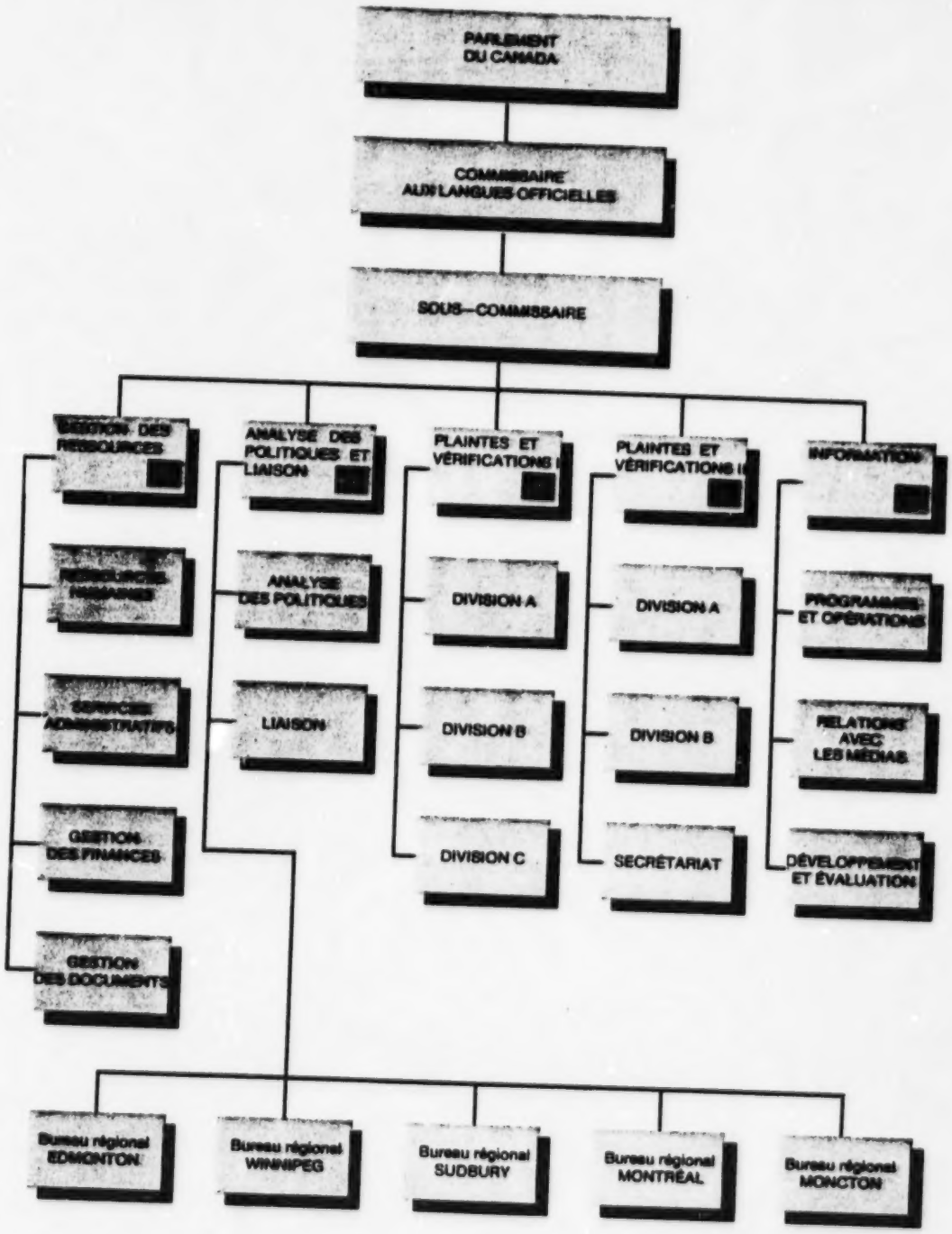
GOUVERNEMENT DU CANADA
Organigramme abrégé

1



COMMISSARIAT AUX LANGUES OFFICIELLES 2

Organigramme



■ effectif

LES PLAINTES

A.1

Répartition numérique des plaintes, selon la province, 1970-1983 et 1984; organismes mis en cause et nature des plaintes, selon la province, 1984.

	1970-1983	1984						
	Total des plaintes reçues	Plaintes reçues	Organismes mis en cause		Nature des plaintes Français		Anglais	
	Nombre	Nombre	Fédéraux	Non fédéraux	Langue de service	Langue de travail	Langue de service	Langue de travail
Terre-Neuve	47	25	23	2	25		—	
Île du Prince-Édouard	90	67	67	—	66		—	
Nouvelle-Écosse	267	97	95	2	96		1	
Nouveau-Brunswick	1 156	153	116	37	144		6	
Québec[a]	3 531	289	217	72	72		154	
Ontario[b]	7 157	497	468	29	429		25	
Manitoba	863	151	144	7	146		3	
Saskatchewan	512	58	57	1	57		1	
Alberta	658	52	48	4	50		2	
Colombie-Britannique	374	37	37	—	37		—	
Territoires du Nord-Ouest et du Yukon	18	4	4	—	4		—	
Étranger	91	8	8	—	7	—	1	
TOTAL	14 764	1 421	1 284	137	1 133		193	

[a] Inclut le côté québécois de la région de la Capitale nationale

[b] Inclut le côté ontarien de la région de la Capitale nationale

LES ÉTUDES ET VÉRIFICATIONS LINGUISTIQUES

A.2

Études spéciales et vérifications linguistiques effectuées dans les ministères et organismes fédéraux, 1982, 1983 et 1984.

1982

Administration de pilotage de l'Atlantique

Affaires extérieures (missions à l'étranger et bureaux des passeports)

Bureau des relations fédérales-provinciales

Cabinet du Premier ministre

Centre canadien d'hygiène et de sécurité au travail

Commission canadienne des droits de la personne

Commission canadienne des transports

Commission de contrôle de l'énergie atomique

Commission de révision de l'impôt

Conseil canadien des normes

Conseil des recherches en sciences naturelles et en génie

Conseil des Sciences du Canada

Construction de Défense (1951) Limitée

Défense nationale (les structures et contrôles et les coordonnateurs de programmes de langues officielles)

Eldorado nucléaire limitée

Emploi et Immigration (Nord de l'Ontario)

Finances

La langue de travail dans la Fonction publique fédérale

Radio-Canada

Revenu national (Douanes)

Revenu national (Impôt)

Société pour l'expansion des exportations

Télécommunications CNCP

1983

Agence d'examen de l'investissement étranger

Comité de révision des accidents d'aviation

Comité permanent canadien des noms géographiques

Commission canadienne d'examen des exportations des biens culturels

Commission des champs de bataille nationaux

Commission du tarif

Commission sur les pratiques restrictives du commerce

Conseil des arts du Canada

Corporation commerciale canadienne

Corporation de développement du Cap-Breton

Cour fédérale (Administration)

Cour suprême (Administration)

Emploi et Immigration : participation anglophone au Québec

Gendarmerie royale du Canada (Nouveau-Brunswick et Île du Prince-Édouard)

Pétro-Canada

Pont international de la voie maritime

Secrétariat des conférences intergouvernementales canadiennes

Secrétariat d'État (Bureau des traductions)

Service correctionnel

Société canadienne des brevets et d'exploitation Ltée

Société canadienne des postes

Société d'assurance-dépôts du Canada

Société immobilière du Canada (Le Vieux-Port de Montréal) Ltée

Société immobilière du Canada (Vieux-Port de Québec) Inc.

Société immobilière du Canada (Mirabel) Limitée

Travaux publics

Utilisation de la traduction

1984

Administration de pilotage des Laurentides

Affaires des anciens combattants

Agriculture (services internes et recherche et développement)

Commission des allocations aux anciens combattants

Commission des pensions

Bureaux des services juridiques des pensions

Commission d'appel des pensions

Affaires extérieures (siège social)

Air Canada (aéroport international de Toronto: langue de service)

Air Canada (district d'Ottawa: langue de travail)

Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines

CN (tour et hôtels)

CN (langue de travail au siège social)

Expansion industrielle régionale (Bureau du tourisme)

Gendarmerie royale du Canada (administration centrale)

Harbourfront

Justice

Office canadien pour un renouveau industriel

Office national de l'énergie

Office national du film

Parcs Canada

Rapports linguistiques entre cinq sociétés de la Couronne et leurs fournisseurs du Québec

Sénat

Société de construction des musées du Canada

Travail

Tribunal antidumping

Vérificateur général du Canada

Inspecteur général des banques

LES PROGRAMMES JEUNESSE : DISTRIBUTION

A.3

Répartition, en nombre et en pourcentage, des trousses *Oh! Canada 2* et *Explorations* distribuées dans chaque province et répartition de l'effectif des jeunes de 7 à 12 ans et de 13 à 17 ans de chaque province par rapport à l'ensemble national, 1980 à 1984.

	OH! CANADA 2			EXPLORATIONS		
	Trousses distribuées[a]		Jeunes de 7 à 12 ans[c]	Trousses distribuées[b]		Jeunes de 13 à 17 ans[c]
	Nombre	%	%	Nombre	%	%
Terre-Neuve	17 505	2,6	3,3	[illegible]	1,5	3,0
Île du Prince-Édouard	4 187	0,6	0,6	[illegible]	0,7	0,6
Nouvelle-Écosse	26 900	4,0	3,8	[illegible]	2,7	4,0
Nouveau-Brunswick	65 336	9,7	3,4	[illegible]	2,8	3,4
Québec	115 318	17,2	23,8	[illegible]	33,7	22,0
Ontario	283 448	42,2	35,6	[illegible]	37,4	37,7
Manitoba	29 [illegible]	4,4	4,3	[illegible]	3,2	4,2
Saskatchewan	[illegible]	3,1	4,3	[illegible]	2,6	4,3
Alberta	[illegible]	5,9	9,9	[illegible]	4,4	9,4
Colombie-Britannique	55 573	8,3	10,6	[illegible]	8,5	11,1
Territoire du Yukon	778	0,1	0,1	[illegible]	0,1	0,1
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	2 [illegible]	0,4	0,3	[illegible]	0,1	0,2
Autres[d]	9 [illegible]	1,5	—	[illegible]	2,3	—
TOTAL	671 [illegible]	100,0	100,0	[illegible]	100,0	100,0

[a] Trousses distribuées entre le 7 novembre 1980 et le 31 décembre 1984.

[b] Trousses distribuées entre le 22 septembre 1980 et le 31 décembre 1984.

[c] Ces pourcentages sont tirés du Bulletin nº 81-210 de Statistique Canada, *Effectifs des écoles primaires et secondaires*, 1982-1983.

[d] Trousses distribuées à des ministères fédéraux et provinciaux, à l'exclusion de ceux de l'Éducation, à des organismes nationaux et à des pays étrangers.

LES PROGRAMMES JEUNESSE : COÛTS

A.4

Conception, fabrication et distribution des trousses *Oh! Canada 2* et *Explorations* : nombre d'exemplaires et coûts, 1979-1980, 1980-1981, 1981-1982, 1982-1983 1983-1984 et 1984-1985.

	Conception et fabrication		Distribution[a]	
OH! CANADA 2	**Nombre d'exemplaires**	**Coûts (en $)**	**Nombre d'exemplaires**	**Coûts (en $)**
1979-1980	301 508[b]	[illegible]	—	—
1980-1981	—	[illegible]	126 944	[illegible]
1981-1982	457 068	[illegible]	174 259	[illegible]
1982-1983	—	[illegible]	196 793	[illegible]
1983-1984	308 000[b,c]	[illegible]	92 014[b]	[illegible]
1984-1985	—	[illegible]	108 000[d]	[illegible]
TOTAL	[illegible]	[illegible]	699 010	[illegible]

EXPLORATIONS				
1979-1980	301 722[b]	[illegible]	—	[illegible]
1980-1981	—	[illegible]	148 173	[illegible]
1981-1982	130 948	[illegible]	53 517	[illegible]
1982-1983	—	[illegible]	85 142	[illegible]
1983-1984	182 213	[illegible]	78 333[b]	[illegible]
1984-1985	—	[illegible]	79 000[d]	[illegible]
TOTAL	514 881	[illegible]	444 165	[illegible]

[a] Comprend les frais d'administration, de publicité, d'expédition et d'évaluation.

[b] Les frais de conception et de fabrication sont répartis sur deux années budgétaires.

[c] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1983*.

[d] Estimation.

[e] Comprend les frais d'impression de 200 000 cartes-affiches *Langues du monde* ainsi que de 100 000 brochures *Dossier langues* supplémentaires.

[f] Comprend le développement et la production d'éléments sonores.

[g] Comprend le développement et l'impression de la deuxième édition de la carte-affiche *Langues du monde*.

[h] Comprend l'informatisation de certaines fonctions reliées à la distribution.

[i] Comprend la diffusion d'éléments sonores.

LES QUESTIONS LINGUISTIQUES VOUS INTÉRESSENT ?

A.5

Imprimés, matériel audiovisuel et trousses pour les jeunes produits par le Commissariat aux langues officielles.*

IMPRIMÉS

Rapport annuel. Publication bilingue présentée tous les printemps au Parlement. Fournit aux parlementaires et au grand public les données qui leur permettront de juger des progres de la réforme du régime linguistique entreprise au Canada il y a 15 ans. Environ 200 pages dans chaque langue.

Langue et société. Trimestriel bilingue qui s'adresse à tous ceux qu'intéressent les questions linguistiques qui se posent ici et dans d'autres pays. Réunit une variété d'informations et d'opinions de collaborateurs canadiens et étrangers. Environ 24 pages dans chaque langue.

Le Commissariat aux langues officielles. Brochure bilingue qui décrit l'activité, la mission et la structure du Commissariat. Quatre pages dans chaque langue.

La Loi sur les langues officielles : que prévoit-elle réellement? Dépliant bilingue qui explique la Loi et le rôle du Commissaire.

Vos droits linguistiques et les moyens de les protéger. Dépliant bilingue sur les droits que protège la *Loi sur les langues officielles*, le rôle d'ombudsman du Commissaire et la façon de porter plainte.

Services en français/Service in English. Feuillet bilingue qui explique en quelques mots la nature des droits linguistiques qu'ont les Canadiens en matière de services fédéraux. Donne les adresses et numéros de téléphone des bureaux du Commissaire. En blocs de 50 feuillets de 9 × 22 cm chacun.

À votre service en français ou en anglais. Carte comptoir bilingue proposée aux ministères et aux fonctionnaires pour annoncer la disponibilité de services dans les deux langues officielles. Existe en deux formats : 18 × 23 cm, et 13 × 16 cm, avec calendrier au verso. Décalcomanies et macarons portant le même message également disponibles.

Deux langues, un passé. Affiche bilingue décrivant succinctement les principaux evenements linguistiques survenus au Canada depuis la Confédération jusqu'à 1979. Format 60 × 84 cm. Sera mise à jour au cours de 1985.

Langues du monde/Les langues au Canada. Carte-affiche bilingue qui, d'un côté, illustre les langues officielles de quelque 160 pays et, de l'autre, offre des données sur le français et l'anglais au Canada ainsi que sur les langues autochtones et patrimoniales. Format 91 × 61 cm.

Les langues autochtones au Canada. Affiche bilingue donnant la répartition géographique, le nombre de locuteurs et les chances de survie de quelque 54 langues indiennes et inuit. Format 30 × 65 cm.

Deux langues, c'est tout un monde. Affiche bilingue dont le thème est mis en relief par la couleur et le graphisme. Format 53 × 70 cm.

Le français et l'anglais ... dans près de la moitié des pays du monde. Affiche bilingue qui donne, sur un fond de ballons aux couleurs vives, les drapeaux des pays ou nos deux langues officielles sont communément utilisées. Une légende au verso identifie ces pays. Format 48 × 69 cm.

Le français et l'anglais assurent au Canada une place de choix. Affiche bilingue publiée pour commémorer le 15e anniversaire de la Loi. 16 × 25 cm.

POUR LES JEUNES

Explorations. Trousse bilingue de trois éléments destinée aux jeunes de 13 à 17 ans. C'est un tour du monde qui les sensibilise au statut international du français et de l'anglais dans un univers linguistique extrêmement varié. Avec le jeu **Explorations**, les joueurs vont de ville en ville, au hasard des dés. La carte-affiche, **Langues du monde./Les langues au Canada** et la brochure **Le dossier langues** complètent l'ensemble.

Le dossier langues. Un recueil d'articles, d'illustrations et d'activités qui renseignent sur l'histoire et le rôle des langues. Seize pages dans chaque langue.

Oh! Canada 2. Trousse bilingue amusante et instructive pour enfants de 8 à 12 ans. Elle comprend une brochure de 32 pages intitulée **Oh! Canada 2**, qui s'ouvre sur une bande dessinée racontant les incroyables aventures de Hildie, Jamie, Michel et Geneviève la tortue. Les pages suivantes sont un pot-pourri d'activités et de jeux : devinettes, découpages, proverbes, etc. La trousse contient aussi un jeu appelé **Retrouvons Geneviève** qui invite à parcourir le Canada à la recherche de l'espiègle tortue, et un disque 33 tours **Le Téléphone**. Ce dernier est aussi distribué séparément.

Prêtez l'oreille. Trousse destinée aux parents et aux enseignants. Elle propose une cassette audio de 30 minutes et un guide d'utilisation conçus pour inciter les jeunes de 9 à 12 ans à réfléchir au rôle du langage et à se former l'oreille aux sons de la langue seconde officielle.

Nos amis à plumes. Affiche qui donne les noms français et anglais d'un bon nombre d'oiseaux qui égaient les villes et les campagnes de l'Amérique du Nord.

Sauvons Geneviève. Décalque bilingue, haut en couleurs, de Geneviève, l'espiègle tortue de la bande dessinée **Oh! Canada 2**. Idéal pour un T-shirt, 15 cm de diamètre.

Les hiboux hululent. Le langage animal est prétexte à une leçon d'anglais et de français. Poster bilingue de 45 × 59 cm.

MATÉRIEL AUDIOVISUEL[b]

Au-delà des mots ... la Loi sur les langues officielles. Court métrage en couleur de 15 minutes expliquant la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et ce qu'elle représente concrètement pour le Canada et les Canadiens. Décrit également le rôle du Commissaire. Utile pour les séances d'information et les colloques destinés au grand public ou aux fonctionnaires. Également disponible en version anglaise. Existe en 16 mm et en vidéocassette de ¾ po.

Deux langues pour mieux se comprendre. Diaporama qui traite de la *Loi sur les langues officielles* et du mandat du Commissaire. Recommandé pour des séances d'information, des colloques. Également disponible en versions bilingue et anglaise. Jeu de 60 diapositives couleur et bande sonore, ou vidéocassette de ¾ po; 10 minutes.

Il était deux fois... Twice Upon a Time. Le bilinguisme canadien vu avec le sourire. Vise surtout à susciter la discussion. Court-métrage couleur en 16 mm ou en vidéocassette de ¾ po, 10 minutes.

Nos deux langues et nous. Diaporama renseignant tous les publics sur les supports d'information que l'on peut obtenir gracieusement du Commissariat. Également disponible en version anglaise et en version bilingue, **Keeping in Touch en deux langues**. Jeu de 50 diapositives couleur et bande sonore ou vidéocassette de ¾ po; 7 minutes.

B. B. vingt ans après. Reportage réalisé à l'occasion du 20e anniversaire de la Commission royale d'enquête sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme. Des entrevues avec diverses personnalités permettent de faire le point sur les progrès accomplis. Également disponible en version anglaise, *Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Twenty Years Later*. Sur vidéocassette de ¾ po., couleur, 30 minutes.

[a] Pour obtenir les publications décrites ci-dessus il suffit d'écrire à la Direction de l'information, Commissariat aux langues officielles, Ottawa, K1A 0T8.

[b] Le matériel audiovisuel peut être emprunté de toutes les cinémathèques de l'Office national du film et du Commissariat.

LES PROGRAMMES DE LANGUES OFFICIELLES

B.1

Ventilation des prévisions budgétaires et des effectifs affectés aux programmes de langues officielles à l'extérieur et au sein de la Fonction publique fédérale, 1983-1984 et 1984-1985.

	1983-1984		1984-1985	
	Prévisions budgétaires révisées ($ 000)	Effectif	Prévisions budgétaires révisées ($ 000)	Effectif
PROGRAMMES EXTERNES : PROVINCES, TERRITOIRES ET ORGANISMES				
Secrétariat d'État				
• Paiements de transfert aux provinces et aux territoires au titre des programmes de langues	182 161[a]		204 377	
• Subventions aux groupes minoritaires de langue officielle	21 000		20 856	
• Subventions au titre des programmes d'expansion du bilinguisme	1 899		2 377	
• Dépenses de fonctionnement	2 866		3 946	
Commission de la Capitale nationale				
• Subventions à des programmes externes de bilinguisme	300		300	
Commissaire aux langues officielles	9 515		9 994	
Total partiel	217 741		241 852	
PROGRAMMES INTERNES : FONCTION PUBLIQUE ET FORCES ARMÉES				
Conseil du Trésor				
• Direction des langues officielles	4 735		4 920	
Commission de la Fonction publique				
• Formation linguistique	33 901	744	36 522	
• Administration et autres activités	6 338	148	3 308	
Secrétariat d'État				
• Services de langues officielles[b]	81 869	1 834	86 740	
Autres ministères et organismes	72 311	2 [illegible]	80 619	
Forces armées	37 691	[illegible]	42 511	[illegible]
Total partiel	236 845	4 548	254 619	[illegible]
TOTAL	**454 586**	**4 7[illegible]**	**496 471**	[illegible]

[a] Dans le Rapport annuel 1983, cette somme était ventilée comme suit: Subventions aux provinces au titre de l'enseignement dans la langue minoritaire et de la langue seconde (140 000 000 $) et Subventions au titre des programmes jeunesse pour l'apprentissage des langues (42 161 000 $).

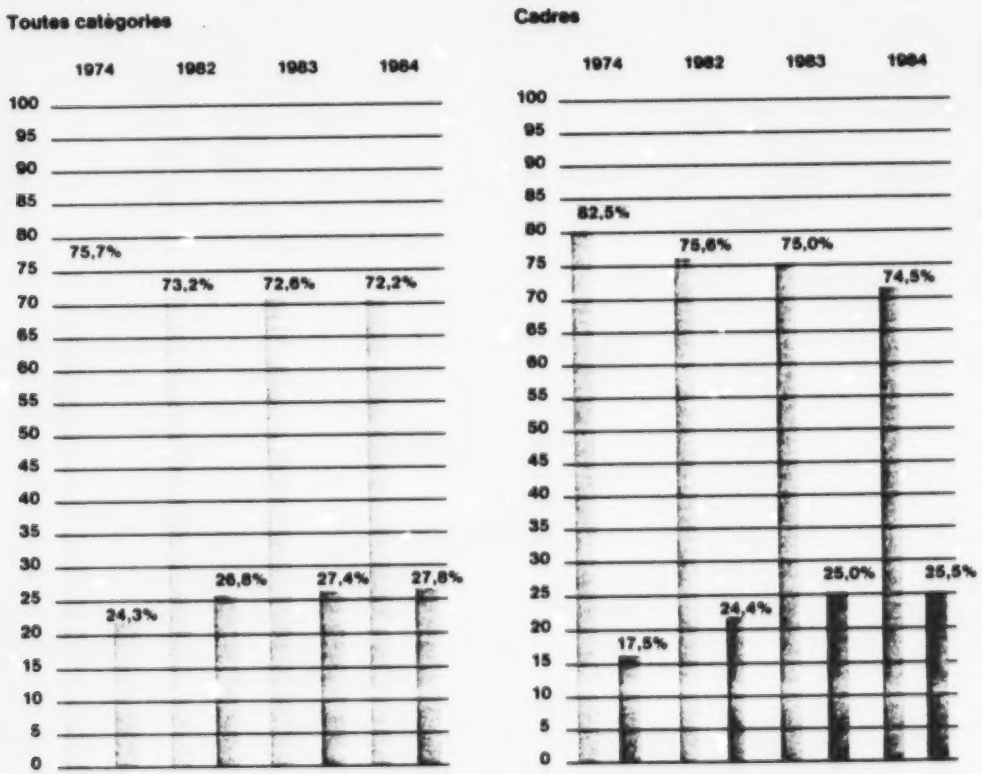
[b] Le terme *Bureau des traductions* a été remplacé par celui de *Services de langues officielles*.

Sources : Budget principal des dépenses et Budget supplémentaire des dépenses des années budgétaires 1983-1984 et 1984-1985, et rapports émanant des ministères et organismes concernés.

LES DEUX GROUPES DE LANGUES OFFICIELLES ET LA FONCTION PUBLIQUE DU CANADA

B.2

Répartition, en pourcentage et selon la première langue officielle[a], de l'effectif de la Fonction publique (toutes catégories professionnelles et cadres[b]), 1974, 1982, 1983 et 1984.



Legende :

Anglophones

Francophones

Note : Il est intéressant de comparer les données de ce tableau avec les statistiques pour 1965 de la Commission sur le bilinguisme et le biculturalisme, bien que celles-ci portent sur la langue maternelle des employés et non leur première langue officielle. La répartition des Anglophones et des Francophones pour toutes les catégories étaient alors respectivement de 78,5 et 21,5 %.

[a] La Commission de la Fonction publique et le Conseil du Trésor définissent comme première langue officielle « la langue officielle (le français et l'anglais) à laquelle l'employé (ou l'employée) est le plus attaché ».

[b] Comprend les catégories suivantes : Gestion, Scientifiques et spécialistes, Administration et service extérieur, Techniciens.

Sources : Commission de la Fonction publique (cadres) et Système d'information sur les langues officielles du Conseil du Trésor (toutes catégories).

EFFECTIFS DES PROGRAMMES DE LANGUE SECONDE DANS LES ÉCOLES PUBLIQUES DE CHACUNE DES PROVINCES

B.3

Élèves apprenant le français dans chacune des neuf provinces majoritairement anglophones ou l'anglais au Québec; rapport, en pourcentage, entre la population scolaire[a] et celle qui fait cet apprentissage et temps qui y est consacré, en pourcentage, 1970-1971, 1983-1984 et 1984-1985.

NIVEAU ÉLÉMENTAIRE[b]		Population scolaire	Population en cours de langue seconde Nombre	%	Temps consacré à l'apprentissage (en %)
Terre-Neuve	1970-1971	101 877	21 835	21,4	5,0
	1983-1984[r]	79 088	36 969	46,7	6,8
	1984-1985[c]	75 983	37 538	49,4	7,2
Île du Prince-Édouard	1970-1971	16 818	3 561	21,2	8,0
	1983-1984[r]	10 792	6 404	59,3	6,3
	1984-1985[c]	10 681	6 435	60,4	6,5[d]
Nouvelle-Écosse	1970-1971	121 994	12 642	10,4	7,0
	1983-1984[r]	89 226	41 940	47,0	7,4
	1984-1985[d]	88 500	42 500	48,0	7,5
Nouveau-Brunswick	1970-1971	61 923	37 305	60,2	8,0
	1983-1984[r]	41 667	29 592	71,0	9,7
	1984-1985[c]	39 271	28 837	73,4	9,5
Québec	1970-1971	824 029	339 484	41,2	9,0
	1983-1984[r]	565 039	226 670	40,1	10,0
	1984-1985[c]	561 500	225 000	40,1	10,0
Ontario	1970-1971	1 359 705	514 173	37,9	7,0
	1983-1984[r]	1 054 744	661 160	62,7	10,4
	1984-1985[c]	1 047 000	661 500	63,2	10,5
Manitoba	1970-1971	134 486	39 739	29,6	5,0
	1983-1984[r]	95 986	45 832	47,8	8,2
	1984-1985[c]	94 400	45 500	48,2	8,0
Saskatchewan	1970-1971	133 514	6 950	5,2	7,1
	1983-1984[r]	107 377	10 273	9,6	6,5
	1984-1985[c]	107 910	12 787	11,8	6,5
Alberta	1970-1971	230 433	58 235	25,3	6,0
	1983-1984[r]	227 590	48 497	21,3	7,6
	1984-1985[d]	225 500	47 500	21,1	7,5
Colombie-Britannique	1970-1971	333 340	18 558	5,6	5,0
	1983-1984[r]	286 412	84 136	29,4	5,3
	1984-1985[d]	281 700	84 500	30,0	5,5

Suite

		Population scolaire	Population en cours de langue seconde Nombre	%	Temps consacré à l'apprentissage (en %)
NIVEAU ÉLÉMENTAIRE[b]					
Yukon	1970-1971	3 337	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1983-1984	2 768	1 086	39,2	7,2
	1984-1985[d]	2 775	1 078	38,8	7,2
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1970-1971	7 781	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1983-1984	9 201	2 159	23,5	5,5
	1984-1985	9 300	2 200	23,7	5,5
TOTAL	**1970-1971[r]**	**5 288 118**	**1 052 462**	**31,8[r]**	**7,8[d]**
	1983-1984[r]	**2 669 854**	**1 194 718**	**48,5**	**8,5**
	1984-1985[d]	**2 [illegible]**	**1 195 375**	**47,0**	**8,5**
NIVEAU SECONDAIRE[b]					
Terre-Neuve	1970-1971	[illegible]	37 895	84,4	10,0
	1983-1984[r]	67 449	37 117	55,0	11,0
	1984-1985[c]	67 [illegible]	37 317	55,2	10,9
Île du Prince-Édouard	1970-1971	19 [illegible]	10 794	83,0	10,0
	1983-1984[r]	12 [illegible]	7 674	62,2	11,0
	1984-1985[c]	11 781	7 357	62,6	11,0[d]
Nouvelle-Écosse	1970-1971	85 615	59 955	70,0	13,0
	1983-1984[r]	82 650	52 367	63,4	12,2
	1984-1985[d]	84 000	53 800	64,0	12,0
Nouveau-Brunswick	1970-1971	53 310	42 708	80,1	12,0
	1983-1984[r]	45 [illegible]	29 688	65,1	14,8
	1984-1985[c]	43 [illegible]	29 051	66,0	14,8
Québec	1970-1971	515 907	515 846	100,0	14,0
	1983-1984[r]	372 [illegible]	365 248	98,0	16,0
	1984-1985[d]	369 400	362 000	98,0	16,0
Ontario	1970-1971	549 827	269 079	48,9	13,0
	1983-1984[r]	542 248	182 820	32,5	13,8
	1984-1985[d]	572 [illegible]	188 400	33,0	14,0

Suite

NIVEAU SECONDAIRE[a]		Population scolaire	Population en cours de langue seconde Nombre	%	Temps consacré à l'apprentissage (en %)
Manitoba	1970-1971	[illegible]	55 640	54,5	10,0
	1983-1984[r]	[illegible]	36 136	40,5	11,4
	1984-1985[d]	92 200	37 800	41,0	11,5
Saskatchewan	1970-1971	113 053	77 928	68,9	10,0
	1983-1984[r]	[illegible]	38 033	42,7	9,7
	1984-1985[e]	[illegible]	39 578	44,9	9,8
Alberta	1970-1971	[illegible]	80 607	41,2	10,0
	1983-1984[r]	[illegible]	57 848	28,1	11,2
	1984-1985[d]	215 700	60 400	28,0	11,0
Colombie-Britannique	1970-1971	[illegible]	127 293	66,7	10,0
	1983-1984[r]	[illegible]	83 395	41,7	11,2
	1984-1985[d]	[illegible]	90 000	43,0	11,0
Yukon	1970-1971	[illegible]	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1983-1984	[illegible]	873	54,3	12,6
	1984-1985[e]	[illegible]	957	56,1	11,6
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1970-1971	[illegible]	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1983-1984	[illegible]	1 190	33,5	9,0
	1984-1985[d]	[illegible]	1 300	34,0	9,0
TOTAL	**1970-1971**	[illegible]	**1 277 745**	**67,8[r]**	**12,5**
	1983-1984[r]	[illegible]	**892 380**	**51,5**	**13,8**
	1984-1985[d]	[illegible]	**907 980**	**51,6**	**13,8**

[a] Ne comprend pas les élèves pour qui la langue d'instruction est l'anglais au Québec ou le français dans les autres provinces.

[b] M à 6 sauf en Ontario (M à 8), et en Colombie-Britannique (M à 7).

[c] Données préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

[d] Estimation de Statistique Canada.

[e] 7 à 12 sauf en Ontario (9 à 13), au Québec (7 à 11), et en Colombie-Britannique et au Yukon (8 à 12).

[r] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1983*.

Source: Statistique Canada, Section de l'enseignement élémentaire et secondaire.

PROGRAMMES D'IMMERSION EN FRANÇAIS

B.4

Nombre d'élèves inscrits aux programmes d'immersion en français, classes où ces programmes sont assurés et nombre d'écoles les dispensant, selon les provinces, 1977-1978, 1983-1984 et 1984-1985.

		Élèves inscrits	Classes	Écoles
Terre-Neuve	1977-1978	95	M à 2; 6 à 8	3
	1983-1984	970	M à 11	11
	1984-1985[e]	1 409	M à 12	15
Île du Prince-Édouard	1977-1978	541	1 à 4; 7 et 8	7
	1983-1984[r]	1 833	1 à 9	16
	1984-1985[e]	2 238	1 à 10	19
Nouvelle-Écosse	1977-1978	127	M et 1; 6 à 8	3
	1983-1984[r]	894	P à 7, 9	13
	1984-1985[e]	959	P à 9	15
Nouveau-Brunswick	1977-1978	3 179	M à 9	34
	1983-1984[r]	11 008	M à 12	91
	1984-1985[e]	12 906	M à 12	92
Québec[a]	1977-1978	17 [illegible]	M à 11	N.D.
	1983-1984[r]	17 823	M à 11	N.D.
	1984-1985[e]	18 [illegible]	M à 11	N.D.
Ontario	1977-1978[r]	12 704	M à 8	160
	1983-1984[r]	65 810	M à 13	552
	1984-1985[e]	70 900	M à 13	560
Manitoba	1977-1978	1 887	M à 9	13
	1983-1984[r]	9 080	M à 12	57
	1984-1985[e]	10 589	M à 12	60
Saskatchewan	1977-1978	407	M à 8	2
	1983-1984[r]	4 018	M à 12	38
	1984-1985[e]	5 044	M à 12	41
Alberta	1977-1978	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1983-1984	14 523	M à 12	89
	1984-1985[e]	16 800	M à 12	90

Suite

		Élèves inscrits	Classes	Écoles
Colombie-Britannique	1977-1978	1 301	M à 9	15
	1983-1984[r]	9 807	M à 11	87
	1984-1985[d]	11 500	M à 12	90
Yukon	1977-1978	—	—	—
	1984-1984	171	M à 3	1
	1984-1985[e]	166	M à 4	1
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1977-1978	—	—	—
	1983-1984	151	M, 1, 4 à 8	3
	1984-1985[e]	125	M à 8	5
TOTAL	**1977-1978**			**237**
	1983-1984[r]			**[illegible]**
	1984-1985[d]			**[illegible]**

[e] Données préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation.

[d] Estimation de Statistique Canada.

[a] Comme dans les autres provinces, les programmes d'immersion en français s'adressent exclusivement aux enfants de langue maternelle autre que le français.

[f] Ne comprend que les programmes d'immersion où le français est la langue d'enseignement au moins 75 % du temps.

[r] Données révisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1983*.

N.D. Les données ne sont pas disponibles.

Source : Statistique Canada.

PROGRAMMES D'ENSEIGNEMENT AUX MINORITÉS DE LANGUES OFFICIELLES

B.5

Nombre d'élèves inscrits aux programmes conçus pour permettre aux enfants de la minorité de langue officielle (l'anglais au Québec et le français ailleurs), d'étudier dans leur langue maternelle; classes où ces programmes sont assurés; nombre d'écoles les dispensant, selon les provinces, 1970-1971, 1983-1984 et 1984-1985.

		Élèves inscrits	Classes	Écoles
Terre-Neuve	1970-1971	186	M à 10[e]	1
	1983-1984	103	M à 11	2
	1984-1985[a]	180	M à 10	4
Île du Prince-Édouard	1970-1971	796	1 à 12[e]	7
	1983-1984[r]	516	1 à 12	3
	1984-1985[a]	511	1 à 12	3
Nouvelle-Écosse	1970-1971	7 388	p à 12	32
	1983-1984[r]	4 470	p à 12	23
	1984-1985[a]	4 200	p à 12	22
Nouveau-Brunswick	1970-1971	60 679	M à 12	196
	1983-1984[r]	47 761	M à 12	157
	1984-1985[a]	47 107	M à 12	157
Québec	1970-1971	248 855	M à 11	519
	1983-1984[r]	125 408	M à 11	407
	1984-1985[a]	122 000	M à 11	400
Ontario	1970-1971[r]	115 869	M à 13	381
	1983-1984[r]	91 178	M à 13	357
	1984-1985[a]	89 500	M à 13	350
Manitoba	1970-1971	10 405	M à 12	49
	1983-1984[r]	5 581	M à 12	31
	1984-1985[a]	5 200	M à 12	30
Saskatchewan	1970-1971	765	M à 12[e]	12
	1983-1984[r]	768	M à 12	16
	1984-1985[a]	759	M à 12	12
Alberta	1970-1971	N/D	N/D	N/D
	1983-1984	1 076	M à 9	9
	1984-1985[a]	1 200	M à 9	10

Suite

		Élèves inscrits	Classes	Écoles
Colombie-Britannique	1970-1971	—	—	—
	1983-1984[r]	1 183	M à 9	29
	1984-1985[e]	1 200	M à 9	30
Yukon	1970-1971	—	—	—
	1983-1984	—	—	—
	1984-1985[e]	30	1 à 4, 6	1
Territoires du Nord-Ouest	1970-1971	—	—	—
	1983-1984	—	—	—
	1984-1985	—	—	—
TOTAL	**1970-1971**	**434 845**		**1 187**
	1983-1984[r]	**281 002**		**1 034**
	1984-1985[e]	**271 887**		**1 019**

[e] Données préliminaires fournies par le ministère de l'Éducation

[e] Estimation de Statistique Canada

[r] Données revisées depuis la parution du *Rapport annuel 1983*

N.D. Les données ne sont pas disponibles

Source : Statistique Canada

POOR

QUALITY

ORIGINAL